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OF  
THE GREEK DIALECTS

\*  
IONIC

*SMYTH*

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BY  
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## PREFACE

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IT is now more than half a century since Ahrens laid the foundations of Greek Dialectology in a work which, by reason of its sterling merits, has remained unsuperseded in part until the present day. Had the original intention of the author of the *De Graecae linguae dialectis* been carried out, an investigation of Ionic would have followed upon that dealing with Aiolic and Doric; and the need of any other treatise on the subject would have been less urgent. The deflection of his literary activity to other departments of philology bequeathed a legacy of opportunity, of which his countrymen have been slow to avail themselves. At the present time there exists no treatise on the dialect which in its interest for the student of Greek language and literature is second only to that wherein the masterpieces of Athenian genius found expression. Maittaire's *Graecae linguae dialecti*, last issued in 1807, is out of date, and the monographs at the disposal of the scholar cover only a limited portion of the extensive territory.

As the author of the first attempt at depicting the Ionic dialect as a whole, I may perhaps be pardoned for alluding to the difficulties involved in such an undertaking, difficulties that are enhanced not only by the absence of minute investigations on many questions of considerable importance, but also by the fact that the sources of information are often accessible only in an

imperfect state. Much of Ionic literature is still inadequately edited. Of Hippokrates, Aretaios, the philosophers (with the exception of Herakleitos) and the logographers, there are no editions which record fully and faithfully the readings of the MSS. In the case of the philosophers only was I able in part to reconstruct my own text, thanks to such books as Diels' *Simplicius* and Wachsmuth's *Stobaeus*. From the ordinary Lexicons one does not, it is true, expect much assistance in dialectological matters. Yet, apart from errors of fact, their failure to register the occurrence of ordinary words in much-read authors is often the cause of serious inconvenience. Thus, for example, that Herodotos (or Hippokrates) made use of ὄλος is not recorded in Stephanus, Liddell and Scott, or even in Portus' *Λεξικὸν Ἰωνικόν* or Schweighäuser's special Lexicon to Herodotos.

The present work attempts to combine the two methods by which dialectal phenomena may be studied—the philological and the linguistic. Primary importance has been attached to the point of view of Philology, which seeks, among other things, to determine on the basis of tradition the forms proper to the dialect of each author, the place occupied by him in the history of the development of the dialect, the interrelation of the various connected styles of literary composition, and the connection between the language of artistic construction and the language of the public and private documents preserved in the inscriptions. So far as Ionic is concerned, these matters have been discussed briefly in the Introduction, but the conclusions there presented can be fully understood only by comparison with the detailed investigation that follows. I have deferred to another occasion a sketch of ancient dialectology, a discussion of the interrelation of the chief cantonal idioms, and an examination of the principles that govern their appearance in a literature permeated to a remarkable degree by artistic consciousness.



The method that has been pursued in treating the forms as purely linguistic phenomena calls for a few words of explanation. As it has not been my purpose to write a Comparative Grammar from the point of view of Ionic, I have rarely endeavoured to trace the forms back to the pre-Hellenic stage. Ionic has been compared throughout with other dialects, especially Attic. Because of its *μετρίότης* and *κοινότης*, Attic is, and will continue to be, the standard by which philologists measure the manifold 'aberrations' of dialects less highly developed, or less adapted than itself to serve as vehicles for the expression of Hellenic thought. To the mention of difficult forms I have added brief explanations in the belief that these would prove of service to English and American students of Greek grammar. Many of these explanations refer to articles scattered up and down in the various journals or in monographs not always easy of access. The student may find here and there in the following pages a contribution to the solution of some of these difficulties, the existence of which has constantly been emphasized; but in crossing the frontier of disputed questions I have attempted only to bring the book to the level of the comparative grammar of to-day, and, while confessing my inability to arrive at a decision when the evidence seemed insufficient, to set forth briefly and criticize existing theories.

As regards the collection of material, completeness was well-nigh out of the question in the case of a dialect which has left abundant traces of its existence for over a thousand years. The evidence offered by the inscriptions and post-Homeric Ionic lyric will, however, I think, be found to be reasonably complete. I have made considerable use of the Ionic portion of Homer, but it was alien from my intention to treat in detail this 'dialect,' since its artificiality often renders hazardous the delimitation of Ionic from Aiolic. The fact that scholars already have at their command such books as Monro's *Homeric Grammar* and



van Leeuwen's *Enchiridium dictionis epicæ* warranted me in devoting greater attention to the post-Homeric literature. In dealing with the literary documents, I have compared the readings of the MSS. whenever it was possible. I venture to believe that, without deserting the MS. tradition to any great extent, I have disproved the theory that Herodotos made constant use of Homeric forms as such. The depravation of the dialect of Herodotos has been so great that it is often impossible to adopt a form on the consensus of *AB* and *Rrs*, which is the warrant of the archetypal reading; while it often happens that the correct form is preserved in *R* alone. Convinced as I am that Herodotos contracted  $\epsilon + \epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon + \eta$  and  $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$  in  $\epsilon\iota\omega$  verbs, I do not hesitate to rank *R* very high when it preserves the contracted forms. The Atticisms of *R* are in fact often Ionisms. *C* and *P* represent the hyper-Ionic tradition more than other MSS. As I have referred to *C* (the Florentinus of the eleventh century), I take this opportunity to correct the statement on p. 93 where *A* (the Florentinus of the tenth century) has taken the place of *C*. In the case of Hippokrates the readings of  $\theta$  and *A* have often been cited when they conflict with the vulgate or with Littré's text.

ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφὸς τό τε πάλαι τό τε νῦν. Among the books that were of greatest assistance, the place of honour belongs to the collections of inscriptions and the comments thereon by my former teacher, Prof. Bechtel of Göttingen. The monographs of Renner, Merzdorf, and Lindemann, the *Greek Verbs* of Veitch, and the grammars of Meyer and Brugmann have proved especially serviceable. Bredow's book on Herodotos rests upon incomplete and defective collations of the MSS., but is invaluable so long as Stein's promised Lexicon remains unpublished. Since the book went to press (in January, 1892), I have added some matters of interest from Prof. Blass' edition of Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik*, and incorporated the important

forms occurring in Herodas. Through the courtesy of its author, Meister's elaborate discussion of the dialect of Herodas reached me shortly before the concluding pages passed out of my hands. It has contributed largely to the additions in the first appendix, and thus rendered the treatment of the sounds and inflections of Herodas tolerably exhaustive. Schulze's *Quaestiones epicae*, a book of great learning, but often over-subtle and devoid of a proper regard for tradition, was of assistance at the same stage of the progress of the sheets through the press.

My thanks are due to the Executive Committee of the American Philological Association for permission to use the paper on the Vowel System published in its *Transactions*. The apparently egotistical reference on p. 5 to my own contribution has its excuse in the fact that it chanced to be the only treatise covering any part of the dialect as a whole. In the continuation of this work it will be seen that the other dialects have received ampler treatment at the hands of scholars, whose contributions are mentioned in the forefront of my own discussion. To Prof. Gildersleeve, the editor of the *American Journal of Philology*, I am indebted for permission to avail myself of a paper on Digamma published in vol. xii, and for other evidences of his friendship. Prof. Meister of Leipzig had transcribed for me the observations on Ionic by Johannes Grammaticus in Aldus' *Thesaurus Cornucopiae et Horti Adonidis* of 1496, a book that has since come into my possession after a long search. Prof. Kirchhoff generously allows me to cite his opinion on various points, concerning which my information has been derived from his 'Lectures on the Ionic Dialect,' placed at my disposal by the kindness of a former pupil of the Berlin professor. The references to the views of Prof. Kirchhoff are indicated by the mention of his name unaccompanied by the title of any of his published works. It was a matter of no little satisfaction to discover, upon the completion of my work, that the opinion of



the German scholar was in accordance with my own in respect of many essential features of the dialect.

Finally, I desire to acknowledge my special indebtedness to my colleagues and students at Bryn Mawr, who have helped me in word and deed; to Mr. Monro, the Provost of Oriel, and to E. S. Roberts, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Caius College, Cambridge, for invaluable assistance in reading the proof-sheets; to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for undertaking the publication of the present work, which has outgrown the limits originally set by the author; and to the printers for their care in carrying it through the press.

BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA :

*March 9, 1894.*



## LIST OF THE CHIEF WORKS CITED AND OF ABBREVIATIONS

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THE titles of treatises dealing with special departments of the subject will be found on pp. 45, 66, 74, 78, 91, 101, 110, and in the Appendix to pp. 45, 91.

Ahrens = De Graecae linguae dialectis, I De dialectis Aeolicis et pseudaeolicis 1839, II De dialecto Dorica 1843, Gottingae. This work is now rewritten and continued by Meister.

A. J. A. = American Journal of Archaeology, Princeton 1885 ff.

A. J. P. = American Journal of Philology, Baltimore 1880 ff.

Allen Versification = Greek Versification in Inscriptions, Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, vol. IV.

American School = Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Archaeological Institute of America), Boston 1882 ff.

Amph. = Amphipolis.

An. Bachm. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibl. reg. Parisin. descripsit Lud. Bachmannus, I-II, Lipsiae 1828.

An. Ox. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibliothecarum Oxoniensium, descripsit J. A. Cramer, I-IV, Oxonii 1835-37.

An. Par. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis, edidit J. A. Cramer, I-IV, Oxonii 1839-41.

A. P. A. = Transactions of the American Philological Association, Boston 1869 ff.

Apoll. Dysk. = Apollonius Dyscolus edidit Richardus Schneider in the Grammatici Graeci, vol. I, Lipsiae 1878.

Arch. } = Archilochos.  
 Archil. }

Arch. Zeit. = *Archaeologische Zeitung*, Berlin 1843-48, 1868 ff.

Aret. = Aretaios.

Arkadios = Ἀρκαδίου περὶ τόνων, ed. Barker, Lipsiae 1820.

Arrian = Arrian's Ἰνδική.

Ascoli Krit. Stud. = Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft von G. I. Ascoli. Autorisierte Uebersetzung von Reinhold Merzdorf, Weimar 1878.

Astr. = Lukian περὶ τῆς Ἀστρολογίης.

Athen. = Athenaeus edidit Kaibel, Lipsiae 1887-90.

Ἀθην. = Ἀθηναίων, σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν κατὰ διμηνίαν ἐκδιδόμενον, Athens 1872 ff.

Aug. = Grammaticus Augustanus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.

Baunack Stud. = Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griechischen und der arischen Sprachen von Johannes Baunack und Theodor Baunack, vol. I, Leipzig 1886.

B. B. = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von Dr. Adalbert Bezzenger, Göttingen 1877 ff.

B. C. II. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (École Française d'Athènes), Paris and Athens 1877 ff.

Bechtel = Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts von Fritz Bechtel, aus dem 34<sup>sten</sup> Bande der Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1887.

Bechtel Lautlehre = Die Hauptprobleme der indogermanischen Lautlehre seit Schleicher, Göttingen 1892.

Bekk. Anecd. = Anecdota Graeca edidit I. Bekkerus, I-III, Berolini 1814-21.

Bennett = On the sounds and inflections of the Cyprian dialect, in the Studies of the University of Nebraska, vol. I, Lincoln, Nebr. 1888.

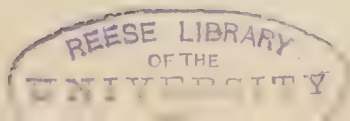
Bergk = Poetae Lyrici Graeci recensuit Theodorus Bergk, ed. 4, Lipsiae 1878-82.

Birnb. = Grammaticus Birnbaumius in Sturz' Etymologicum Gudianum, Lipsiae 1818.

Blass = Ueber die Aussprache des Griechischen, 3te Auflage, Berlin 1888.



- Blass M. E. = *Miscellanea epigraphica scripsit Fridericus Blass, in the Satyra philologica Hermanno Sauppio oblata, Berolini 1879.*
- B. P. W. = *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift 1881 ff.*
- Bredow = *De dialecto Herodotea, Lipsiae 1846.*
- British Museum Inscriptions = *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Oxford, I 1874, II 1883, III 1886.*
- Brugmann Gram. = *Griechische Grammatik in vol. II of Iwan von Müller's Handbücher der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 2te Aufl., München 1890.*
- Brugmann Grundr. = *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, Strassburg 1886 ff.*
- Cauer = *Delectus inscriptionum Graecarum propter dialectum memorabilium, iterum composuit Paulus Cauer, Lipsiae 1883.*
- C. D. I. = *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften herausgegeben von Collitz [und Bechtel], Göttingen 1884 ff.*
- ch. = *chorus.*
- Chandler = *Greek Accentuation, 2nd edition, Oxford 1881.*
- Choir. } = *Choerobosci Dictata in Theodosii Canones, edited*  
 Choirob. } *by Gaisford, Oxford 1842.*
- Choirob. Orth. = *Choerobosci Orthographia in An. Ox. II, 167-281.*
- C. I. A. = *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum, Berolini 1873 ff.*
- C. I. G. = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum, Berolini 1828-1877.*
- Class. Rev. = *The Classical Review, London 1887 ff.*
- Curtius Et. = *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie, 5te Aufl. von Windisch, Leipzig 1879.*
- C. S. } = *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Gram-*  
 Curt. Stud. } *matik, herausgegeben von Georg Curtius [und K. Brugmann], Leipzig 1868-78.*
- Curtius Verbum = *Das Verbum der griechischen Sprache, 2te Aufl., Leipzig 1877-80.*
- = *Dindorf in Poetae Scenici Graeci, Lipsiae 1869.*
- Danielsson Epigraphica = *Epigraphica scripsit O. A. Danielsson, in the Upsala Universitets Årsskrift 1890.*
- d. I. = *Greg. Kor. de dialecto Ionica (περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου).*



Dehnungsgesetz = Das Dehnungsgesetz der griechischen Composita von Jakob Wackernagel, Basel 1889.

Δελτ. ἀρχ. or Ἀρχ. δελτ. = Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς γενικῆς ἐφορείας τῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων, Athens 1888 ff.

Dem. } = Demokritos' Ἐθικά.  
Demokr. }

Ditt. Syll. } = Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum edidit Guilel-  
D. S. } mus Dittenberger, Lipsiae 1883.

Drakon = Draconis Stratonicensis liber de metris poeticis ed. Hermann, Lipsiae 1812.

D. V. C. = De derivatis verbis contractis linguae Graecae quaestiones scripsit Karl Ferdinand Johansson, in the Upsala Universitets Årsskrift 1886.

el. = elegy.

ep. } = epode.  
epod. }

ep. } = epigram.  
epigr. }

ep. with Hippokr. = Hippokrates' epistles.

Erman = De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto scripsit Guilelmu Erman, in Curtius' Studien, vol. V.

Et. Gud. = Etymologicum Gudianum edidit Sturz, Lipsiae 1818

Et. Mag. = Etymologicum Magnum ed. Sylburg, Lipsiae 1816  
ed. Gaisford, Oxonii 1848.

Eust. = Eustathii commentarii, Lipsiae 1825-29.

Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. = Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, ἐκδιδομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς εταιρίας, Athens 1883 ff.

Fick Spracheinheit = Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas, Göttingen 1873.

Fritsch V. II. D. = Zum Vokalismus des Herodotischen Dialekte von Dr. Adolf Fritsch, Hamburg 1888.

G. G. A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1739 ff.

G. K. } = Gregorius Corinthius edidit Schaefer, Lipsia  
Greg. Kor. } 1811.

G. M. } = F. Imhoof-Blumer's Griechische Münzen  
Griech. Münzen } neue Beiträge und Untersuchungen, in the Abhandl. d. Königl. bayerischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften, vol. XVII München 1890.

Gomperz = Die Apologie der Heilkunst bearbeitet &c. von Theodor Gomperz, extracted from the Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, vol. 120, 1890.

Gött. Nachr. = Nachrichten von der Georg-Augustus Universität, Göttingen 1862 ff.

Hartel Hom. Stud. = Homerische Studien, 2te Auflage, Berlin 1873.

Hdn. = Herodian edidit Lentz, Lipsiae 1867-70.

Herod. π. μ. λ. } = Herodian περὶ μωνήρους λέξεως.  
Hdn. π. μ. λ. }

Hdt. = Herodotos.

Hermes = Zeitschrift für classische Philologie, Berlin 1866 ff.

Hesych. = Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon recensuit M. Schmidt, Ienae 1858-61.

H. E. V. A. = De Homericæ elocutionis vestigiis Aeolicis scripsit Gustavus Hinrichs, Leipzig 1875.

Hicks = Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions, Oxford 1882.

Hiller = Anthologia Lyrica (the 4th edition of Bergk), Lipsiae 1890.

H. N. = Historia Numorum, by Barclay V. Head, Oxford 1887.

Hipp. } = Hippokrates.  
Hippokr. }

Hoffmann = Die griechischen Dialekte, vol. I Der süd-achäische Dialekt, Göttingen 1891, vol. II Der nord-achäische Dialekt, 1893.

Hoffmann D. M. G. = De mixtis Graecæ linguae dialectis, Göttingen 1888.

Hrd. = Herodas.

Hsd. W. D. = Hesiod's Works and Days.

H. T. K. = Homerische Textkritik im Alterthum von Jacob La Roche, Leipzig 1866.

Ib. = Ibykos.

I. F. = Indogermanische Forschungen, herausgegeben von Brugmann und Streitberg, Strassburg 1892 ff.

I. G. A. = Inscriptiones Graecæ antiquissimæ præter Atticas in Attica repertas edidit Hermannus Roehl, Berolini 1882.

Jahrb. = Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Leipzig 1826 ff.



- J. G. } = Johannes Grammaticus in Aldus Manutius'  
 Joh. Gram. } Thesaurus, Cornucopiae, et Horti Adonidis, 1496.
- J. H. S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies, London 1883 ff.
- Joh. Alex. = 'Ιωάννου 'Αλεξανδρέως του κὰ παραγγέλματα ed.  
 Dindorf, Lipsiae 1825.
- Johansson Sprachkunde = Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde,  
 Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1890.
- Johansson De derivatis verbis, see D. V. C.
- Jordan Kritische Beiträge = Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte  
 der lateinischen Sprache, Berlin 1879.
- Kaibel = Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta, Berolini  
 1878 (also cited as K. E.)
- Karsten = De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto commentatio scripsit  
 Gualtherus Karsten, Halis Saxonum 1882.
- K-B. = Grammatik der griechischen Sprache von R. Kühner in  
 neuer Bearbeitung von F. Blass, Hannover 1890 ff.
- K. C. = The Principles of Sound and Inflexion in Greek and  
 Latin by King and Cookson, Oxford 1888.
- Kirchhoff Alphabet = Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen  
 Alphabets, 4te Auflage, Gütersloh 1887.
- Kirchhoff = Lectures on the Ionic dialect by A. Kirchhoff (see  
 Preface).
- Klein Vasen = Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen  
 von Wilhelm Klein, 2te Auflage, Wien 1887.
- Kum. = 'Απτικῆς ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι by Stephanos Kumanudês,  
 Athens 1871.
- K. Z. = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem  
 Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen, begründet von  
 A. Kuhn, herausgegeben von E. Kuhn und J. Schmidt,  
 Berlin, now Gütersloh, 1852 ff.
- Lat. } = Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti  
 Latyshev } Euxini Graecae et Latinae edidit Basilius Latyshev, vol. I  
 Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae &c., Petropoli 1885;  
 vol. II Regni Bosporani 1890.
- Le-Bas—Foucart = Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie  
 Mineure with commentary continued by Waddington and  
 Foucart; vols. III (text) and 3 (commentary) deal with Asia  
 Minor, Paris 1847 ff.

Lex. Messan. = Lexicon Messanense de iota ascripto in R. M. XLVII 404 (1892).

Lindemann = De dialecto Ionica recentiore scripsit Hugo Lindemann, Kiel 1889.

Loewy = Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer, Leipzig 1885.

L. S. = Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, 7th ed., Oxford 1883.

Mahlow = Die langen Vokale A E O in den europaeischen Sprachen, Berlin 1879.

Maxim. = Maximus.

Meerm. = Grammaticus Meermannianus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.

Meist. }  
Meisterhans } = Grammatik der attischen Inschriften, 2te Auflage, Berlin 1888.

Meister }  
G. D. } = Die griechischen Dialekte von Richard Meister:  
vol. I Asiatisch-äolisch, Böotisch, Thessalisch, Göttingen 1882, vol. II Eleisch, Arkadisch, Kyprisch 1889.

Meister Herodas = Die Mimiamben des Herodas, extract from the 13th vol. of the Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Leipzig 1893.

Mél. gr.-rom. = Mélanges gréco-romains tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, 1855 ff.

Menrad = De contractionis et synizeseos usu Homeric scripsit Jos. Menrad, Monachii 1886.

Meyer Gram. = Griechische Grammatik von Gustav Meyer, 2te Auflage, Leipzig 1886.

Mitth. = Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Athen, Athens 1876 ff.

Mitth. aus Oesterreich = Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, Wien 1877 ff.

Mnem. = Mnemosyne, Leyden 1852-62, 1873 ff.

Moiris = Moeridis Atticistae lexicon Atticum, em. ill. J. Piersonus, denuo edidit Koch, Lipsiae 1830.

Mon. ant. = Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Milano 1890 ff.

Monro Hom. Gram. = A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect, by D. B. Monro, 2nd edition, Oxford 1891.

- Μουσ. καὶ βιβλ. = Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς, Smyrna 1873 ff.
- M. U. = Morphologische Untersuchungen von Osthoff and Brugmann, Leipzig 1875-90.
- Mus. It. = Museo Italiano di antichità classica diretto da Domenico Comparetti, Firenze 1885 ff.
- Myl. = Mylasa.
- Naukr. = Inscriptions from Naukratis, cited partly from Bechtel, partly from E. A. Gardner's collection in 'Naucratis,' edited by Flinders-Petrie, London 1886 ff.
- Num. Chron. = Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society, 1839-54, 1861 ff.
- Orop. = Oropos.
- Osthoff Forsch. = Forschungen im Gebiete der indogermanischen nominalen Stammbildung, Jena 1875.
- Osthoff Perfect = Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Indogermanischen, Strassburg 1884.
- Pape = Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen von Pape und Benseler, 3te Auflage, 3ter Abdruck, Braunschweig 1884.
- Par. = Grammaticus Parisinus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.
- Paspates = Χιακὸν γλωσσάριον by A. G. Paspatês, Athens 1888.
- Paton and Hicks = The Inscriptions of Cos by W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, Oxford 1891.
- Pezzi = La lingua greca antica, breve trattazione comparativa e storica, Torino 1888.
- Philol. = Philologus: Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum, Stolberg and Göttingen, 1846 ff.
- Philologischer Anzeiger, als Ergänzung des Philologus, Göttingen 1869 ff.
- Phrynichos = Phrynichi eclogae nominum et verborum Atticorum ed. Lobeck, Lipsiae 1820, Rutherford (The New Phrynichus) London 1881.
- Prokon. = Prokonnesos.
- Reinach = Traité d'épigraphie grecque, Paris 1885.
- Renner = De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae in Curtius' Studien, vol. I.
- Revue archéologique, Paris 1844 ff.
- R. M. = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Bonn and Frankfurt am Main, 1833 ff.



Rob. } = Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, part I, Cambridge 1887.

Roehl = I. G. A.

Ross = Inscriptiones ineditae, Nauplia, Athens and Berlin, 1834-35.

Rutherford = The New Phrynichus, London, 1881.

Saussure Mém. = Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes par Ferdinand de Saussure, Leipsick 1879.

Schmidt Neutra = Die Pluralbildungen der indogermanischen Neutra von Johannes Schmidt, Weimar 1889.

Schmidt Vokalismus = Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus, Weimar 1871-75.

Schulze Q. E. = Quaestiones epicae scripsit Guilelmus Schulze, Gueterslohiae 1892. This incorporates the Quaestionum Homericarum specimen, Gryphiswaldiae 1887.

S. A. } = Simonides of Amorgos.

Sim. Am. }

Simpl. = Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros quattuor priores commentaria edidit Hermannus Diels, Berolini 1882.

Smyth Diphthong EI = Der Diphthong EI im Griechischen, Göttingen 1885.

Spitzer = Lautlehre des arkadischen Dialektes, Kiel 1883.

Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen hervorgegangen aus G. Curtius' Grammatischer Gesellschaft, Leipzig 1874.

Stephan = De Herodiani technici dialectologia, Argentorati 1889.

Sterrett = An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor, vol. II, and The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor, vol. III, of the Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Boston 1888.

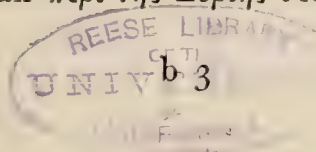
Stes. = Stesichoros.

Stob. = Stobaeus edidit Gaisford I-IV, Lipsiae 1823-24, edidit Wachsmuth I-II, Berolini 1884.

Stud. = Curt. Stud.

Struve Quaest. = Quaestionum de dialecto Herodoti specimina III, Regimontii 1828-30.

Syria dea }  
d. S. } = Lukian *περὶ τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ*.  
d. d. S. }



Th. (L.) } = Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im  
 Thas. (L.) } Louvre von Fritz Bechtel, aus dem 32<sup>sten</sup> Bande der  
 Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,  
 Göttingen 1884.

Theodos. = Theodosii Alexandrini Canones edidit Hilgard, in the  
 first volume of the fourth part of the Grammatici Graeci,  
 Lipsiae 1889.

Theog. = Theognis.

Theogn. = Theognosti Canones in An. Ox. II, 1-165.

tetr. = tetrameter.

tr. = trimeter.

Tryphon = Tryphonis Alexandrini fragmenta collegit A. von  
 Velsen, Berolini 1853.

Tzetz. = Tzetzae Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem edidit Hermann,  
 Lipsiae 1812.

unc. loc. = uncertain locality.

V. A. }  
 Vit. Auct. } = Lukian's Vitarum auctio (Βίων πρᾶσις).

Vat. = Grammaticus Vaticanus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory  
 of Korinth.

Veitch = Greek Verbs irregular and defective, new (4th) edition,  
 Oxford 1879.

Vita Hom. = Vita Homeri in Westermann's Vitarum scriptores  
 Graeci minores, Brunsvigae 1845.

Wagner = Quaestiones de epigrammatis Graecis ex lapidibus  
 collectis grammaticae scripsit R. Wagner, Lipsiae 1883.

W. F. }  
 Wescher-Foucart } = Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes, Paris  
 1863.

Wheeler = Der griechische Nominalaccent, Strassburg 1885.

Wilamowitz Herakles = Euripides Herakles erklärt von Wila-  
 mowitz-Moellendorff, Berlin 1889.

W. K. P. = Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, Berlin  
 1884 ff.

z = Aldus' edition of Herodotos, 1502.

Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen, Berlin 1867 ff.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin 1874 ff.

# EDITIONS OF THE CHIEF AUTHORS CITED

---

## 1. *Poets.*

Homer : La Roche and Ludwich.

Homeric Hymns : Gemoll, who combines the two hymns to Apollo.

Hesiod : Flach, but the citations from the scholia follow Gaisford's numbering (*Poetae Minores Graeci*, vol. II).

Lyric Poets (including Pindar) : Bergk<sup>4</sup>.

Scenic Poets : Dindorf, Meineke, Koch.

Theokritos : Fritzsche.

Herodas : Arabic numerals follow Kenyon, Roman follow Bergk (for the fragments not on the papyrus).

Phoinix of Kolophon	}	Schneidewin's <i>Delectus</i> .
Aischrion of Samos		
Parmenon of Byzantion		

## 2. *Prose Writers.*

Herodotos : Stein.

Hippokrates : Littré and Ermerins. The references are to the pages of Littré (Kühn a few times), except in the case of the letters where Hercher-Boissonade's text has often been followed (denoted by *ep.* and an Arabic numeral).

Herakleitos : Bywater.

Protagoras : in Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apoll.* 33.

Demokritos and other Philosophers : Mullach's numbering is adopted, but the MSS., not his text, have been followed.

Historians : Müller.

Menekrates : Jacoby's edition of Dionysios of Halikarnassos.

Pseudo-Ionic letters : Hercher-Boissonade, except in the case of Hippokrates (see above).



Lukian: Jacobitz, and Sommerbrodt (for the *Βίωv πρᾶσις*).

Arrian: Eberhard.

Aretaios: Kühn, and a few times Ermerins.

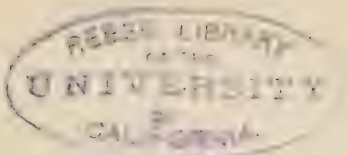
3. *Grammarians.*

Apollonios Dyskolos' Syntax from the pages of Bekker (1817).

The Pronoun and Adverb are sometimes cited by the old numbering, sometimes by the pages of Schneider (Schn.).

Choiroboskos' Dictata in Theodosii Canones follows Gaisford's pages throughout, as Hilgard's edition has not yet been concluded.

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## LIST OF THE CHIEF MSS. REFERRED TO

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### 1. HERODOTOS (cf. § 88).

- A* = Florentinus (Mediceus), Laurentian Library, Florence (X Century).  
*B* = Romanus (Passioneus), Angelican Library, Rome (XI Cent.).  
*C* = Florentinus, Laurentian Library, Florence (XI Cent.).  
*P* = Parisinus, National Library (XIII Cent.).  
*R* = Romanus, Vatican Library (XIV Cent.).  
*l* = Florentinus, Laurentian Library (XIV Cent.).  
*b* = Venetus (Bessarion.), Library of St. Mark's (XV Cent.).  
*q* = Parisinus, National Library (XV Cent.).  
*r* = Urbinas, Vatican Library (XIV Cent.).  
*s* = Saneroftianus, Emmanuel College, Cambridge (XIV Cent.).  
*v* = Vindobonensis, Vienna (XIV Cent.).  
*z* = Aldus' edition, 1502.  
*L* in Stein's edition refers to the consensus of all the MSS.

### 2. HIPPOKRATES.

- θ* = Vindobonensis (X Cent.).  
*ξ* = Vaticanus 276 (end XII Cent.).  
Laur. 74, 7 (XI or XII Cent.).  
Marc. 269 (XI Cent.).  
*A* = 2253 (XI Cent.).

The above are the chief MSS.

- D* = 2254 (XIV Cent.).  
*E* = 2255 (XIV Cent.).  
*F* = 2144 (XIV Cent.).  
*G* = 2141 (XIV Cent.).

*H* = 2142 (XIV Cent.).

*J* = 2143 (XIV Cent.).

*K* = 2145 (XIV Cent.).

*M* = 2247 (old). This is Littré's *M*, not the Marcianus (XI Cent.).

*N* = 2248 (old).

*Q* = 1297 (XIV Cent.).

*A—Q* are in the National Library at Paris.

To facilitate reference to the tractates under the name of Hippokrates is subjoined a table of the place occupied by each in Littré's edition. The works starred are genuine beyond doubt.

I 570-637 *περὶ ἀρχαίης ἱητρικῆς*.

II 12-93 *περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων\**; 110-191 *προγνωστικόν\**; 224-377 *περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων\**; 394-529 *περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων (νόθα)*; 598-717 *ἐπιδημιῶν I\**.

III 24-149 *ἐπιδημιῶν III\**; 182-261 *περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραμάτων\**; 272-337 *κατ' ἱητροῦν*; 412-563 *περὶ ἀγμῶν*.

IV 78-327 *περὶ ἄρθρων*; 340-395 *μοχλικόν*; 458-609 *ἀφορισμοί*; 628-633 *ὄρκος*; 638-643 *νόμος*.

V 72-139 *ἐπιδημιῶν II*; 144-197 *id. IV*; 204-259 *id. V*; 266-357 *id. VI*; 364-469 *id. VII*; 476-503 *περὶ χυμῶν*; 510-573 *προρρητικόν I*; 588-733 *Κωακαὶ προγνώσεις*.

VI 2-27 *περὶ τέχνης*; 32-69 *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου*; 72-87 *περὶ διαίτης ὑγιεινῆς*; 90-115 *περὶ φυσῶν*; 118-137 *περὶ ὑγρῶν χρήσιος*; 140-205 *περὶ νούσων I*; 208-271 *περὶ παθῶν*; 276-349 *περὶ τόπων τῶν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*; 352-397 *περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου*; 400-433 *περὶ ἐλκῶν*; 436-445 *περὶ αἰμορροΐδων*; 448-461 *περὶ συρίγγων*; 466-525 *περὶ διαίτης I*; 528-589 *id. II*; 592-637 *id. III*; 640-663 *id. IV = περὶ ἐνυπνίων*.

VII 8-115 *περὶ νούσων II*; 118-161 *id. III*; 166-303 *περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς παθῶν*; 312-431 *περὶ γυναικείας φύσιος*; 436-453 *περὶ ἐπταμήνου*; 452-461 *περὶ ὀκταμήνου*; 470-485 *περὶ γονῆς*; 486-542 *περὶ φύσιος παιδίου*; 542-615 *περὶ νούσων IV*.

VIII 10-233 *γυναικείων I*; 234-407 *id. II*; 408-463 *περὶ ἀφόρων*; 466-471 *περὶ παρθενίων*; 476-509 *περὶ ἐπικυήσιος*; 512-519 *περὶ ἐγκατατομῆς ἐμβρύου*; 538-541 *περὶ ἀνατομῆς*; 544-549 *περὶ ὀδοντοφυΐας*; 556-575 *περὶ ἀδένων*; 584-615 *περὶ σαρκῶν*; 634-673 *περὶ ἐβδομάδων*.

IX 6-75 *προρρητικόν II*; 80-93 *περὶ καρδίας*; 98-121 *περὶ τροφῆς*; 152-161 *περὶ ὄψιος*; 168-197 *περὶ ὀστέων φύσιος*; 204-221 *περὶ ἱητροῦ*; 226-245 *περὶ εὐσχημοσύνης*; 250-273 *παραγγελίαι*; 276-295 *περὶ κρισίων*; 298-307 *περὶ κρισίων*; 312-429 *ἐπιστολαί*.

The chief tractates are sometimes abbreviated thus :

E I = *ἐπιδημιῶν πρῶτον*.

E III = *ἐπιδημιῶν τρίτον*.

ΠΑ = *περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων*.

ΠΔΟ = *περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων*.

ΠΤΚ = *περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραμάτων*.

Π = *προγνωστικόν*.

ΠΚ = *προγνώσεις Κωακαί*.



## 3. THEOGNIS.

*A* = Mutinensis (X Cent.) National Library in Paris.

*K* = Vaticanus (XVI Cent.).

*O* = Vaticanus (XII Cent.).

## 4. LUKIAN.

*A* = Gorlicensis (XIV Cent.).

*℔* = Vaticanus 87 (XII or XIII Cent.).

*B* = Vindobonensis 123 (X Cent.).

*C* = Parisinus 3011 (XIII or XIV Cent.).

*E* = Wittianus (Marcianus) perhaps a source of *Ω*.

*Γ* = Vaticanus 90 (XI Cent.).

*Φ* = Florentinus (Laurentianus) 77 (of different dates).

*Ψ* = Marcianus 436 (XIV Cent.).

*Ω* = Marcianus 434 (XIII Cent.).

*a* = editio princeps (Florence 1496).

*v* = Reitz' edition (Amsterdam 1743).

Sommerbrodt's critical edition (vol. I, Berolini 1886-89) does not yet include the *Syria dea* or the *Astrologia*.

## INSCRIPTIONS.

All Ionic inscriptions, unless specially referred to other collections, are cited by the numbering of Bechtel's *Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts*. Thasian inscriptions not included in this work are denoted by *Th. (L.)*, and refer to the numbering of Bechtel's *Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre*. The inscriptions from Naukratis are usually cited from E. A. Gardner's collection in the two volumes of W. M. Flinders-Petrie, but Bechtel's numbering of three (139 A-139 C) has been followed. All other dialect inscriptions, except when the contrary is stated, are cited from C. D. I. C. I. A. IV refers to the first, C. I. A. IV B to the second, C. I. A. IV C to the third part of the fourth volume of the *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*. The date of an inscription is sometimes indicated by a Roman numeral followed by the letter C, *e.g.* VC = fifth century B. c.

References have sometimes been made to notes in the text as if these notes were numbered. These references are to be understood as if made to paragraphs in smaller type.

## ERRATA

Page 22<sub>3</sub>, for 167 read 219. 59<sub>9</sub>, read *είμένα* for *είμένα*. 75<sub>16</sub>, *adl* *κάρηνα*  
Eurip. frag. 541, *τρικάρηνον* (MSS.) H. F. 611. 142<sub>12</sub>, read *In Naukratis* also.  
154 (§ 150), see now app. to p. 265. 158<sub>3</sub>, read 209. 163, read *ἄνς*. 165  
end and 166 top, read *-γενής*. 170<sub>10</sub> from bottom, read *ἐλεύθαρος*. 184<sub>3</sub>,  
read 420. 213<sub>16</sub>, cf. § 534. 236<sub>14</sub>, *Δεκελῆθεν*, though found in *PRC*, is scarcely  
correct; see § 219, 9. 277<sub>4</sub>, read *τῶντ'*. 281, the reference to foot-note 3  
belongs at the end of l. 2 f. b. [In two Eretrian inscriptions (Ἐφ. ἀρχ.  
1890, 196, 200) we find *σίτηριν, παίριν, ἐπιδημέωριν, συνελευθερώραντι*]. 254<sub>13</sub>,  
read 246 for 245. 307<sub>15</sub> f. b., after and insert *σσ*. 385<sub>16</sub> f. b., *dele* Compounds  
. . . 93. 388<sub>12</sub> f. b., *dele* 1. 475<sub>13</sub> f. b., read *ῥήρεισθαι*. 487, f. n. 3, read  
*Abhandlungen* for *Untersuchungen*. 552<sub>8</sub>, read *ἐθεόρεον*.



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\* \* \* The numbers refer to sections.

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# THE IONIC DIALECT

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## INTRODUCTION.

### *Sources of the Present Investigation.*

SMYTH: *The Vowel System of the Ionic Dialect* in the *Transactions Amer. Philol. Assoc.*  
XX 5-138 (1889).

1.] **Chief Literary Monuments.** Of the lyric poets especial attention has been devoted to those of Ionic blood, in the first instance to the iambographers Archilochos of Thasos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax of Ephesos and Ananios (or Ananias), secondly to the elegists Kallinos of Ephesos, Mimnermos and Xenophanes of Kolophon, Phokylides of Miletos. The dialect of Tyrtaios, Solon, and Theognis has been treated in some detail: Tyrtaios, a Lakonian by adoption, but a representative of the early Elegy as cultivated by a poet not of genuine Ionic stock; Solon, in order to raise the question whether his Muse is Ionic or Old-Attic or a combination of the two; the Megarian Theognis, that we may obtain a survey of the language of the elegy to the end of the sixth century.

The newly discovered fragments of Herodas, though containing some Dorisms, evince the persistence of the dialect of the Ionic iambographers.

Anakreon is the chief native source of information concerning the dialect in melic poetry. Simonides of Keos and the melic poets not of Ionic stock, especially Pindar, have been drawn upon in the discussion of the nature of the epigram, choral ode, &c.

Homeric forms, when of specifically Ionic texture, have been utilized for the purpose of comparing the older with the later dialect.

The didactic epic of Parmenides and Empedokles has but rarely been cited.

All the logographers have been studied, Hekataios of Miletos yielding more fruit than Charon of Lampsakos, Pherekydes of Leros, Xanthos the Lydian, or Hellanikos of Mitylene.

Herodotos has been examined with special reference to the interrelation of the MSS. Without a knowledge of the character of their fluctuations no theory as to the complexion of early Ionic prose deserves a hearing.

For the language of the philosophers the fragments of Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, Diogenes of Apollonia, Melissos of Samos, the *Moralia* of Demokritos of Abdera, and Herakleitos of Ephesos have been investigated.

The following treatises of Hippokrates, as least open to the suspicion of spuriousness, have contributed chiefly to the study of the older medical dialect:—

περὶ ἐπιδημιῶν τὸ πρῶτον.

περὶ ἐπιδημιῶν τὸ τρίτον.

Προγνωστικά.

περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων.

περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων.

περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων.

Κωακαὶ προγνώσεις (perhaps pre-Hippocratic).

The Ἀφορισμοί have been passed by as too full of interpolations. Only occasionally is reference made to treatises of the younger Hippokrateians (περὶ τέχνης, περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου of Polybos, περὶ φνσῶν, περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου, &c.).

Of the pseudo-Ionists, Aretaios, Arrian, and Lukian are our principal sources. A subordinate place is occupied by the supposititious letters of Hippokrates and of the Ionic philosophers. To discover whether the περὶ τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ and the περὶ ἀστρολογίης are the production of the author of the βίων πρᾶσις, was foreign to the immediate purpose of this treatise. On any view they deserve a prominent place in the study of the Ionic Renaissance. Though convinced that the study of the pseudo-Ionists is barren of great results for the restoration of Ionic forms in the texts of the early Ionic prosaists, the importance of the revival of Ionic literature seemed to me sufficient to justify a portrayal of the form assumed by pseudo-Ionism in Aretaios, Arrian and Lukian. I have also placed under contribution the fragments of Abydenos' *Assyrian History*, Uranios, Eusebios (perhaps an imitator of Demokritos), and Eusebios Myndios, that we may realize the more vividly how persistent has been the influence exerted upon later prose by the diction of its creators.

## 2.] The Inscriptions.

The treatises by Bechtel: *Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts* 1887, and *Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre* 1884, have rendered antiquated, so far as material is concerned, Erman *De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto* (Curt. Stud. V 249-310, 1872), and Karsten *De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto* 1882. Besides the inscriptions in Bechtel's collections, I have made use of those in Imhoof-Blumer's *Griechische Münzen*, Head's *Historia Numorum*, and others which have appeared since the publication of Bechtel's first-named work.

So far as seemed advisable, every inscriptional form pertinent to a knowledge of Ionic phonology and inflection has been utilized. Wherever it was necessary to compare the date of any phonetic or inflectional change in Ionic with the date of a similar change in Attic, the latter dialect, in its stone records, has been drawn within the range of view.

Of the epigraphical monuments of the dialect incorporated in Bechtel's collection, there are in all at least fifty antedating the introduction of the Ionic alphabet into Athens at the close of the fifth century. These are equally divided between the sixth and the following century. For the study of the earliest Ionic prose it is unfortunate that no less than eighteen (of the twenty) metrical inscriptions contained in Bechtel's collection fall before the year 400 B.C.; thus materially reducing the number of documents by which the prose of the historians and philosophers may be illustrated.

From the fourth century there are about a dozen inscriptions older than 350 B.C. when the integrity of the dialect is perceptibly weakened by the inroads of Attic. Dialectal forms continue to appear as late as the third century after Christ, though in the latest period almost entirely in proper names.

## 3.] The Grammarians. We possess tractates on Ionic by :

The author of *περὶ διαλέκτων ἐκ τῶν Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ τεχνικῶν*, in Aldus Manutius' *Thesaurus, Cornucopiae, et Horti Adonidis*.

Gregorios of Corinth.

Grammaticus Leidensis,

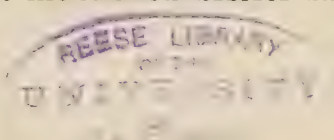
Grammaticus Meermannianus,

Grammaticus Augustanus,

} In Schaefer's edition  
of Gregorios.

Furthermore, excerpts from a Paris and from a Vatican MS. (in Schaefer's edition of Gregorios), and the Birnbaum excerpt in Sturz' *Etymologicum Gudianum*.

On the relation of Gregorios' treatise to the lost work of Johannes Grammaticus or Philoponos, on their sources, and on the interdependence of all the above mentioned briefer sketches, see the introduction to AIOLIC § 8.





Completely lost, or preserved only in part by a process of silent transmission, are the treatises dealing immediately with the Ionic dialect and of a period far anterior to the work of Johannes Philoponos, which falls in the sixth century of our era. Besides the many works on glosses and on dialects which we cannot prove to have discussed either exclusively or mainly the Ionic dialect, there are the following whose titles have come down to us:

Philoxenos of Alexandria *περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ γλωσσῶν*, Trypho *περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ διαλέκτων καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις λυρικοῖς*, and Apollonios Dyskolos *περὶ Ἰάδος*. That the dialect of Eretria received attention is certain not only from Plato, but also from a passage in Athenaios (VII 284 B), where mention is made of the *περὶ διαλέκτων* of Dionysios Iambos, the teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium. Aristophanes in his lexicon to Homer carried on the work which had been begun by Demokritos (*περὶ Ὀμήρου ὀρθοεπείης καὶ περὶ γλωσσέων*) and continued by the popular work of Philetas. Though these Homeric lexicæ dealt rather with studies of the vocabulary of the poet than with the inflectional and morphological aspect of his diction, they may have contained much that was instrumental in defining the position of Old Ionic. Kallimachos compiled a *πίναξ τῶν Δημοκρίτου γλωσσῶν*. In later times there were collections of *λέξεις*, and treatises on Herodoteian vocabulary, *e.g.* Apollonios' *ἐξήγησις τῶν Ἡροδότου γλωσσῶν*.

In like manner side lights must have been cast upon the structure of Hippokratic Ionic by the *τῶν παρ' Ἱπποκράτει λέξεων συγγραφή* of Erotianos, the *τῶν τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους γλωσσῶν ἐξήγησις* of Galen, and by the glossary of Herodotos Lykios. But little seems to have drifted from the numerous commentaries upon Hippokrates into the later grammatical literature. Herodian mentions Hippokrates twice only.

The Homeric glossary of Apio and the similar work of Herodoros (or Heliodoros), both of which were based upon the labours of Aristarchos, proved important sources of information to Hesychios and Eustathios; and show it to be possible that similar, but more strictly phonological, treatises of the best period of grammatical studies may have been placed under contribution by Eustathios, the *Ὀμήρου ἐπιμερισμοί*, &c. The works of later grammarians, for example Johannes Philoponos, Theodosios, Charax, Timotheos and Choireboskos (who wrote a treatise *περὶ διαλέκτων*), are based chiefly upon Herodian, whose observations upon Ionic deal almost exclusively with Homer. It is to be lamented that so much of Trypho's dialectological researches has been engulfed by time. In having an eye for local

colour, Trypho had the preeminent virtue of a dialectologist. Apollonios Dyskolos, so far as we can judge from the treatise on the Pronoun, embraced in his researches the dialect of the Ionic logographers and philosophers, though Homeric forms are the chief point of attraction.

The well-nigh universal failure of ancient grammar to notice the shading of sub-dialectal speech, and its neglect of the existence in the living language<sup>1</sup> of survivals from its dialect life weigh heavily against a dialect covering so great an extent of territory as Ionic. The narrower range of Aiolic forbids the expectation that its minuter variations had attracted the attention of a race of scholars whose dialectological studies were pursued chiefly in connection with literature. In the case of Doric however, apart from the investigations of Trypho into the speech of Rhegion and Syrakuse (which followed in the wake of the study of Ibykos and Theokritos), the dialects of Krete, Lakonia, &c., were deemed of sufficient interest in themselves to invite research.

To the splendour of the Homeric poems; to the general belief of the ancients that Homer was a distinct personality, by birth and residence an Ionian; and to the wealth of grammatical learning brought to the elucidation of his diction by the leaders of the Alexandrian school, is due in great part the fact that the Iliad and the Odyssey overshadow all other monuments of Ionic genius as the repositories of information concerning the Ionic dialect. Though to the rhetoricians of the empire Herodotos was the *ἄριστος κανών* of Ionic, yet both he and the other Ionic prosaists awakened attention too late to be saved from suffering comparative neglect at the hands of the earlier scholars, whose authority was absolute in the view of the later grammarians whose works have been directly transmitted to us.

The result of this supremacy of the Homeric poems in the schools is clear. In almost every case in which we find in the grammarians the unqualified statement that this or that form is Ionic, it does not mean more to the modern dialectologist than that the form in question is Homeric. To such puerilities does this one-sidedness of view lead, that even tmesis, apocope, hyperbaton, &c., are called Ionic. Tzetzes is the chief sinner in this regard.

The value of grammatical literature is not vitiated only by its subserviency, as regards Ionic, to the composite and artificial dialect of Homer and even of Hesiod. Words that are the property of all the dialects, or words that are not Ionic at all

<sup>1</sup> Very rare are such observations as *ἕως νῦν παρ' Ἱωσιν οἱ κολοβοκέρατο. κριοὶ κόλοι λέγονται*, Schol. Ven. A on Π 117.



are stamped as Ionic solely because they happen to occur in a writer whose diction contains Ionisms. Gregory (p. 522) says that Osiris was Ionic for Dionysos. In utilizing the testimonia adduced in this treatise, the considerations here stated should guard us against attributing undue importance to the evidence of even such authorities as Herodian.

In the view of Herodian no word was worthy of discussion unless it was Hellenic, *i.e.* unless it occurred in literature or was used by the cultured classes of his day. All other words were vulgar (*βάρβαρα*). A word was Hellenic, if it occurred in but a single dialect author; a view that was disputed by some of Herodian's contemporaries and predecessors. On the other hand, a word was non-Hellenic if it was the exclusive property of the popular speech, or if it occurred in inscriptions. In all Herodian there are but three references to inscriptions, and these are derived, not from the stones themselves, but from literature. (*Ionic, Doric, Aiolic, &c.*, scarcely ever include non-literary words.) Herodian could not escape meeting with vulgar words in the works on the manners and customs of different parts of Greece, or in the geographers and glossographers, though these sources were rarely employed. But vulgar words need not conform to rule, and even if they do, they are rarely employed in illustration of the principle under discussion. Some grammarians possessed a more catholic spirit than Herodian, who failed to develop the germ of truth in Sokrates' remark (Krat. 409) that Hellenic words could be of barbarian origin. Herodian refused to derive a Hellenic word from one of vulgar source. In studying Herodian's theory of dialectology it must not be overlooked that he thought the language of the epos was not that of an actual dialect. Choïroboskos and Gregory never doubt that Homer is an Ionic author. But Herodian does not refer exclusively to Homer when it is his intention to set forth the Ionic character of a form. See Stephan, *De Herodiani Technici dialectologia*, first part. Cf. note to § 25.

Though the ancient learning increases our knowledge of Ionic by scarcely a single fact that we do not already know from a study of the literary monuments of the dialect, it is fortunately accessible in a form sufficiently early, and thus sufficiently pure, to control the aberrations of pseudo-Ionism.

In the preparation of this volume the testimony of the following ancient grammarians, besides those mentioned in the beginning of § 3, is adduced:—

Trypho, Apollonios Dyskolos, Herodian, Hesychios, Etymologicum Magnum, Etymologicum Gudianum, the Etymologicum of Orion, Theodosios, Choïroboskos, Eustathios, Priscian's Syntax in Maximus Planudes' Greek translation (Bachmann, An. II 105–166), the *Ὅμηρον ἐπιμερισμοί* (Cramer's Anecd. Ox. vol. I), Tzetzes' Exegesis of the Iliad, the minor tractates in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, Parisiensia, in Bekker's and Bachmann's Anecdota, the scholia on Hesiod (quoted according to Gaisford's lines), and the scholia of Venetus A on the Iliad (Dindorf, vol. I and II).

Phavorinus I have passed over, but the pseudo-Drakonian treatise *περὶ μέτρων ποιητικῶν*, dating from 1545-55 and the work of a Greek named Diassorinos, has been quoted here and there for the purpose of showing what views on Ionic were possible under the Renaissance. The Aldine edition was successful in foisting upon Herodotos many non-Ionic forms which tend to reappear in modern editions; and it can be shown that the copyists of the Renaissance have perverted the original reading because of their theories as to the love of Ionic for open vowels. The grammarians are quoted when they say outright that a form is Ionic, not when their statements point merely by implication to such an opinion.

*Geographical Divisions of Ionic.*

4.] It is upon the evidence of the stone records alone that we are justified in assuming a threefold division of the Ionic dialect.

(1) **The Western Ionic of Euboea.**

- A. Chalkis and colonies: Kyme and Neapolis, Rhegion, Terone, Olynthos, Amphipolis, Ainea.
- B. Eretria with its colonies, Mende, Oropos.
- C. Styra.
- D. Kyme.

(2) **Ionic of the Kyklades.**

- A. Naxos with its colony Amorgos (Arkesine or -es, Aigiale)<sup>1</sup>.  
Keos.
- B. Delos.  
Paros with its colonies Thasos, Neapolis in Makedonia, and Pharos.  
Siphnos.
- C. The remaining Kyklades: Andros, Ios, Mykonos.

(3) **Ionic of Asia Minor.** The Ionians of Asia Minor were the only division which in historic times bore the ethnic name 'Ionians.'

A. The Twelve Cities.

- (a) Miletos, and colonies: Prokonessos, Iasos, Leros, Kyzikos, Zeleia, Parion (colonized from Miletos, Erythrai and Paros), Sinope, Pantikapaion, Theodosia, Olbia, Istros, Tomoi, Apollonia, Naukratis<sup>2</sup>.  
Myus (or Myes, cf. Steph. Byz.).  
Priene.

<sup>1</sup> Amorgos was colonized by Naxians, Samians, and Milesians. Inscriptions from Minoa are placed under Samos.

<sup>2</sup> The temple to Apollo was built by Milesians, the Hellenion by settlers from Chios, Teos, Phokaia, Klazomenai, Rhodes, &c. The temple of Hera was the work of Samians.



## (b) Ephesos :

Kolophon and Smyrna (cf. Mimnermos 9).

Teos and colonies : Abdera, Phanagoreia.

Klazomenai.

Phokaia with colonies : Lampsakos, Hyele, Segesta<sup>1</sup>, Massalia.

Inscriptions from Lebedos are wanting.

## (c) Chios and Maroneia :

Erythrai (participated in the founding of Parion).

## (d) Samos and colonies : Minoa in Amorgos, Perinthos, Samothrake, Naukratis, where the Samians erected a temple to Hera.

## B. Ionic cities in Karia :

Halikarnassos. Mylasa. Olymos. Bargylia. Keramos. Aphrodisias. Tralles.

5.] **Western Ionic** has not abandoned the rough breathing. Proper names derived from κλέος agree with the Attic inscriptions of the fifth century in ending in -κλέης, not in -κλήs. -κλήs is the older form upon the stone records of Attika. The genitive of proper names, whose second component part is an *iota* stem, ends in -ίδος, not in -ιός. Herein too Western Ionic is in agreement with Attic. Whether this group had ττ for σσ of Island Ionic and Asiatic Ionic, is doubtful (§ 371).

Until we come into possession of documents of an antiquity sufficient to free their phonetical and inflectional system from the suspicion of Atticism, we are not in a position to hold that there are sharply marked differences in speech between the Chalkidians, Eretrians and Styrians. In the present state of our knowledge Eretrian Ionic seems to possess a more distinct individuality than that of Chalkis or Styra. It alone<sup>2</sup> shows examples of rhotacism, a phenomenon scarcely indigenous in Eretria, though its ultimate provenance is still a matter of dispute.

In Eretria it was more usual than in the Chalkidian colonies to substitute -οι and -ει for final -ωι and -ηι. Neither the Ionic of the Kyklades nor that of Asia Minor shows any tendency to permit this substitution, which comes to light in Western Ionic about 400 B.C. Attic influence, at least so far as -ει is concerned, accelerated the change in Ionic, for in Attic we find well-attested cases about 380 B.C. To the same cause are due the instances of ττ for σσ in Eretria and Styra.

When Western Ionic differs from that of the other divisions,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kinch, *Zeit. f. Num.*, XVI 187; Meister, *B. P. W.* 1890, p. 672, *Philol.* 1891, p. 607.

<sup>2</sup> On Κτηπίδος an Eretrian, Styra 19<sub>438</sub>, see § 331.

its preferences are, with the exception of rhotacism, in the direction of forms of Attic complexion<sup>1</sup>.

Western Ionic alone in the period of its dialect life under the Ionic aristocracies was barren of literary offspring. The princely houses of Chalkis fostered the cultivation of the epos. It was Hesiod's glory to have gained a prize at a contest instituted at the funeral games of a Chalkidian. But whatever store of artistic capacity the Euboians may have received with their Ionic blood, so long as they remained in their Western home, they devoted it in great part to the manufacture of vases or of arms (Alkaios 15). It was only in the colonies sent out from Chalkis<sup>2</sup>, in Leontini, Himera and Rhegion, the homes of Gorgias, Stesichoros, and Ibykos that Ionic genius, engrafting itself upon Doric, gave birth to a literature which it was not allotted to Euboian Ionic unaided to produce. There are indeed not wanting indications that Attic tragedy stood in closer relations to Stesichoros and Ibykos than to Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides.

Two additional points have been emphasized in some quarters as characteristic of Euboian Ionic: the retention of the original  $\tilde{a}$  and the preservation of  $f$ . In § 157 the cases of  $\tilde{a}$  in the Ionic of Styra are submitted to an examination. There is no proof that any quarter of Ionic in a period of dialect autonomy has adopted the Attic  $\tilde{a}$ . The Chalkidian vases with their inconsequent treatment of the dialects ( $\chi\acute{o}\rho\alpha$  C. I. G. 7459,  $\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  7460,  $\Gamma\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\phi}\acute{o}\nu\eta\varsigma$  7582, &c.) are on a plane herein with some of Campanian origin. The digamma in  $\phi\acute{\iota}\omega$ ,  $\omega\phi\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ , and  $\Gamma\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\phi}\acute{o}\nu\eta\varsigma$  is due to the possible mixture of nationalities in Chalkis, as has been shown by Kretschmer in K. Z. XXIX 390.  $\phi\omega\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  and  $\phi\omega\iota$  in the inscription from Rhegion (Bechtel 5 = Rob. I 180) may be ascribed to Doric influence (cf. Thuk. VI 5), since two idioms have contributed their quota to the document in question.

**6.] Ionic of the Kyklades.** In the group consisting of Naxos and Keos we observe that the palaeographic distinction, which seems to denote an original difference in the pronunciation of  $\eta = \text{IE } \tilde{e}$  (written E) and  $\eta = \text{IE } \tilde{a}$  (written  $\Theta$  or H, see § 166), was retained a century longer than was the case in the group formed by Delos, Paros, and Siphnos. But since this variation is merely chronological, and since there are no linguistic data known to us justifying a separation of the Kyklades into two sub-dialects, we may regard the dialect of these islands as one.

<sup>1</sup> The encroachment of isolated Attic forms such as  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Oropos 189, is to be distinguished from the constant displacement of Ionic.  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  occurs in Miletos 1006, perhaps of the fifth century. I have not ventured to constitute the use of  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  a criterion of sub-dialectal differentiation. Asiatic Ionic and the Ionic of the Kyklades have  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ , while Western Ionic has both  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ , a juxtaposition that is found in Homer and in Attic. Cf. § 715.

<sup>2</sup> It may not be inappropriate to notice that Chalkis, preeminently the literary centre of Euböia, was the birthplace of Isaïos and of Lykophron.



Retaining the rough breathing, which is well attested in the case of the Parian Archilochos<sup>1</sup>, the Ionic of the Kyklades thus forms the bridge which leads from Western to Eastern Ionic. It has furthermore -κλῆς not -κλέης, -ιος not -ιδος (§ 5).

7.] **Eastern Ionic** is characterized chiefly by the early displacement of the rough breathing. The evidence of literature confirms to a considerable extent the testimony of the inscriptions, which speak with no uncertain voice against the existence of the *asper* save in compounds. Asiatic Ionic, like that of the Kyklades, has -κλῆς and -ιος (§ 5). Of less importance is the fact, that of the few Ionic examples of -η for -ηι in the dative all are found on the Asiatic mainland.

8.] **Geographical Divisions of the Ancients.** Among the ancients the traces of a geographical and of a chronological division of Ionic refer almost exclusively to the dialect of the mainland of Asia Minor and of the adjacent islands. Euboian Ionic and the Ionic of the Kyklades, which play an important part in the modern classification of the sub-dialects, are, with the exception of a few isolated and unsupported statements of Lesbos and some scattered notices as to Eretrian rhotacism, &c., excluded from the ancient geographical and the chronological division. From the point of view of literature they failed to excite the attention of the grammarians, whose field of observation rarely extended to an examination of local characteristics, and, if so extended, did not enable the critic to shake off his fearfulness in the face of authority<sup>2</sup>. Even if a strongly marked Nesiotic or Euboian Ionic had existed in his time, the mention of either by Herodotos, in the passage where he discusses the speech of Ionia, would not have been imperative. When Euboea comes within the horizon of Herodotos, it is to show that the Abantes took part in the colonization of Ionia by the Ionians<sup>3</sup> (I 146), or to describe the colonies of the Chalkidians and Eretrians (e.g. VIII 46). The Kyklades too are mentioned by Herodotos chiefly with a view to showing that their Ionic colonists came by way of Athens<sup>4</sup>; a theory that was confronted by the imperial power of Athens in the fifth century, with its tendency to dislodge the older legends and to affix to them an Attic

<sup>1</sup> Of the logographer Eudemos of Paros nothing has been preserved.

<sup>2</sup> See § 9, end, *Κάρησος*.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias tells us that a Chian family traced its descent back to the Abantes, under which name the Euboians appear in the *Catalogue of Ships*. The Abantes were Phokians who made Euboea a halting place on the way to Chios. Amphiklos, who led the Hestiaiians from Boiotia, found Abantes in Chios. Strabo has nothing to say of the speech of Euboea except in X 448 (rhotacism).

<sup>4</sup> Siphnos *Ildt.* VIII 48, Keos VIII 46, Naxos *ibid.*

colouring (Hdt. VII 95, IX 106, Thuk. I 12, 4, Isokr. *Pan.* 43, 44, Marm. Par. 27, &c.).

9.] Mention is made of local divisions of Ionic in the following passages :

(1) *Western Ionic.* Thuk. VI 5, of the dialect of Himera : καὶ φωνὴ μὲν μετὰ τῇς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη. Lesb. (An. Ox. IV 270 ff.): οἱ Εὐβοεῖς τοῖς θηλυκοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἄρσενικὰ συνάπτουσιν ἐπίθετα· οἶον 'ἄλδος πολιοῖο.' ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς οὐδετέροις ὀνόμασιν ἄρσενικὰ καὶ θηλυκὰ ἐπίθετα, καὶ μετοχὰς ἄρσενικὰς τε καὶ θηλυκὰς· οἶον, κόριον καλ(λ)ίστη, μειράκιον λέγων.

Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῖς συντασσομένοις δοτικαῖς αἰτιατικὰς πρότερον ἐπιφέρουντες τὰς δοτικὰς συνάπτουσιν· οἶον, Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς· 'Μυρίνην τὴν Ἀμαζονίδα περιβλεψάμενος, ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ τὰς ἄλλας Ἀμαζονίδας μετακαλέσασθαι.'

Χαλκιδεῖς· τὰ ὀριστικὰ τῶν ῥημάτων εἰς μετοχὴν ἀναλύουσι καὶ ὑπαρκτικὸν ῥῆμα, λέγων εἰμί.

Whether the statement: Κυμαίων, τὸ τοῖς ἐνικοῖς ὀνόμασι πληθυντικὰς ἐπάγειν ἐπιφοράς· οἶον, ἡ πύλη ἐκλ(ε)ίσθησαν· συστηματικὰ γὰρ ὄντα πρὸς τὸ νοοῦμενον ἔχει τὴν ἀναφοράν, ὥς καὶ τό, ὥς ἔφασαν ἡ πληθύν, refers to the Ionic Kymaïans is doubtful.

On the ancient witnesses to *rhotacism* in Eretrian, see §§ 331, 332.

An. Bachm. II 200<sub>31</sub> (on Lykophr. *Alex.* 21): οἱ νῦνται ἀπεχώριζον, ἔλυνον—καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπέτρεχον—εὐβοϊκὴ ἢ διάλεκτος· (in the margin βοιωτικὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐσχάζοσαν)<sup>1</sup>.

(2) *Island Ionic.* Whether Lesb. remark (An. Ox. IV 270), that the islanders used the genitive instead of the dative (πλούσιος ἦν χροῦσοῦ), has any special reference to the Ionians of the Kyklades is entirely uncertain.

(3) *Eastern Ionic.* The locus classicus is Hdt. I 142: γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι [οἱ Ἴωνες] νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων.

1. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη· αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοικεῖνται κατὰ ταῦτὰ διαλεγόμενοι σφίσι,

2. αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ, Ἐφεσος, Κολοφών, Λέβεδος, Τέως, Κλαζομεναί, Φώκαια· αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι.

ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἴδρυται, Ἐρυθραί.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tzetz. on Lykophr. 252, Aristophanes in Eust. 1761<sub>30</sub>. For Χαλκιδαικῆς in An. Bachm. II 40<sub>10</sub>, read Χαλκιδικῆς. In Bekk. An. III 1294, these forms are called Chalkedonian (cf. An. Ox. IV 182<sub>19</sub>), doubtless through confusion with Chalkidian, because, on one view, Chalkedon was settled by Chalkidians. These -σαν forms may have been borrowed from Boiotia.



3. Χίοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τὸντὸ διαλέγονται.

4. Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μούνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

Constantin. Porphy. *de Themal.* p. 42 makes the colourless statement: καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Μιλήτου μέχρι τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως, καὶ αὐτῆς Σμύρνης, καὶ Κολοφῶνος, Ἰώνων ἐστὶ κατοικία, οἵτινες τῇ τῶν Ἰώνων διαλέκτῳ χρῶνται. Then he says that from Kolophon to Klazomenai and on the opposite island of Chios we have Aiolie. Our inscriptions have no trace of Aiolism save in Chios. The dialect of the Ephesians is referred to An. Ox. I 19<sup>19</sup> on ἄφαρ: καὶ Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἄφαρ εἰς λέγουσιν, τὸ εὐθέως καὶ ἀσκοπῶς ποιεῖν τι, ἢ φθέγγεσθαι; I 447<sup>18</sup> τὸ σκύβαλον σκύβωλον τῆς Ἐφεσίου (-ων?) διαλέκτου. Schol. on Tzetz. *Chiliad.* 642 in An. Ox. III 375<sup>25</sup>: Βύκκων δὲ ὁ βρύχων, ἦτοι ὁ ὄνος, παρὰ τε Λυδοῖς καὶ τοῖς κατ' Ἐφεσον Ἴωσι λέγεται. βίλλος Hdn. I 158<sup>1</sup>; on ἐσσήν, see § 25, note. The remark of the Gramm. Leidensis § 8: γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῆς μεταπτώσεις δ' is the only trace of acquaintance with the quadrilateral division of Herodotos preserved in any Greek dialectologist.

Lesbonax (An. Ox. IV 270, ff.) Κλαζομενεῖς τὸ πορεύομαι εἰς ἀγῶνα, πορεύομαι σὺν ἀγῶνι φασί.

Κολοφώνιον ἐστὶ τὸ ἔχον τὴν δοτικὴν ἀντὶ γενικῆς<sup>1</sup>. οἶον, τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.

Πειρινθικόν ἐστὶν τὸ τῇ αἰτιατικῇ ἐπιφέρειν εὐθείαν. . . .

Ἰώνων τῶν ἐπὶ Καρίας, τὸ τὰ χαρᾶς καὶ λύπης δηλωτικὰ ῥήματα γενικῇ συντάττειν ἀντὶ δοτικῆς. οἶον, χαίρω τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τὸ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ τῷ προσηγορικῷ ὀνόματι ἄρθρα τιθέναι. οἶον, τὸν Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον. τὸ τιθέναι τοῖς ῥήμασι περι-τ(τ)εύουσιν τὴν ἔχων μετοχὴν. οἶον, σπεύδεις ἔχων.

The Schol. Ven. A on M 20 says Τυραννίων δξύνει τὸ Κάρησος ὡς Παρρασός. οὕτως γὰρ ὑπὸ Κυζικηνῶν ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸν ποταμόν. ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος βαρύνει ὡς Κάνωβος. εἴπομεν δὲ ἐν ἑτέροις ὅτι οὐ πάντως ἐπικρατεῖ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων χρῆσις καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὅποτε περὶ τοῦ Γλισᾶντα (B 504) διελάβομεν, εἶγε Διογέσιος ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους συστέλλειν τὸ ἰ καὶ μὴ περισπᾶν. τό τε Λύκαστος ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ δξύνεσθαι, ἡμῶν ἀναγνωσκόντων βαρυτόνως (B 647). The δημόται at Miletos bore the name γέργηθες, according to Eust. 1433<sup>42</sup>; ζήτρειον was a Chian and Achaian word, Et. M. 411<sup>33</sup>. On Chian υ for ε, see § 155.

### *Sub-Dialects of Eastern Ionic.*

10.] If we apply the criteria of phonology and inflection to the Ionic of the Twelve Cities in the endeavour to test the accuracy

<sup>1</sup> Such observations of the dialectal use of cases occur elsewhere, e.g. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 794, cf. Schol. Ven. A on Ω 58.

of Herodotos' quadrilateral division, we find that the following inscriptional forms have been held to constitute possible mint-marks of the four sub-dialects.

11.] **The Ionic of Miletos.** 1. *ἱέρεω* Olbia C. I. G. 2058 A<sub>23</sub>,<sup>33, 59</sup> = Bechtel 128 (third or second century), Tomoi in Arch.-epigr. Mitth. VI 8, no. 14, has been taken as a gen. of *ἱερής*, also the Arkado-Kyprian form of *ἱερεύς*. *ἱερέω* is, on this view, from \**ἱερῆο*. To the gen. *ἱερέω* in the dialect of a colony of Miletos we have the nominative *ἱερέως* in Miletos itself (Bechtel 100<sub>4</sub>). Another explanation of the form *ἱέρεως* (*sic*) has been put forward by Dittenberger (*Syll.* no. 376), who maintains that in the same manner as *ἡμιέκτεων* is derived from *έκτεύς*, so is *ἀρχιέρεως* derived from *ἱερεύς*; and that from *ἀρχιέρεως* the nom. *ἱέρεως* could be abstracted. Cf. § 477.

2. *λάψεται* Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>, and *κατελάφθη* 113<sub>7</sub> in Zeleia which in all probability was settled by Milesians. Cf. § 130.

3. *ῶρη* (not *ῶρή*) Miletos 100<sub>2</sub>.<sup>5, 6</sup> has been held to stand for *οὔρη*. Cf. Merry and Schol. H. Q. on *ἄωροι* μ 89: *Ἀρίσταρχος ἀκόλους· τοὺς γὰρ Ἴωνας λέγειν φασὶ τὴν κωλῆν ῶρην καὶ ὥραιαν*<sup>1</sup>. It is noteworthy that in no. 100 we have *κωλῆν* l. 4. The comparison of *ῶρη* with *οὔρη*, upon which this peculiarity of the Milesian has been based, is defective. *οὔρη* is derived from *ὄρσ-* (O. H. G. *ars*), while *ῶρη* = *ῶρη* is probably to be connected with Lat. *sūra* (so Bechtel). A Milesian *ω* for *ου* of the other sub-dialects is at least not proven.

4. *ἀτε[λ]είην* Kyzikos 108 B<sub>3</sub>, an exceedingly corrupt archaistic inscription, scarcely older than the first century B.C., represents an unsuccessful attempt at reviving the older document 108 A; and is hence worthless as a source of information concerning sub-dialectal differentiations. Though we have elsewhere no trace of *ἀτελείη* save in Hdt., all the inscriptions, even Eryth. 199<sub>6</sub> (after 394 B.C.), having the Attic *ἀτέλεια*, there is no reason for assuming that the idiom of Miletos or any other quarter of Ionic territory had originally rejected the Ionic ending in this word.

5. *βησιλέως*, quoted by Karsten (*De titulorum Ionic. dialecto* p. 18) from a Milesian inscription edited by Rayet in the *Revue Arch.* XXVIII 109, and proclaimed as a peculiarity of Karian Ionic, is nullified by *βασιλεύς* Mil. 100<sub>5</sub>. *βησιλέως* is indefensible, and nothing more than an orthographical slip, the stone having BHBIAEΩΣ.

12.] **Lydian Ionic** (Ephesos, &c.). The absence of inscriptional testimony of the fifth century from other portions of the territory

<sup>1</sup> See also Eustath. 1715<sub>25</sub>.



of the Twelve Cities renders valueless the claim that in *δυνάμει*, Teos 156 B 31, we have an instance of an inflectional peculiarity of 'Lydian' Ionic. See § 488. The dialect of Teos alone supports a form *δέχομαι* (156 B 20, also in Amphipolis, where it may be Attic). The unaspirated form is known to us solely from the literary monuments. On *ἐσσήν*, an Ephesian title, see § 25, note.

13.] **The Ionic of Chios-Erythrai.** 1. On the basis of *Δεονῆς*, Maroneia 196, 1, and *Δεονῦδος*, Eryth. 198, the claim has been set up that this sub-dialect has *ε* for *ι* in this name. We have however *Δεύρυσος* in Anakr. 2<sub>11</sub> 11 and ΔΕΟ, probably for *Δεορυσᾶδος*, in Abdera 163, 1, a colony of Teos. This argument is as baseless as would be the contention that, on account of *Διενύσῳι*, Amorgos 31, Island Ionic had *ε* for *ο*.

2. Gen. in *-ευ* in the *Â* declension, *Ἀρ]χηγέτευ* Eryth. 201, narrow side l. 6, dating from the fourth century. Other examples, Eryth. 206 A 33, B 9, C 35, are to be placed in the first quarter of the following century. This form is however not confined to Chios-Erythrai, since we have *Πυθεῦ* Smyrna 153<sub>25</sub>.

3. Gen. in *-ω* in the *Â* decl. (*Ἀννικῶ* 174 C 13, *Ἀσίω* C 27, *Πυθῶ* D 4, *Λυσῶ* D 17). But in Chios we have also *-εω*, and the *-ω* forms recur in Halik. *e.g.* 240 A 38, B 3, and, when *iota* precedes, also in Abdera 163, 16.

4. *πόλεως* Chios 174 A 13, B 12, a form found also in Xenophanes 2<sub>9</sub>, 22. Cf. § 485.

5. *πρήχμα* Chios 174 B 17-18. But the variant *μυριχμένας* Archil. 30 (in *B*) cannot belong to a Chian sub-dialect. Cf. also *ἐσμυριγμέναι* *μεμυρισμέναι* in Hesychios.

6. *ἀνγρίθεντοι* Chios 174 B 25-26, whereas *ἀνερίθεντος* is the usual form (cf. C. I. G. 267<sub>145</sub>, 2693 D 5). The absence of the word from any other quarter of the Ionic of the mainland forbids any argument on the question.

7. *ἐσλῆς* Chios 175<sub>1</sub> (epigr.) may well be a form known to other quarters of the mainland. The absence of the *θ* is attested in Arkesine 35, and in Aiolie and Doric. There is no reason for holding it to be one of the Aiolisms of Chian Ionic.

8. Subjunctives in *-ει* instead of *-ηι*: *ποιήσει* Chios 174 A 12. The same proto-Hellenic termination comes to light in Teos and Ephesos.

9. Subjunctives in *-ωισι* (*λάβωισιν* Chios 174 B 16-17) and in *-οισι* (*πρήξοισιν* 174 A 16-17, 20) are found in Chios alone. Since, however, they are alien to the character of Ionic they must be regarded as adventitious Aiolisms.

10. The genitives of the numerals; *δέκων* Chios 174 D 14, *τεσσ[ερα]κ[ό]ντων* 174 C 16, *πεντηκόντων* 174 D 8, *ἐνενηκόντων* C 26. These genitives are, like the subjunctives in *-ωισι* and

-οισι, Aiolic loan-forms and not merely local variations of normal Ionic.

See also below § 17, for points of contact between Chios and Erythrai.

14.] **The Ionic of Samos.** δημιουργός for δημιουργός 220<sub>29</sub>. Cf. αλοργή 220<sub>16</sub> and other forms § 297 III A, where it is shown that one and the same dialect may possess both δημιουργός and δημιουργός. Other divisions of the Ionic of the mainland may thus have had the -οργός forms.

Πριηλῆι or Πριηνῆι, Samos 212, is the only example of -ηι from an ην stem upon Ionic soil.

15.] **Testimony of literature as to the existence of sub-dialects in Ionia.** If we question the Ionic literature of the Asiatic mainland, the fragments of Kallinos and Hipponax of Ephesos, of Xenophanes and Mimnermos of Kolophon, and the remains of the prose writers whose birthplace was Miletos, we discover no trace whatsoever pointing to a differentiation in phonology and in inflection between the sub-divisions of Ionic territory. Ionic literature, at least in its extant condition, refuses to own the influence, save in the scantiest measure, of local form and pressure. Hipponax must have reckoned upon an ephemeral effect. In him we might think to find indications of Lydian phonology and inflection as well as words picked from the slums of Ephesos or Klazomenai<sup>1</sup>. Yet his Billingsgate is inflected after the most orthodox Ionic fashion.

The dominance of Ionic in the literary world of Hellas must at an early date have proved an insuperable bar to the admission into literature of word-forms not in accordance with the canons of a catholic taste. Had the epos pressed with less weight upon the development of Ionic lyric genius; had Ionia been the home of a spontaneous and individual melic poetry unaffected by the advent of Attic tragedy; and had Ionia been spared the fall of Miletos with the ultimate stagnation of its political and literary aspirations attendant upon that disaster, then and then only might we with reason have indulged the hope of discovering in the monuments of Ionic literature some of those mint-marks of sub-dialectal differentiation which can scarcely have failed to exist in that long stretch of territory, extending from the Aiolis to the Karpathian Sea, which had fallen under Ionic sway.

16.] It is then to the inscriptions as a court of last appeal that we must turn in the endeavour to test the accuracy of the

<sup>1</sup> The diction of Hipponax excited the attention of the grammarians only less instantly than did that of Herodotos. Cf. Herodian II 282<sub>7</sub> = Et. M. 204<sub>28</sub>, βόλιτον βόλβιτον δὲ Ἴωνες, οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἰππῶναξ, and see Stephan *De Herodiani Technici dialectologia*, p. 23. On Lydian vocables in Hipponax see § 44.



Herodoteian, or of any other, system of sub-division. Owing to the paucity of material at command, the evidence of the very few phenomena, which seem to point in the direction of sub-dialectal differences, is vitiated by the fact that it largely rests upon the argument from silence. By far the larger portion of the stone records represent, not the easy flow of the dialect of the people in its unconstrained simplicity, but an official Ionic, which, though perhaps not as formal as the decrees of some non-Ionic states, is nevertheless impatient of the *lingua rustica*. The fate of Ionia in ancient and mediaeval times, its exposure to the political influence of Persia on the one hand, and, on the other, to the sway in the domain of language exercised by Athens, have alike contributed to the uprooting of the idiom of the soil. Of all the phonetic and inflectional phenomena presented above there are but few which are sufficiently characteristic to deserve the dignity of being accounted criteria of sub-dialectal difference.

These are the forms of Aiolic texture in Chios, and certain peculiarities of the dialect of Miletos. Is this scanty evidence corroborated by other testimony?

17.] **Dialect of Chios-Erythrai.** The only possible ground for admitting the existence of a sub-dialect of Chios-Erythrai is the presence of Aiolism. In § 13 we have seen that the sub-junctive terminations *-ωισι(ν)* and *-οισι(ν)*, and the genitives of the numerals 10, 40, 50, 90 have been enfranchised in Chian Ionic. Other traces of Aiolism are as follows. The name of the highest mountain in Chios is *Πελινναῖον*, though Meineke in Strabo XIV 645 edits *Πελινναῖον*. That the form with the geminated nasal is correct is evident from *Πέλινα*, name of a city in Hestiaiotes (*Catalogue Brit. Mus. Coins, Thessaly*, 38). *Βόλισσος*, name of a city on the west coast of Chios mentioned by Thuk. VIII 24, 3, was by some regarded as Aiolic. See Steph. Byz.

All these Aiolisms are Chian. In Erythrai we have the epic and Aiolic *ἀργειρόν* in *Ἀργειρόν* mentioned by Strabo XIV 645 (*ἄκρα τῆς Ἐρυθραίας*). The geographical extension of this name of a promontory is seen by its occurrence in the Troad, Lesbos, and Sicily. *Ἀργειροῦσσαι* is supported by a good MS. Thuk. VIII 101, 2. An *ἀργειρός* appears never to have come into vogue.

From the point of view of phonology the links between Chian and Erythraian Ionic are exceedingly weak. Names of places, unless bearing the distinct impress of a dialect and agreement in vocabulary or in cult, prove but little in the case of contiguous localities. With *Καύκασα*, name of a harbour of Chios, *Καυκασέ[α]*s upon a recently discovered Chian inscription

(*Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.* 1889, p. 1195), we may compare Apollo *Καυκασεύς* and Artemis *Καυκασίς*, Eryth. 206 A 19. *Κοῖλα* appears to have been a locality in both Chios and Erythrai (Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγ Κοίλοις 206 B 29). Dittenberger has suggested (*Jenaer Litt.-Zeit.* 1877, p. 569) that the *χέλληστος* à *Ἐρυθραί[ων]* C. I. G. 2168 B = C. D. I. 278 may point to a closer connection between Aiolic and Chio-Erythraian. Both the dialect of Chios (183 A 46) and that of Erythrai (201<sup>27</sup>) have retained the old word *οῖη* *village*<sup>1</sup>, one of those hidden treasures which are continually forcing their way upwards in the bosom of the earth in order to reach the light, and whose possession by any one sub-dialect can never be proven. To the joint possession of this word by the dialects of Chios and Erythrai a fictitious importance may easily be attached. *ἄδος* was known solely through a passage in Hipponax and an Hesychian gloss, until it appeared in an inscription from Halikarnassos.

Until there are discovered prose monuments of the Ionic of Erythrai equalling in antiquity the Chian document no. 174, which dates back to the fifth century, we must remain in ignorance as to whether the bond which united Chian and Erythraian according to Herodotos was or was not the presence of an Aiolic element. *πεντήκοντα* and *τριάκοντα*, each in combination with a genitive, in Eryth. 202<sup>16, 17</sup> dating from about 350 B.C., do not disprove the existence of an Aiolic ingredient in Erythraian.

Roehl (I. G. A. no. 381) noticed that *λάβωσιν* and *πρήξουσιν* were not Ionic; Schulze, *Hermes* XX 393, regarded as a matter of chance the agreement between *λάβωσιν* and Aiolic forms in *-ωσιν*. Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 110, remarked that Chios, so far from being originally Ionic, was Ionized only at a tolerably late period. He might have noticed the observation of Pausanias VII 4, 10: οὐ μέντοι ἐκείνῳ γε εἴρηκε (Ion of Chios) καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν Χῖοι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἴωνας. Though a colony of the Abantes of Euboia (see above § 8), Chios must have contained both Aioliens and Ionians, and have become definitively Ionic under the pressure exercised by Miletos and the Panionion. It is incorrect to imagine that Chios was first Aiolic, then Ionic. The dialect must have been mixed at a very early period.

**18.] Dialect of Miletos.** Upon such a weak foundation as the possession of *ἰέρεως*, gen. *ἰέρεω* and *λάψεται*, *κατελάφθη* it is futile to erect a Milesian dialect. And yet this is the sole evidence to be extracted from the inscriptions. *ἰέρεως* was Attic as we learn from the scholiast on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. An. p. 1197, and if Attic, why not Samian as well as Milesian?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *οἰαιτᾶν* *κωμητῶν*. *οἶαι γὰρ αἱ κῶμαι* Hesych., Hdn. I 302<sub>9</sub>. Cf. Attic Ὀα, Ὠα, an Attic deme of the tribe of Pandionis; Ὀη (Ὀίηθεν), a deme of Oineis. See KYPRIAN § 38.



The mere fact that Herodotos has traces of the theme λαβ where we should expect λαμβ (but cf. § 130), possibly of *ιέρως* for *ιερεύς* or *ιρεύς* (§ 477), or that *δασέα* is Milesian (§ 167), cannot lead to the belief that the diction of a native of Halikarnassos was Milesian. That the language of Herodotos should have been the Ionic of his native city, which early in the fifth century abandoned Doric for Ionic, at least in its state-documents, or that it should have been Samian Ionic, was impossible in view of the overshadowing influence of Miletos. If any sub-dialect was elevated by the early prose writers to a position of supremacy in literature, a Tuscan amid less polished idioms, there can be no question that it was that of Miletos.

The influence of Miletos upon the pan-Ionic *πανήγυρις* established the orthodox creed that none should be regarded as genuine Ionians save those who accepted Kodrids as their oikists. Phokaia had to purchase admission to the Ionic league at the price of Kodrid rule. At Miletos were born Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Kadmos, Dionysios and Hekataios. Pherekydes came from the neighbouring Leros. Prokonnessos, the home of Bion and Deiochos, and Lampsakos, whence came Charon, were both colonies of Miletos. Phokylides has the Milesians in mind when he says:—

πολλοί τοι δοκέουσι σαόφρονες ἔμμεναι ἄνδρες,  
σὺν κόσμῳ στείχοντες, ἐλαφρόνοοί περ ἐόντες.

Demodokos levels his blow at them:—

Μιλήσιοι ἀξύνετοι μὲν  
οὐκ εἰσί, δρῶσιν δ' οἷά περ ἀξύνετοι.

Anakreon wrote before the Ionic Revolt:—

πάλαι κοτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι.

In the struggle of the two<sup>1</sup> Ionic alphabets for mastery that of Miletos gained the day as early as the sixth century, and spread in course of time over all Ionia. The so-called 'Ionic' alphabet is in reality the alphabet of the chief city of Ionia. In the field of numismatics we find that the electrum staters of the Milesian standard were in vogue in the sixth century among Ionians not connected with Miletos by colonial ties<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Hirschfeld *Rhein. Mus.* XLIV p. 467, who supposes the two groups to have been developed by the eighth century and that Ω was added by the Milesians by the seventh century at the latest.

<sup>2</sup> To the later Greeks Miletos was naturally the centre of Ionic civilization. Herakleides Pontikos calls the Milesians the representatives of the Ionic race. In discussing the question of colonization and the transference of the mother dialect to the colony, Miletos is the example chosen by the grammarians to represent Ionic. See An. Ox. IV 423<sub>5</sub> = Choirob. 75<sup>1</sup><sub>15</sub>, and also Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 1075.

The origin of an artistic vehicle of expression in Ionia must be sought in a territory, whose political supremacy and whose position as the rallying point of intellectual activity rendered it capable of becoming the dictator in the development of a literary dialect. The idiom of this locality, freeing itself, as the representative of the national culture, from the bondage of the less polished local usages, might well in time become the organ of the new prose literature. No city of Ionia can advance so cogent a claim to be regarded as the starting-point and home of this new literature as Miletos. The dialect of its cultured classes was as essential a foundation for the literary dialect of Ionia as was that of the cultured Athenians for the literary dialect of Attika.

While it is tolerably certain therefore that the language of the early logographers, more local in tone than that of Herodotos, was the idiom of their native city, it may not be a baseless theory to hold that the story of the downfall of Ionia was told by Herodotos in the dialect of a city which was as much the eye of Ionia as Athens was of Greece. If we find in the development of Greek literature the operation of a law of Hellenic art, whereby the language of the original home left its impress upon any species of artistic composition, we shall be loath to deny that Herodotos may have followed in the main the norm established by his predecessors.

19.] Whatever probability may be attached on literary grounds to the *a priori* assumption that of the four sub-dialects mentioned by Herodotos, one at least—that of Miletos—actually existed, it is idle to disguise the fact that it is impossible to prove Herodotos or his predecessors to have made use of that variety, or to demonstrate its existence on the lines of difference in phonetics and in inflection. With the materials at present under our control, we are unable to cherish the hope of showing that there existed any clearly stamped sub-dialectal differences in the traditional quarters of Ionic. In the case of Chios only we have found that there is a stratum of Aiolic forms of sufficient authority to warrant our setting apart Chian Ionic as provided with the requisites of sub-dialectal differentiation. Erythraian Ionic, so far as we know its structure at the present day, presents too little Aiolic colouring to admit of being classed in the same category as Chian.

20.] Now if Herodotos' quadrilateral division is based upon the modern assumption that the only satisfactory tests of dialect colouring are yielded by phonology and by schemes of inflection, the historian would seem to err when he says that the language of Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, and Phokaia



is 'totally different' from that of Miletos, Myus and Priene. If we grant that the evidence might be increased by later discoveries, we are nevertheless at present in possession of data sufficient to warrant the conclusion that there was no radical difference, at least in the inflections, between the Ionic of Lydia and that of Karia. The inflections in the monuments discovered outside of the territory embraced by the Ionic Dodekapolis cannot be said to vary in any essential feature from those current among the original Ionic cities. Literary and inscriptional monuments unite in proclaiming the fact that Ionic does not offer such marks of dialect differentiation as meet us in the investigation of other dialects, both those of wider and those of narrower geographical extension.

21.] But does the delimitation of Herodotos rest upon the modern conception that phonology and inflection determine dialect character? His system of division would assume a totally different complexion, and at the same time lose much of its apparent value, if he held that differences in vocabulary constituted criteria of sub-dialectal differentiation, and that the presence of sporadic loan-words from contiguous speech-centres gave to a dialect its peculiar colour. On this view, which is held to have been that of the historian by such eminent dialectologists as Kirchhoff and Bechtel, Herodotos' second *τρόπος* would be an Ionic interfused with Lydian, such as Hipponax' *βεβρός* and *κονίσκε*<sup>1</sup>. The Ionic of Miletos, Priene, &c., would then contain an admixture of Karian words<sup>2</sup>, and the Ionic of Chios-Erythrai be interpenetrated with Aiolisms; while the dialect of Samos alone would represent uncontaminated Ionism<sup>3</sup>.

Apart from the intrinsic probability or improbability of the view that Herodotos' theory of the nature of dialect differences was different from that now in vogue, we know of no Karian word (not a proper name) adopted either by the Milesian folk-dialect or by literature. If, as seems probable, Karian belongs to the Indo-European family, there is no trace in any Ionic word of the adoption of a Karian deaspiration of I. E. *gh*, *dh*, and *bh*, a deaspiration which Karian seems to possess in common with

<sup>1</sup> The ancient grammarians rarely cite Lydian words or Lydian usage of Hellenic words. Cf. Eust. 1082<sub>34</sub> (*ἀγνεῶν = πορνείον*) and §§ 9, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Karian was not an ill-sounding language according to Strabo (XIV 662), who cites Philip, author of *Καρικά*, to the effect that it adopted many Hellenic words.

<sup>3</sup> No coincidences between the language of Hdt. and that of Samos (*e.g.* *ἰποργίαι* Hdt. V 83, Sam. *ἀλοργά* 220<sub>6</sub>) suffice to rehabilitate Giese's view, exploded half a century ago, that the New Ionic of the historian was that of Samos. It is noteworthy, however, that Giese defended the proposition that the Ionic of Samos was 'less mixed' than that of Lydia. (*Der aeolische Dialekt* pp. 152, 153).

Balto-Slavonic; nor do any of the phenomena which indicate that Lydian followed a different path from that followed by Hellenic in its treatment of I. E. sounds occur in Ionic.

22.] The rhetoricians and dialectologists of antiquity did not, it is true, draw with sufficient precision the line between vocabulary and style on the one hand, and phonetics and inflection on the other, as dialectal standards. The rhetoricians, especially Hermogenes, believed that the ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων was the chief standard to be applied in the criticism of the dialect of the Ionic prose writers. The ancient conception of ποικιλία, of the difference between 'pure' and 'mixed' Ionic, and in part the confusion between Ἴωνικῶς and ποιητικῶς, have their root in the belief that vocabulary and style are the mint-marks of a dialect<sup>1</sup>.

Under the influence of sources in which the theories of the rhetoricians are visible, Gregory of Corinth is not infrequently led into quoting a word as Ionic, not because of its Ionic complexion, but because of its occurrence in an Ionic author (cf. § 79 ff. and above § 3). But if the grammarians of greater calibre, and in the main even such *magistelli* as Gregory, do not lose sight of the fact that phonetic and inflectional changes are the essential points to be held in view, it must give us pause before we assume that Herodotos, whose brain was not befogged by the canons of the rhetoricians, should have been completely in the dark. The merest boor, who says of a visitor from another dialect district that he does not speak 'correctly,' refers, not to the choice of words, but to the variations in sound and inflection which stamp the stranger as less cultivated in his estimation. Herodotos' elder contemporary Aischylos saw clearly enough what constituted dialect speech. In the Choeph. v. 563 Orestes says:—

ἄμφω δὲ φωνὴν ἥσομεν Παρνησιίδα  
γλώσσης αὐτῇν Φωκίδος μιμουμένω.

And yet in the face, not only of the evidence of literature and inscriptions, but also of the distinct statement of Herodotos as to the complete difference in character between the speech of Miletos and that of Ephesos, it is difficult to arrive at any other conclusion than that the presence of Karian and of Lydian words affixed to two of the *τρόποι* their distinctive character. It may not, however, be over-bold to maintain that, inasmuch as the exact

<sup>1</sup> The preeminent position occupied by vocabulary in the rhetorical studies of the Hadrianic age is evident from the attitude of Lukian in his critical remarks on Thukydides. See below, § 25, note, for examples of the study of Ionic vocabulary.



scale of pronunciation<sup>1</sup> current in different quarters of Ionia is involved in obscurity; inasmuch as the laws of contraction and crasis are treated with a freedom sufficient to yield varying results; inasmuch as our inscriptional material presents not a single instance of the occurrence of  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  and congeners, of  $\kappa$  for  $\pi$  in  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ , &c.—distinctive features separating Ionic from all other dialects—and since we are confronted, even in the few epigraphical documents at present known, with isolated phenomena whose wider extension cannot be disproved; it may not, I say, be over-bold to assume that some of these matters played a part in the system of sub-dialect division which has been handed down to us by an Ionian. The student of the Greek dialects has always to bear in mind the fact, too often neglected, that contemporaneous evidence is of a peculiar value. Its conclusions may be based upon shadings of vowel and consonantal sound too elusive to warrant graphical representation. Nor can it be emphasized too strongly that the different sections of Greece assumed very different attitudes towards the graphical representation of the sounds of their dialects. In those dialects which had developed a literature at a very early period we find a thorough-going objection to phonetic spelling; while in others, subject to the control of scarcely any literary monuments (as Boiotian), or none at all (as Eleian or Arkadian), we find, even in the official documents, the widest divergence from the form adopted by the language elsewhere. If the dialectologist of future generations, endeavouring to establish dialectal divisions of the speech of England or America, or seeking to mark the differences between English and American, or German and Austrian, or Swiss pronunciation, had a material as limited as the Ionic material in our possession, could he by any possibility succeed in his attempt? The Herodoteian quadrilateral division, if it deserves any recognition at the hands of modern dialectologists, must be regarded as a division based upon observation of the distribution of phonetical and inflectional phenomena. If it is false, we are for the present at least unable to demonstrate the existence of any other.

Bechtel has suggested<sup>2</sup> that augmented inscriptional material may ultimately enable us to dispose the sub-dialects of Ionia as follows:—(1) *South Ionic* (Miletos, Ephesos<sup>3</sup>, Samos), free from the admixture of any Hellenic dialect. (2) *North Ionic* (Chios), with Aiolic ingredients. (3) *Halikarnassian*

<sup>1</sup> That the pronunciation of  $\sigma\sigma$ , for example, was not uniform, may be inferred from the  $\tau = \sigma\sigma$  in Halikarnassos (238<sub>2</sub>), Mesembria (Rob. I, § 75), Teos (? Bechtel 156 B 23), and the interrelation between  $\sigma\sigma$  and  $\tau\tau$  in the allied Attic dialect.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Inschriften d. ion. Dial.* p. vii.

<sup>3</sup> The Aiolic  $\tau\rho\iota\omega\iota\sigma\iota$  in Hipponax 51 is a puzzle if the speech of Ephesos is pure Ionic.



*Ionic*, with Doric ingredients. Without further evidence, so tentative a scheme, though plausible in itself, can scarcely be adopted. As yet we have no inscription that might represent the third division<sup>1</sup>.

*Chronological Divisions of Ionic.*

23.] The actual life of the Ionic dialect begins in its earliest ascertainable form with the Homeric epos and ends languidly in the second<sup>2</sup> or third century after Christ, though its artificial life was prolonged by the canons of literary tradition to a period considerably later. The retention of that *η* which is specifically Ionic, the genitive in *-ιος* from stems in *iota*, and the non-contraction, at least in writing, of some forms of the adjectives of material in *-εος*, were the most carefully guarded heirlooms of the dialect. Their preservation in inscriptions in the latest period of its existence is due solely to the conservatism of the lapidary style.

From about the middle of the fourth century before Christ the history of Ionic is a history of the gradual displacement of the dialect due to the vigour of its rival Attic. (In the fourth century Aiolic could scarcely hold its own against the intruder which was sapping the strength of Ionic, and in the preceding century the name Aiolian is merged in that of Ionian in the public documents of Athens.) Though in the detailed examination of the dialect care will be taken to delineate its history as a living idiom, from the time it first encountered the strong hand of Attic till its final extinction, our interest in the life of the dialect is necessarily centered in the period when it was a controlling force in the development of Greek literature. Ionic was the dialect of the literary world<sup>3</sup> from at least the eighth century until it was dislodged from its commanding position by the dialect of Athens. Ionic was in all probability the official medium of communication adopted by the semi-Hellenic world of Makedonia and by the barbarian courts of Persia and Egypt<sup>4</sup>. By the end of the fourth century

<sup>1</sup> Ἀλικαρνα(εω)ν Becht. Halik. 238<sub>2</sub> = Rob. 145<sub>2</sub> is the only possible trace, and that in a proper name, of Doric *ā*. The same inscription has Ἀλικαρνησσόν l. 41. In a Vienna papyrus (*Philologus* XLI 746 ff.) of the fourth century B.C. we find (l. 3) ταῦτοσαντοῦ, which suggests the possibility of the writer being a Dorian from Halikarnassos (cf. Ἀρτεμισίη in l. 1). Kretschmer K. Z. XXX 572 suggests that Herodotos' ἄμπωτις is a loan form from Doric. Cf. § 715.

<sup>2</sup> Lukian, however (XXXIX 15), says of the language of a woman from Smyrna that it was καθαρῶς Ἰωνικόν. Cf. XIV 13-15, XXI 1, XXV 16 (Tauch.), and Lobeck *Aglaoph.* II 997 ff., Tatian *adv. Graec.* p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> The Ionisms of the supposititious letters of Pittakos indicate the belief of the ancients that Ionic was the literary language before Attic.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the spurious letters of Artaxerxes and Amasis.

Attic had become the language of Philip, Alexander, and Antipater in their state letters (Cauer no. 430). Until the rise of Attic, every creative effort of Greek thought, save the Doric choral ode and the Aiolic love and drinking song, found expression in a dialect that was largely, if not wholly, Ionic. The earlier Aiolic epos lost its outlines as it merged into the Ionic poem under the hands of the bards, whose evanescent personalities unite under the name of Homer; the elegy, conscious of its source, did not disclaim its Ionic origin under the hands of Theognis or other non-Ionians; the lampoon was impatient of the admixture of a non-Ionic element. Ionic was the language of science, philosophy, and history till almost the end of the fifth century. All who would appeal through the medium of prose to be heard in the world of Hellenic culture were compelled to write in Ionic, no matter whether their native city was Kos, Mitylene, Pergamon, Syrakuse or Rhegion. Just so in the early period of Teutonic literature, Hartmann, Wolfram and other poets used the tempered Bavarian dialect though they came from different quarters of Germany. At the period when the power of Ionic was most autocratic, Doric prose was still in swaddling-clothes which it was destined never to effectually cast off, and Attic prose did not exist. But by the time that her alphabet was becoming universally enfranchised throughout Greece, Ionia was effete. When the Renaissance of the language of Herodotos and Hippokrates came with the Hellene-loving Hadrian, Ionic fell into the hands of Kappadokians, Bithynians or Syrians, who adopted it because of the fine archaic flavour it imparted or because it had become the technical vehicle of expression for the medical guild. Native Ionians, caring nothing for the rehabilitation of their mother tongue, wrote in the *κοινή*.

The creation of an idea, even in the narrower sphere of dialect life, is attended by subsequent exhaustion or paralysis. When Ionic developed a prose literature, it had reached the last effort of an energy which for three centuries had been continuously creative. But, as if in compensation for the loss of its dominant position in literature, we find that now the dialect is widening the area of its influence. When the genius of the Ionic people, together with its liberties, was extinguished, and when in its home the dialect was succumbing more and more to the intrusion of Attic, we discover that other dialects are more and more displaying a tendency to adopt forms of Ionic colouring. Notably is this the case in respect of *ευ* for *εο* in Doric idioms. In the third century other Ionisms are found in Kos. But the ripple which then scattered memorials of Ionic upon Doric and Aiolic shores, only followed in the wake of that more vigorous wave which carried Attic forms into a position from which they could



not be dislodged by the expiring efforts of dialect life. Ionic contributed a not inconsiderable contingent of forms and also of vocabulary to the κοινή. But it is as imprudent to claim that the κοινή is nothing more than a vulgar Ionic, carried throughout the world by the Ionians, the greatest of Greek colonists, and afterwards elevated to the rank of an organ of literature<sup>1</sup>, as it is ill-advised to give undivided attention to Photios<sup>2</sup> when he tells us that Ionic was Attic which had lost its ancestral flavour (τῆς διαλέκτου τὸ πάτριον) from contact with barbarians.

24.] The ancient grammarians divided Ionic<sup>3</sup>, from the point of view of its appearance in literature, into ἡ ἀρχαία Ἰᾶς and ἡ νεωτέρα or μεταγενεστέρα Ἰᾶς. A two-fold division of this nature was generally adopted in antiquity in the case of the other dialects.

ἀρχαία Ἰᾶς connoted in the opinion of the ancients either (1) the dialect of the time of Homer, or (2) that of the period of the Ionian migration eastwards while the colonies were founding under Kodrid rule (Joh. Gram. 242 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαία Ἰᾶς μετέπεσε παρὰ τὴν τῶν κατοικούντων παρατροπήν, διέμεινε δὲ ἕως ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων, ὅτε ἐποιήσαντο Ἴωνες τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ διεσπάρησαν εἰς πλείονας τόπους, and so with slight verbal changes Greg. Korinth. p. 490). On this second view Old Ionic does not differ from Old Attic; which was the opinion of Strabo VII 333: τούτων (διαλ.) δ' αὐτῶν τεττάρων οὐσῶν τὴν μὲν Ἰάδα τῇ παλαιᾷ Ἀθίδι τὴν αὐτὴν φαρμέν (καὶ γὰρ Ἴωνες ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τότε Ἀττικοί, καὶ ἐκείθεν εἰσιν οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικήσαντες Ἴωνες καὶ χρησάμενοι τῇ νῦν λεγομένῃ γλώττῃ Ἰάδι)<sup>4</sup>. See below § 71,

<sup>1</sup> Thus Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Verhandl. deutsch. Phil.* 1878, p. 40. The κοινή adopted not only words whose use had been confined to Ionic writers, but forms which bear marks of Ionic phonetics, e.g. shifting of aspiration, as κυθριδίσις in Clem. Alex., κυθρογαίλους in Josephos. Cf. Ἰαστί· Ἑλληνιστί, Hesych. The expression Ἰᾶς κοινή, in which, according to a view of some scholiasts, Theokritos XII and XXII are composed, is unique. It is unknown as a division of Ionic, and has no apparent connection with the relations of Ionic to the κοινή. See § 118.

<sup>2</sup> Photios 640<sub>8</sub> on φάρμακος in contradistinction to Attic φαρμάκος; ὄλιον ἢ βάρβαρον ἢ Ἰακόν, Ail. Dionys. in Eust. 1160<sub>16</sub>. This theory of Ionic in some form or other reappears from time to time. Salmasius (*De Hellen.* Chap. 7, p. 427) held that Ionians from Attika, corrupted by contact with the βαρβαροφώνοις, Karians and Leleges, perverted their ancient speech until it adopted ἑαντός, λόγοισι, Πηληϊάδεω, δεσπότεα, &c. Latterly Hesselmeier has found in Ionic a Pelasgian dialect!

<sup>3</sup> Some thought that Ionic was the most ancient of the dialects (Bekk. *Anecd.* II 786<sub>14</sub>).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eust. on Il. p. 8, 39. Many of the so-called Atticisms in Homer, according to the grammarians, are to be explained from their point of view of the identity of Old Attic and Old Ionic. Homer was even called a poet τῆς παλαιᾶς Ἀθίδος. Ephoros appears to have been the first to set up the identity of the ἀρχαία Ἀθίς with the Ἰᾶς which is affirmed by Strabo. Ephoros was led to this view, not by linguistic evidence, but by historical conceptions.



where other evidence from antiquity to the same effect is adduced, and the interrelation of Ionic and Old Attic discussed.

As the normal usage of the term *Old Attic* referred to the dialect of a definite period in Athenian literature (cf. for example Dionys. Halik. p. 454<sub>8</sub>), so *Old Ionic* was generally applied to the dialect of the Homeric poems in contradistinction to the *νέα Ἰάς*, of which Herodotos was regarded as the foremost representative. So in the case of Doric, ἡ *νέα Δωρίς* was the dialect of Theokritos, ἡ *παλαιὰ Δωρίς* that of Epicharmos and Sophron.

Ionic was never divided by the grammarians into more than two divisions. The three-fold division of Attic, as usually adopted, covers merely the literature of the fifth and fourth centuries (Moiris s.v. *πλυνεῖς, χολάδας*, Ailius Dionys. *apud* Eust. Od. 1761<sub>51</sub>). οἱ *παλαιοὶ Ἴωνες* Hdn. II 603<sub>11</sub>, 642<sub>14</sub> = An. Ox. III 237<sub>23</sub>, 674<sub>8</sub> = Choir. 209<sub>29</sub>; οἱ *ἀρχαῖοι Ἴωνες* Joh. Gr. 242, An. Ox. I 28<sub>23</sub>, Hdn. II 673<sub>39</sub> = Choir. 209<sub>21</sub>; οἱ *νεώτεροι Ἴωνες* Hdn. II 265<sub>4</sub>, = An. Ox. I 366<sub>24</sub> = Et. M. 667<sub>19</sub> without direct reference to Ionic, Hdn. II 603<sub>11</sub>, 674<sub>2,7</sub> = Choir. 209<sub>24, 29</sub>, An. Ox. I 247<sub>10</sub>, 366<sub>24</sub>, Schol. Viet. on Il. XV 421, Eust. 1643<sub>2</sub>; οἱ *μεταγενέστεροι Ἴωνες* Hdn. I 394<sub>28</sub>, 465<sub>7</sub>, II 107<sub>18</sub>, 642<sub>16</sub> = An. Ox. III 237<sub>27</sub>; ἡ *μεταγενεστέρα Ἰάς* An. Ox. I 265<sub>6</sub>; ἡ *δευτέρα Ἰάς* Hdn. II 344<sub>5</sub> = Schol. Apoll. I 108<sub>2</sub> = Et. M. 821<sub>40</sub> not used by Homer; ἡ *νέα τῶν Ἰόνων διάλεκτος* Gram. Aug. § 25; ἡ *ὑστερον Ἰωνικὴ γλῶσσα* Eust. Od. 1714<sub>16</sub>; ἡ *νεωτέρα Ἰάς* Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 998, 1081; οἱ *νέοι Ἴωνες* Et. Gud. 99<sub>41</sub>.

25.] It often happens that forms adduced as the property of the *νέα Ἰάς*, belong neither to it nor to the *ἀρχαία Ἰάς*, so far as the monuments under control permit a conclusion. For example Herodian II 674<sub>4</sub> (= Choir. 209<sub>24</sub>, cf. Et. Gud. 99<sub>44</sub>) states that *Ἀχιλλεῖος* and *βασιλεῖος* are the property of the *νεώτεροι Ἴωνες*, as they are, with different accent, the property of Aiolic also. Though the *ει* of *Ἀχιλλεῖος* may be explained (§ 220) after a fashion different from that adopted by the ancients, the form itself is unattested in any period of Ionic, and perhaps never existed. When Herakleides *apud* Eust. Od. 1643<sub>2</sub> (but cf. Il. 1160<sub>16</sub>) says that *ὀλίζον* for *ὀλίγον* was used by the 'younger Ionians,' we should be tempted to indulge the hope that an unusual form not adopted by literature<sup>1</sup> had been preserved, were it not for the fact that the belief was wide-spread that the Ionians substituted ζ for γ, a belief that was supported by such examples as *πέφνυζα*, *πεφνυζώς*, and *φύζω*. The Attic *ὀλείζων*, the Homeric *φύζα* and *πεφνυζότες* may have been the source of the confusion.

The preeminent position occupied by the Homeric poems in the study of Ionic by the ancients, overshadowing the approach to a minuter study of the diction of Herodotos, to say nothing of the logographers and Hippokrates, resulted in the belief that the distinction between 'Ionic' and 'poetic' was

<sup>1</sup> See note below.

evanescent<sup>1</sup>. To the later generation of grammarians and commentators, 'Ionic' is equated with 'poetic,' while 'poetic' and 'Ionic' become commensurate terms. Not merely is any phonetic or inflectional phenomenon, but also any word, which comes to light in Homer, set down as Ionic, without regard to the possibility of its occurrence, or its actual occurrence, elsewhere. Even in the professed treatises on dialects we find the same perverse attitude. Had Gregory or his chief source Johannes Philoponos rigidly applied his two-fold method of division, by ascribing to Old Ionic that which is Homeric, and attributing to the New Ionic the forms he met with in Herodotos, his procedure had at least merited praise for possessing some method. But 'Ionic' with him covers the entire period from Homer to Herodotos. We are never sure of our bearings unless either the name Homer or Herodotos is actually employed, or the provenance of the form under discussion is known to us. Had Johannes Philoponos been able to place under contribution an investigation into the complexion of Ionic in the iambographers and elegists, we might expect to find that his excerptor had used greater discretion on the side of chronology. In but one instance is the dialect of Homer compared with that of a later Ionic

<sup>1</sup> According to Herodian, Homer used Old Attic, Ionic, and probably Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian and Doric, though the last two dialects are not expressly stated to have contributed to the poet's diction. The recent epic poets were, in his view, untrammelled as to the use of the various dialects. Herodian differentiated *Ionians* and *poets*. The later grammarians did not keep them apart except when they echoed the opinion of Herodian. In the terminology of the later grammarians the *poets* are the epic poets. Herodian applied the word either to all poets, or (more frequently) to the epic and elegiac poets. It is very unusual for Herodian to call a word *poetic* for any other reason than that it has undergone a poetic *πάθος*. Poetic words are not necessarily the same as words *κατὰ διάλεκτον*, though the *πάθη* of each may not be dissimilar. The character of the *πάθος* has usually to determine the question whether a word is *poetic* or *dialectal*. Occasionally, however, it is use which must decide whether forms, whose *πάθη* are due to metre or hiatus, are to be called poetic or dialectal. Often Herodian makes grievous mistakes, e.g. *κεινός* is poetical, not Ionic, because the diphthong is due to the metre, an explanation which was correctly applied in the case of *Ούλυμπος*. Whenever Herodian calls a form poetic or dialectal, his hesitation may be due to a contamination of the views of his predecessors, or because he may actually have been in doubt. See Stephan on Herodian for the working out of these views. Rarely do we meet with an attempt in the later grammarians to differentiate 'Ionic' from 'poetic': *Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ ποιηταί* An. Ox. I 347<sup>17</sup>, II 412<sup>24</sup>, Choir. 513<sup>14</sup>, 517<sup>31</sup>, cf. 519<sup>6</sup>; *Ἴωνικῶς ἢ ποιητικῶς* An. Ox. I 395<sup>4</sup>; Choir. 513<sup>22</sup>, 591<sup>29</sup>; 593<sup>8</sup>; 609<sup>32</sup>, 637<sup>8</sup>; *Ἴωνικῶς καὶ ποιητικῶς* An. Par. III 116<sup>19</sup>, cf. 120<sup>5</sup>, Choir. 593<sup>8</sup>; *ποιητικοί* *Ἴωνικοί* Philoponos, Choir. 593<sup>5</sup>; *ποιητικά οὐκ ἱακά* An. Ox. I 159<sup>30</sup>, *οὐκ Ἴωνικά* *ἀλλὰ ποιητικά* An. Ox. I 385<sup>1</sup>; *ἱακῶς ἔατο καὶ ποιητικῶς εἴατο* An. Ox. I 174<sup>13</sup>; *Ἴωνική, κοινή, ποιητική* An. Bachm. II 365<sup>23</sup>. Some forms called Ionic are also classed as archaisms, Tzetz. Ex. II. 90<sup>15</sup>. Extremely rare is such a conjunction as *Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἴωνες*, Max. Plan. in An. Bachm. II 61<sup>27</sup>, cf. *Ἴωνες, οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἰππῶναξ* Hdn. II 282<sup>7</sup> (cf. II 384<sup>13</sup>). Of Anakreon, Pollux III 98 says that he used *ἦσε*, *Ἴων καὶ ποιητῆς ἀνῆρ*. The first and second persons of iteratives were used by the poets *κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν Ἴωνων*, Choir. 633<sup>24</sup>, following Herodian's view.



poet from the point of view of Ionic form. On Ψ 88 ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς, the Schol. Ven. A remarks: αἱ πλείους τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλησιν ἐρύσας· καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωνικώτερον. "ἀστραγάλοι δ' Ἐρωτός εἰσιν μανίαι τε καὶ κυδοιμοί." Ἀνακρέων.

*Note on Ionic Vocabulary.*

Subjoined is a list of some words called Ionic in the ancient lexica. For others see the Ἡροδ. λέξεις, Joh. Gr. 242, Greg. Kor. § 80 to § 191, Hekataian words, § 87 note, the fragments of the iambographers, especially Hipponax, and above § 9.

ἀγαί = αἰγιαλοί Et. Gud. 4<sub>21</sub>, cf. Hesych. s. v.; ἀνάγειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς ἄγειν Eust. 1839<sub>19</sub>, cf. 708<sub>58</sub>, 1507<sub>63</sub>; ἄρπεξον = αἵμασία Eust. 1851<sub>25</sub>; ἀφαρεῖ = ταχέως Et. Mag. and Gud.; βόλβιτον = βόλιτον Et. Mag. 204<sub>28</sub> (Hipp. 70 A); βρόταχος, see § 147; βροῦκος· ἀκρίδων εἶδος, Ἴωνες Hesychios. βροῦκαν is Kyprian; γάλλος = μητραγύρτης Phot. 183<sub>1</sub>; γέργηθες = the δημόται at Miletos, Eust. 1433<sub>42</sub>; γέρινος *tadpole* Eust. 1864<sub>6</sub>: Plato has γυρίνος, Nikander γέρυνος; δαυλός = (δᾱλός) Schol. Vict. on Il. XV 421, Et. Mag. 246<sub>7</sub> = Attic δαελός, a form called Syrakusan by the same authority. Cf. μηρίων δεδαυμένων quoted from Simonides Amorg. in Et. Mag. 250<sub>18</sub>; δεινίλλων = περιβλέπων An. Par. III 56<sub>18</sub>; ἔραται· ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ λέξις Ἰωνικὴ Schol. Ven. A on I 64; ἐργύλον· στάτην. Ἴωνες Hesych.; ἐσσήν = ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ἐφεσίους Et. Mag. 383<sub>30</sub>; ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ τῶν μελισσῶν βασιλέως ὡς εἴρηται ἐσσην (*sic*) . . . Ἰωνικὴ δὲ ἡ λέξις Et. Gud. Ἐσσήν was the title of a priest of Artemis at Ephesos, Paus. VIII 13, 1; Εἰδοθέεια = Εἰδοθέα Eust. 1501<sub>52</sub>; ζήτρειον σημαίνει τὸ τῶν δούλων δεσμωτήριον, ἡγουν τὸν μύλωνα, παρὰ Χίοις καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς Et. Mag. 411<sub>33</sub>, cf. Eust. 837<sub>44</sub>; ἡγάνεα· πέμματα τὰ ἀπὸ τηγάνου Hesych. See Anakr. 26; ἡγός = ὁ εὐδαίμων Et. Mag. 390<sub>37</sub>; ἰβυκινήσαντες . . . ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἰβυ παρήκται ἡ λέξις, καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωνικὸν ἐπίρρημα . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄρκος Ἰωνικός Hesychios; κηγχός Apoll. *de Adv.* 184<sub>9</sub> (Schn.); κιττάλης = κλέπτης Joh. Gr. 242 B, cf. Teos 156 B 19; κνηστός, ποιός, τις, ἄρτος παρὰ Ἴωσι Eust. 872<sub>9</sub>, Hesych. s. v.; κοκκύας (*sic*) = πρόγονος Et. Mag. 524<sub>52</sub>, κοκύας An. Par. IV 74<sub>24</sub>; κριοὶ κόλοι. ἕως νῦν παρ' Ἴωσιν οἱ κολοβοκέρατοι . . . λέγονται Schol. Ven. A on Π 117; λόγχας τὰς μερίδας Ἴωνες λέγουσιν Et. Mag. 569<sub>34</sub>, Orion 94<sub>25</sub>; μῆνις· ὀργή Bek. An. II 739<sub>20</sub>; μήτρως Eust. 971<sub>26</sub> ff; μικκόν = μικρόν Eust. 217<sub>29</sub>, 610<sub>25</sub>; μύττακες· μυκαί. Σικελοί, Ἴωνες, Hesych.; ὀμφαλητόμος = Attic μαῖα Eust. 971<sub>37</sub> (Hippokr.); πάτρως Eust. 316<sub>8, 16</sub>, 971<sub>26, 37</sub>; πέργαμον· τὴν πόλιν Ἴωνες λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ πάντες τὰ ὑψηλά An. Bachm. I 337<sub>3</sub>; πηλός· οἶνος, Ἴωνες Hesych., Orion 86<sub>29</sub>, cf. 178<sub>23</sub>; σῆτες τὸ ἐπέτους Et. Mag. 711<sub>43</sub>; σκύβωλον = σκύβαλον Ephesian Ionic, An. Ox. I 447<sub>18</sub>; σμῶξαι = πατάξαι Et. Mag. 721<sub>21</sub>, Orion 141<sub>6</sub>; στέρφος· ἔρφος



τὸ δέρμα, ὅπερ Ἴωνες στέρφος λέγουσιν Schol. Nik. *Alex.* 248; τρώειν = βλάπτειν Eust. 1304<sub>45</sub>, 1532<sub>10</sub>, 1803<sub>2</sub>; τρώμη = τρώσις Eust. 1653<sub>52</sub>, 1803<sub>2</sub>, cf. 1023<sub>2</sub>, 991<sub>60</sub>; ὑπέρτερος = νεώτερος Eust. 884<sub>33</sub>; ὑποκρίνεσθαι = ἀποκρίνεσθαι Eust. 687<sub>15</sub>, 1437<sub>31</sub>, cf. 515<sub>15</sub>, 900<sub>42</sub>, 1876<sub>47</sub>, 1877<sub>2</sub>; φάρμακοι = Attic φαρμακοί Eust. 1935<sub>15</sub>; φῆμις = φήμη Eust. 1956<sub>62</sub>, cf. 799<sub>10</sub>, 1563<sub>3</sub>; φωλεός *schoolhouse* (Hesychios) called Ionic by L. S. may belong to some other dialect; χλοσσός· ἰχθῦς ὑπὸ Ἴόνων Hesych.; χρεῖω = χρεῖα Eust. 698<sub>11</sub>; ψύδραξ· οἱ Ἴωνες ψύδρακας λέγουσι τὰς ποικίλας Et. Mag. 819<sub>10</sub>; ψῶ is called by Greg. Kor. 549 an ἀγροικικὸν προσφώνημα, the only instance of a distinct reference to the vulgar speech; ὦρή = κωλῇ Eust. 1715<sub>25</sub> (see § 11).

Some of these words are doubtless provincialisms, which have not received the consecration of literary usage; and among them there may be words older than those that have won for themselves a place in literature. In the course of the development of Ionic life in its home on the Asiatic mainland and on the adjacent islands, one community may have clung with peculiar tenacity to the old-time words, while another may have offered a less stubborn resistance to the encroachment of neoterisms. At the πανήγυρις of the Ionic cities there may have been heard words that sounded as strange to the ears of a Milesian as the provincialisms of an Eastern County man sound strange to the ear of a Londoner.

In examining the vocabulary of Ionic literature, especially in its prose monuments, modern students of style have not been deterred, despite the scantiness of materials, from setting apart this or that word in Herodotos or Hippokrates as 'poetical' because it is Homeric. Who can say how much of the epic vocabulary which reappears in Ionic prose is not the idiom of the day? Outside of Ionic prose literature ἀτρεκέως occurs only in poetry. It might be set down as an instance of the dependence of Herodotos and Hippokrates upon Homer, did we not know that the word was in use in Doric (cf. Et. Gud., Et. Orion, and C. D. I. 3219). ἀτρεκής is found also in Demokr., *Phys.* fr. 1. The list of words (*A. J. P.* VIII 467), which before the discovery of the Kyprian inscriptions were not known to exist outside of Homer, should warn us against holding too fast to the poetical character of the Herodoteian diction<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> To Prof. Strachan (Herodotos VI, p. xxix) I owe the following list:—  
δατεῖσθαι Demokr. 71, δεδάσθαι Diog. 6, δίζημαι Demokr. 10, 20, Herakl. 8, 80, ἔλπομαι Herakl. 7, 122, ἔρδειν Demokr. 101, 106, 118, 135, 203, ἵκελος Demokr. 21. Cf. Kleemann, *Vocabula Homerica in Graecorum dialectis et in cotidiano sermone servata*, 1876.

*The Ionic Element in Homer and the Relation  
of 'Old' to 'New' Ionic.*

26.] If we eliminate from the Iliad and Odyssey the few forms whose Doric complexion is the result of a mistaken transcription of the original text, the occasional instances of forms specifically Attic, whose admission is due either to the Attic diasceuaists, to the authority of Aristarchos (who held that Homer was an Athenian), or to the copyists, and finally such non-Hellenic monstrosities as the so-called distracted verbs, whose explanation transcends the phonetic laws obtaining in every Greek dialect, the remainder of the 'Homeric dialect' falls under the two divisions Aiolic and Ionic. By far the greater part of the sounds and inflections in the language of the Homeric epos is pan-Hellenic, and hence the joint property of both dialects, and in actual use at the time of the final construction of Iliad and Odyssey.

Such archaisms as the instrumental in  $-\phi\iota$ ,  $-\phi\iota\nu$ , which do not bear either the Aiolic or the Ionic stamp, are likewise pan-Hellenic<sup>1</sup> and hence do not fall within the immediate purpose of the present work. But even within the domain of the phenomena which are manifestly dialectal, a successful delimitation of Aiolic and Ionic in the traditional text of Homer is attended by well-nigh insurmountable difficulties. It must be based upon a knowledge of the structure of both these dialects at the date of the composition of the various constituent parts of Iliad and Odyssey, and in fact upon a consistent view of the origin and development of the epos itself. As long as so fundamental a matter as the complexion of the dialectal  $\bar{a}$  is under dispute, as long as Philodemos' view is being resuscitated that the epic dialect was a farrago of all manner of dialects, and as long as it is undeniable that the diction of Homer is, partly at least, a highly artificial product, so long may a prudent scepticism affirm the futility of attempting any definitive demarcation between the dialect affinities of the Homeric dialect.

In the discussion of Aiolic an effort will, however, be made to bring together some examples of those sounds and inflections which may fairly be held to be the property of that dialect; and the view will be advanced, that the appearance of the Aiolic ingredient can with propriety be reconciled with the general Ionic colouring of the whole only when it is seen that

<sup>1</sup> By the ancients regarded as either Aiolic or Boiotian.  $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ ,  $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$  and other forms ascribed by the ancients to this or that dialect, but whose complexion is probably pan-Hellenic, are excluded from the present discussion.



the dialect of the Homeric poems is, in greater or less degree, an Ionicized Aiolic. So far as the Ionic residue is concerned, the question at issue turns upon the character of the Homeric Ionisms in their relation to those of the age of Herodotos, and in fact upon the correctness of the ancient division into 'Old' and 'New' or 'Later' Ionic.

27.] In the view of the moderns, New Ionic is restricted to the dialect of the fifth century, as it appears in Herodotos and Hippokrates. It is probable that the ancient dialectologists included under the appellation New Ionic all that is post-Homeric, *i.e.* the dialect of the lyric poets as well as that of the philosophers, historians, and scientists. To the ancients Homer was farther removed from the lyric age than he is in the view of the moderns. The New Ionic included at least Hipponax<sup>1</sup>, who is mentioned by the Marmor Parium under Ol. 59, 3 (= 542 B.C.), and placed by Pliny in Ol. 60.

In reality the application of the term New Ionic to the form displayed by the dialect in Herodotos and Hippokrates signifies nothing more than the ordinary use of the term 'dialect' as a cantonal idiom. It does not imply that this form may not in part have existed before the time of Herodotos and Hippokrates and elsewhere than in the pages of these prosaists. So the term 'Late Lakonian' does not denote either that much of its structure may not be of very considerable antiquity, or that Lakonia was the sole residence of certain linguistic phenomena. All chronological and geographical divisions of dialect life are purely conventional and hence of extreme elasticity. The boundaries of New Ionic might be so far enlarged as to include the entire dialect of the oldest inscriptions, of the lyric poets, and of Herodotos, and this New Ionic contrasted with the oldest portions of the dialect of the Homeric poems, *i.e.* those that may reasonably be placed before the year 800. But since modern usage has chosen to affix to the dialect of Ionic prose the name New Ionic, this designation may, under certain limitations, be here adopted as the basis of the discussion as to the interrelation between the Old and the New Ionic.

It must be understood that in the comparison of the *ἀρχαία* with the *μεταγενεστέρα Ἰάς*, an importance has been heretofore attached to Herodotos utterly out of proportion to the real value of his history as a representative of the later division. The text of Herodotos, even when built upon the consensus of testimony of

<sup>1</sup> Τὸ λαὸς ἄτρεπτος ἔμεινε παρ' Ὀμήρῳ, καίτοι τῇ μεταγενεστέρᾳ Ἰάδι τραπέν ληὸν ἀθρήσας, Ἰππῶναξ (88); An. Ox. I 2656. Strabo VII 340 classes Hipponax among the νεώτεροι, and even Archilochos falls under the same appellation (Schol. Z 507, cf. frag. 176).



the best MSS.—which often does not exist—can claim, unless supported by extraneous evidence, only an inferior position as a standard by which to estimate the character of the Ionic of the fifth century. The diction of early Ionic prose, and preeminently that of Herodotos, is permeated by lexicographical, stylistic and syntactical affinities with the language of Homer. But far more significant is the erratic conduct of the phonetical and inflectional system, preferring now the Homeric now the contemporaneous dialect; the frequent aversion to the living speech when its forms contest the field with those consecrated by Homeric usage; the inconsistencies in one and the same word as presented by the MS. tradition. All these considerations, which are discussed at greater length below, § 88, create a presumption in favour of the view that the text of Herodotos had undergone a transformation at a time when exact knowledge of the Ionic of the fifth century had vanished even from the schools.

From this it follows that all the modern comparisons of Homeric phonology with that of Herodotos, as it exists in the best MSS. of the historian, will (unless they rest upon the assumption that Herodotos intentionally commingled a dead with a living speech) have to confront the objection that the retention, in such large measure, of open forms originally separated by *yod* (and to a less degree, by *F* and *σ*), from the earliest known period of Ionic until the fifth century, is a phenomenon unique in the history of the language.

While the greater part of the dialect of Herodotos is contemporaneous Ionic, there is a residue of formations either entirely obsolete or obsolescent<sup>1</sup> in the fifth century. So far then as New Ionic embraces the dialect of Herodotos, it is only that part of the dialect which may either be proved, or inferred by the argument from analogy, to be the Ionic of the historian's time. With this limitation as regards the dialect of Herodotos, and in a less degree as regards that of Hippokrates, the date of the New Ionic may be marked off with tolerable chronological exactness as the Ionic of the fifth century.

28.] What is Old Ionic? The conventional application of the term to the dialect of the entire epos pays no regard to the fact that under the name Homeric are classed dialectal phenomena ranging from perhaps the eleventh to the seventh century. While the oldest portions of the Iliad, even those of distinctly emotional character, antedate the earliest monuments of the

<sup>1</sup> For example *καλέοι*, *καλέοιτο*, *φρονέοιεν*, *λυπεόλατο*. The inscriptions have but one case of the retention, as an archaism, of the open, and older, form. The poets have *-οῖμεν*, *-οῖμεθα*, *-οῖεν*. The iteratives still live on in Herodotos though with impaired vitality.

Ionic lyric, there yet remains, in the *Doloneia* and various lengthy passages in books B, I, Λ, Σ, Υ, Ψ, an irreducible minimum that is contemporaneous with Archilochos or even with Simonides of Amorgos. And so far as the *Odyssey* is concerned, all of that which is called by Kirchhoff the 'second enlargement' is placed by him as late as 660 B.C.

And yet, so similar in texture is the diction of the later to that of the earlier accretions which have grown about the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, that it is virtually identical with that of the primitive bard. The elasticity of their art did not debar the workers at the fabric of the epos from the use of forms either obsolete or obsolescent in their day, nor on the other hand from having recourse to analogical formations of an archaic stamp.

Tempting as is the comparison of book K and the greater enlargements of the *Iliad* and the second enlargement of the *Odyssey* with the fragments of Archilochos and Simonides of Amorgos, such a test yields no proof that the language of these latest portions is the language of the seventh century. The tendency to adopt contracted forms is perhaps the only sign of the assimilation of the literary to the popular form of the language<sup>1</sup>. In the older portions of the epos the fusion of vowels may have been a matter of poetic license. The exigencies of the verse may anticipate by an indefinable period the processes which operate in the ordinary speech of the day.

Subjoined is a list of some instances of contraction and synizesis, which deserve attention from those who approach the comparison of the epic with the iambographic dialect from the point of view of vowel openness or contraction<sup>2</sup>. Forms showing synizesis come to light alike in the older and the later parts of the poems; contracted forms increase in frequency in passages whose later origin may be inferred on other grounds.

Apart (1) from instances of contraction occurring in those words, which, without vocalic fusion, could not find admission into the hexameter, and (2) the contractions in the sixth foot (except a few isolated cases mentioned below), there occur the following instances of later forms, most of which resist all remedial treatment save of the severest character. Cases which show the disappearance of *yol* are less noteworthy than those where *F* or *σ* has been lost. Where the syllable of contraction or synizesis is not under the ictus, this is denoted by a star.

<sup>1</sup> Yet the termination *-εολη*, when preceded by a single consonant, must have been in ordinary use at the end of the seventh century. By the year 479/8 it was old-fashioned in Teos. See footnote, p. 36, and § 45 (1).

<sup>2</sup> In reference to the position assumed by Menrad in his *De contractionis et synizeseos usu Homérico*, see my review *A. J. P.* VIII 224 ff., Christ's *Ilias*, § 102 ff., and the articles by Mr. Arthur Platt, in the *Journ. Phil.* XVIII No. 35 ff., which deal immediately with some of the forms quoted above.



A 15\* χρυσέω, B 684 καλεῦντο, 490 χάλκεον, 677\* Κῶν(?); Δ 113 σάκεα, 384\* Τυδῆ; E 387\* χαλκέω, 525 ζαχρειῶν, 256\* ἐᾶ; Z 220 χρύσειον; H 394 ἡνώγεον (-γειν?); Θ 217\* κηλέω (cf. O 744); I 605 τιμῆς(?), 75\* χρεώ, 266 ἀθλοφόρους; K 285 σπείο, 449 μεθῶμεν; Λ 282\* ἄφρεον, 282 στήθεα, 611 ἔρειο, 708 πολεῖς, 179 πρηνεῖς, 699 ἀθλοφόροι, 151\* ἱππεῖς; M 347, 360 ζαχρηεῖς; N 684 ζαχρηεῖς; Ξ 7 λούση (λοF?), 274 ᾧσι; O 21 ἡλάσσειν, 65\*, 68\* κτενεί, 444 βέλεα, 339 Μηκιστῇ; P 451 βαλῶ; Σ 136 νεῦμαι, 493 ἡγίνεον, 539 ὠμίλειν, 612 χρύσειον, 475 τιμῆντα; T 104\* ἐκφανεί, 202 ἦσιν, 402\* ἐῶμεν, 88 ἄτην (6th foot), 95 ἄσατο; Υ 218 ᾠκεον, 72 Ἑρμῆς (6th foot); Ψ 361 μεμνέωτο, 121 δατεῦντο (6th foot), 412\* κατακτενεί, 834 χρεώμενος, 226 Ἑωσφόρος, 792 Ἀχιλλεῖ (6th foot); Ω 290 εὔχευ, 503 αἰδεῖο, 722 θρήνεον, 101 χρύσειον, 354\* νόον(?), 28 ἄτης (6th foot), 734 ἀθλεύων, 769 δαέρων.

α 183 πλέων; β 358 ἀναβῆ, 421 ἀκραῇ(?); γ 221 φιλεῦντας (6th foot); ε 54\* Ἑρμῆς (6th foot); ζ 210 λούσατε, 216\* λοῦσθαι, 219 ἀπολούσομαι (from λοF?); η 94\* ὄντας, 110\* τεχνῆσαι, 107 καιρουσέων, 118 θέρευσ, 116\* συκῆαι; θ 550 κάλεον, 334\* Ἑρμῆν, 483\* ἥρω, 160 ἄθλων, 271 Ἥλιος; ι 269 αἰδεῖο, 44 ἡνώγεα, 240 θύρεον, 283 νέα (ναῦν?); κ 347\* κρέα (6th foot), 136\* χρεώ; κ 229, 255 καλεῦντες (6th foot), 518\* χεῖσθαι, 263 ἡνώγεα, 240 νοῦς; λ 61 ἄσε; μ 249 καλεῦντες (6th foot); ν 78 ἀνερρίπτουν; ξ 86\* βῶσι, 435\* Ἑρμῇ; ο 74 φιλεῖν, 88 νεῖσθαι, 533 γένευσ, 248 νιεῖς; π 383 φθέωμεν, 367 ἄσαμεν; ρ 55 ἡνώγεα; σ 247 πλέονες; τ 136 ποθέουσα, 489\* οὔσης, 331 τεθνεῶτι, 34\* χρύσειον; υ 14 βεβῶσα (6th foot); φ 218\* πιστωθῆτον, 47 θυρέων, 178 στῆατος; χ 456 ἐφόρεον, 385 κοῖλον; ψ 77\* ἔα; ω 337 ἦτεον, 323 ἴσχεο, 491 ᾧσι, 437 φθέωσι, 1\* Ἑρμῆς, 394\* θάμβευσ (6th foot); 398 Ὀδυσσεύς, 523 Εὐπειθεα, 341\* συκῆας, 360 προὔπεμψ'.

29.] Now if the dialect of the epos represents the period of Old Ionic according to the ancient and modern conception, and the language of the fifth century is New Ionic, it might be questioned whether there is not in the monuments of the sixth century an intermediate stage of the dialect. That such a middle period does not exist is evident from the study of the literature and inscriptions from 600–500 B.C. A few examples will in fact suffice to show that 'Middle' Ionic has no existence whatsoever.

Thus for example the oldest Ionic form of *lāfos* is *ληός*, found first in the misread Homeric *Λειῶδης* and *Λειώκριτος*. *ληός* itself does not come to light in the monuments of the dialect until the second half of the sixth century (Hipponax 88) while the Herodoteian *λεός* had been formed as early as the



seventh century (Archil. 69), and was in use in Miletos (Bechtel no. 93) in the sixth century; to say nothing of the Homeric 'Ἀγέως χ 131, 247. Herodotos has also in Λευτυχίδης an example of a third form. While Herodotos has λεώς <λāFos, it is doubtful whether he has νεώς <νāFos.

Again: in at least eleven passages ranging from the earliest to the latest books, the genitive in -oo can be exhumed, a form which is the immediate parent of -ov and the direct descendant of -oio<sup>1</sup>. It may serve as the type of those forms whose archaic character is so clearly marked as to justify their ascription to a stage in the history of Greek in which lines of demarcation cannot be drawn between Ionic and Aiolic. Though we shall find it impossible to define accurately the life of 'pre-Homeric' forms, it is clear that the -oio form must have been in possession of the field centuries before the first accretions began to grow about the primitive Iliad and Odyssey. Even its offspring -oo must have acquired an archaic flavour at the time of the composition of the poems. A distinct stage in the life of the dialect, when -oio was old-fashioned and -ov had not come in, cannot be discovered,

Now if it could be shown from these and similar examples, that the life of a considerable number of individual forms was conterminous, a period of 'Middle' Ionic, such as is set up by Professor Sayce<sup>2</sup>, might be said to have existed. But there is no trace of a halting-place where a number of distinctly intermediate forms consort. All the meaning therefore that can be extracted from the expression 'Middle' Ionic, is that, in the most general sense, between the close of epic and the rise of prose literature there was an interval, the existence of which in no wise carries with it the conclusion that the inflectional and phonetic development of the language had reached an intermediate stage.

The assumption then of a Middle Ionic, in fact the comparison of Old with New Ionic, is of almost no value in the eyes of a science which deals not with periods, but with the life of the individual form. There may indeed be a primitive, a middle, and a final period in the life of the individual form, if it chance to have undergone three distinct phonetic changes which are actually attested or which may be inferred.

30.] The study of the life of the individual form in Homer, the lyric poets, and the inscriptions, reveals an organic development of the dialect, whose recognition has been forced to wait upon

<sup>1</sup> In La Roche's text the occurrences of -oio and -ov are: -oio Il. 1085, Od. 702, -ov Il. 1015, Od. 808. This count includes the instances of -oo for -ov.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Philology* X 111, cf. *Monro, ib.* IX 253.

the formation of a just estimate of the position of Herodotos. If it be admitted that the sounds and inflections of the diction of Herodotos and Hippokrates are not epic as such, the conclusion is irresistible that the form often assumed by these sounds and inflections in the MSS. especially of Herodotos, is antagonistic to this organic development of the language, whose beginnings may be traced in Homer, and whose later aspects are visible in the epic, in the iambic writers and the inscriptions.

31.] In that portion of the Homeric dialect which, after the separation of the Aiolic element, we call Ionic, there co-exist, as we have seen, forms of very different dates. In determining the chronology of the Ionisms of the epos, there are several considerations which deserve ampler recognition than that usually accorded them. (1) No single verse or passage, of which the verse is an indissoluble part, is older than the date of the youngest form it contains; provided the passage in question is not an interpolation, and the form is not due to the exigency of the metre. (2) Forms which have disappeared completely at a very early period in the history of the transmission of the poems, and whose existence is due solely to reconstructive criticism, are not necessarily of the most archaic type. (3) If there are passages of greater or less compass—even single lines or parts of lines—which have suffered transposition from Aiolic into Ionic, the Ionic forms which are metrically equivalent to those of Aiolic complexion, will belong to an early period of the dialect<sup>1</sup>. As a matter of fact, apart from the probability or improbability of Fick's conception of the genesis of an Ionic Homer, it is frequently, but by no means invariably, the case that where the Aiolic form cannot be substituted for the Ionic form in the text, this form in question represents a later stage of the development of Ionic. (4) The joint ownership by Homer and Herodotos of formations, of which the Attic seems to offer more ancient by-forms, is not *per se* indicative of a later origin of the Homeric passages in which these formations occur.  $\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  is no less a neologism than  $\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$ . (5) Homeric Ionic is not invariably older than that portion of the later dialect which is independent of epic influence. Yet in its totality the complexion of the Ionic of the Iliad and Odyssey is sufficiently archaic to exclude the suggestion that portions of the poems containing forms found alike in Epic and in 'New' Ionic, are later accretions. (6) The assumption that, wherever Homer makes but rare use of

<sup>1</sup> The older the forms, the more nearly alike are they in all dialects. This fact of language has no necessary connection with a transference from one dialect to another of a product of literature.



a formation that grows apace in later Greek, this formation has been brought in by diaceuasts or copyists, is destructive of all linguistic perspective.

While not constituting a period of Middle Ionic, the dialect of the iambic writers is a bridge leading from the epic to the form assumed by the dialect in the fifth century. On the one hand it agrees with the Ionic of Homer in its freedom in treating the demonstrative as a relative pronoun; a freedom which has been somewhat restricted in Herodotos, and much more abridged in Hippokrates. In Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax, and Ananios, we encounter *ὅς* in its ordinary relative use, and also the employment of the article as a relative. In Herodotos the *τ*-forms prevail in the oblique cases and in the neuter of both numbers, while *ὅς*, *ῆς*, *οῦ*, *αῖ* occur in the nominative, after prepositions which suffer elision, and in certain formulae. Hippokrates adopts the Attic use. Furthermore the following instances of divergence from the prose dialect are noticeable. In a few cases the poets preserve open in vocalic stems forms which later suffered contraction, notably in Hippokrates. The *ι* of diphthongs is less frequently lost before a following vowel than in Herodotos. There is in fact no case of such a form as *θήλεα*. *κῆνος* and *θέλω* are preferred by the iambic writers to the longer forms, which find favour in Herodotos and Hippokrates. For verbs in *-αω* we find *-εω* very rarely in the poets.

32.] It is difficult to discover any phonetic change of the fifth century (occurring in a word found also in Homer<sup>1</sup>) which does not appear in some portion of the epic. Oftentimes it happens that younger forms which come to light only sporadically, notably noun and verb forms which have lost *yod*, *sigma*, or *digamma*, are admitted in the later Ionic, which casts off the older form prevailing in the epos. Each set of forms deserves individual treatment, as it by no means follows that all younger forms<sup>2</sup> in the epos are universally adopted by the iambographers or the inscriptions; a consideration that must have weight in the reconstruction of the Ionic of the fifth century, when no light is cast by the iambic writers or the stone records.

Perhaps the most important marks of distinction between Old Ionic and the Ionic of Herodotos' time are the loss of the dual and of *F*, and the curtailing of the iterative formation in the latter. How far other phonetic differences may be set down as characteristic differences of Old and New Ionic is not always

<sup>1</sup> This limitation excludes *σεωυτόν* &c.; see under *Pronouns*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus *βέλεα* O 444, *σάκεα* Δ 113 (to say nothing of *τεύχεα*, *ἄλγεα*, *τεμένεα*, *σῆθεα* in the 6th foot) do not exclude *-εα* from the lyric dialect, though there *-εα* may be more frequent than the open form.



clear. Some of the more marked changes are *τέσσερες* for *τέσσαρες*, *θῶμα* for *θαῦμα*, and *ῶν* for *οὖν*; *κ* for *π* in pronominal forms. The existence of the spiritus asper is imperilled and the contraction of vowels has set in to a very considerable extent in New Ionic. On the other hand the dialect of the Ionic iambic poetry runs parallel with that of the inscriptions, save in the fact that the former has *κῶς*, *κότε* &c., while the latter has no case of the *κ* form. Except in this particular the language of the iambographers is more closely allied to that of the stone records than it is to the diction of Herodotos.

### *Homeric Ionisms.*

33.] The *résumé* of Aiolic forms under the head of Homeric Aiolisms, AIOLIC §§ 12-39, relieves us of the responsibility of treating in detail the Ionisms of the Homeric diction. All that is not Aiolic in Homer (with the exceptions referred to AIOLIC § 10) is Ionic. The following sections call attention to a few points, some of which are not free from doubt, where Ionic stands out in direct opposition to Aiolic.

34.] **Vowel-system.** When, in conjunction with *ρ*, we have variable forms in *α* and *ε*, as in *θάρσος* *θέρσος*, the presumption is in favour of the Ionic character of the *α* forms.

Ionic *ε* is=Aiolic *ᾱ* in *τέως*, *ἔως* (*τείως* and *εῖως* are misrepresentations of the older Ionic forms in *η*), in *Ἀγέλεως* χ 131.

Ionic are all cases of *η* except those which are pan-Hellenic. Ionic *η* has often been obliterated by incorrect transcription of *Ε*, as in *Λειώκριτος* which stands for *Ληόκριτος* (cf. *Κριτόλαος*), and in *Λειώδης*=*Ληώδης*, the equivalent in meaning of Thessalian *Φασίδαμος* C. D. I. 371. *Ληώδης* is from *ληφο-φαδης*. The Ionians appear in Homer in the non-Ionic form *Ἰάονες* N 685, while *παιήων* A 473 is genuine Ionic (cf. Archil. 76).

Ionic are all long vowels and diphthongs due to compensatory lengthening (but not to epenthesis) in cases where the Aiolic dialect geminates the preceding consonant. Examples under §§ 196, 224. The sound *ει* is Ionic as the result of the contraction of *εε* to *ει*; and all contractions of *οο* to *ου*. When Homeric *ει* has *ευ*=*εφ* as its counterpart in Aiolic, this *ει* is Ionic.

*ει* and *ου* under the ictus in cases for which comparative grammar can find no morphological explanation: *εὐλήλουθα*, *Εὐρέτρια*, *Οὐλυμπος*. *χρύσεος* is Ionic, *χρύσιος* Aiolic.

Though the contraction of *ε* and *ο* assumes in a few instances

the form of *ευ* in Aiolic, all cases of *ευ* in Homer may safely be classed as Ionic<sup>1</sup>. In a stage of development of the Homeric poems so remote as the supposed 'Aiolic period,' while the synizesis *εο* might be possible, the contraction to *ευ* would scarcely be admitted. Besides the instances given in § 28, the following may be mentioned :

ἐρέβεις Θ 368, λ 37 (cf. Hym. Dem. 410), ἀύτευν Μ 160, (ἐ)γεγώνευν ι 47, μ 370, ρ 161, νεικεῦσ' Υ 254, εἰλεῦντο Φ 8, ὀχλεῦνται Φ 261, θηεῦντο Η 444, Κ 524, σφαραγεῦντο ι 390, 440, φοβέμενος Θ 149, αἰρέμενοι Π 353, ἱκνεύμεναι ι 128, οἰνοχοεῦντες γ 472, ἀμφιβαλεῦμαι χ 103, λωτεῦντα Μ 283. In most of these verbs open *εο* was impossible. Furthermore in ἐμεῦ (twenty-six times), μεν (sixty-three), σεῦ (thirty-five), εῦ (seven), τεῦ (sixteen).

Menrad's *De contractionis et synizeseos usu Homérico* attempts to heal many of the contracted forms in § 28 and in § 34, which are by other scholars rightly held to be hysterogeneous. Cp. *A. J. P.* VIII 224. ἐπιβώσομαι α 378, β 143, ἐπιβωσόμεθ' Κ 463 (cf. X 254), βώσαντι Μ 337 has parallels in no dialect except Ionic. On ὀγδώκοντα Β 568, 652, see § 207.

**35.] Consonants.** κτ in πολυκτήμων (Ionic κτέομαι), where Aiolic has πάομαι as in πολυπάμων. Movable *nu* in such collocations as θῆκεν, τοῖσι δὲ κ.τ.λ., Ψ 153. Movable *nu* seems to have taken its start from Ionic territory.

Ionic never geminates labials as in ὀππότε, &c., nor at any period of the dialect was κκ used instead of the Aiolic ππ. Nor does Ionic geminate τ in ὅττι, &c. When Homer has τ = Aiolic π, as in τῆλε, the τ form is Ionic.

Since the Ionic dialect seems to have lost the rough breathing at a later date than did Aiolic, cases of the *lenis* for the *asper* are more probably Aiolic.

**36.] Â Declension.** Nouns in -η and -ης in the nominative, and -η in all other case forms.

Gen. in *εω*. Dissyllabic -*εω* is found but once, in Ἄλτεω Φ 86, where the ἄλταο of Cod. C suggests an easy change. *εω* thirty-seven times in the Iliad, twenty-eight times in the Odyssey, chiefly in the arsis of the second, the third, or the fifth foot. ἀγκυλομήτεω is found at the end of the verse, Ἴδεω begins the verse I 558 (Meleager episode), ἰκέτεω occurs in the arsis of the fourth foot Ω 158, 187, συβώτεω in the thesis of the same foot ξ 459, ο 304. In the cases of -*εω* from Πηληϊάδης, Πηλεΐδης, Ἄλτης, Νηληϊάδης, Ἀτρεΐδης, Αἰνείδης, βορέης, α' may be sub-

<sup>1</sup> According to the ancient grammarians *ευ* was both Ionic and Doric.

stituted, the genitives occurring always before a vowel<sup>1</sup>. Τυδεΐδης does not admit of a like substitution, a fact which has called forth some speculation as to the position of Diomedes in the galaxy of the heroes.

The genitive in -ω is always preceded by a vowel: ἐνυμμελίω Δ 47, 165, Ζ 449, βορέω Ξ 395, Ψ 692, ξ 533, Ἑρμείω Ο 214, Αἰνείω Ε 534. βορέω never occurs save before a word beginning with a vowel.

Gen. plur. Dissyllabic -εων is found only Η 1, Μ 340, φ 191. -εων by synizesis twenty-one times in the Iliad, nineteen in the Odyssey.

-ων: thirteen cases of -ιων, furthermore των six times, σων Ε 818 (σέων Aristar.), αὐτων Τ 302.

37.] **O Declension.** Βριάρεων Α 403 seems to be Ionic alone, but Πηνέλεων Ν 92 need not be regarded as containing the Ionic λεώς. On ληός in Homer, see § 29. ἀγήρω *e.g.* Ρ 444 for ἀγηράω. I see no reason for regarding the instances of -οις as proofs of Ionic workmanship. Though -οιο occurs more frequently in the post-epic Ionic than in the Aiolic lyric, we cannot distinguish between the dialects as regards its appearance in Homer.

38.] **Consonantal Declension.** On γέλως, ἔρως see under Homeric Aiolisms; κυκειῶ Α 624. Whether the Aiolians ever used πλέονες, -ονας, is doubtful. Ὀδυσσεὺς ω 398 is certainly Ionic, as are all other instances of εὔ §§ 28, 34.

39.] **Pronouns.** Ionic are the forms beginning with ἡμ- and ἐμ-. In many cases ἡμεῖς ἡμέας are found where Fick cannot readily substitute the Aiolic equivalents, *e.g.* β 86, 244, δ 294. σφας Ε 567, cf. Μ 43, seems to be Ionic.

40.] **Verbs.** κτεριῶ Σ 334, κτεριοῦσι Α 455, αἰκιῶ Χ 256 seem to be Ionic rather than Aiolic. On other contractions see §§ 28, 34. All forms of the contract verbs such as ἐποίει are Ionic. αἰρέω is Ionic=Aiolic ἀγρέω, ἄγρημι.

Inf. in -ναι and -ειν are solely Ionic (Aiolic -μεναι, -μεν and -ην). Those in -εειν from the second aorist stem seem to be the work of Ionians.

41.] **Varia.** μία = Aiolic ἴα, τέσσαρες, τεσσαράκοντα, τεσσαράβοις.

εἰς in Homer is both Ionic and Aiolic, ἐς Ionic in all probability; ἄν may be Ionic in contradistinction to Aiolic κέ.

<sup>1</sup> On the Homeric genitive, see *i. a.* Platt in *Class. Rev.* II 12, 99.



*The Ionic of Iambic, Trochaic and Elegiac Poetry.*

42.]

AHRENS : *Ueber die Mischung d. Dialekte in d. griech. Lyrik*, 57-63. *De hiatu apud elegiacos Graecorum poetas antiquiores*, Philol. III 223.

FICK : *Die Sprachform der attionischen u. attattischen Lyrik*, B. B. XI 242, XIII 173, XIV 252

FLACH : *Das nachhesiodische Digamma*, B. B. II 1 ff.

KIRCHHOFF : *Zur Geschichte des attischen Epigramms*, Hermes V 48, 1871.

LAEGER : *De veterum epicorum studio in Archilochi, Simonidis, Solonis, Hipponactis reliquiis conspicuo*, 1885.

RENNER : *De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae*, Curtius' Studien I 1, 133 ff.; I 2, 1 ff., 1868. *Ueber das Formelwesen im griech. Epos und epische Reminiscenzen in der älteren griech. Elegie*, 1872.

SCHULHOF : *On the early Ionian poets and on the interrelation of Ionic and Attic Greek*, Trans. Oxf. Phil. Soc., 1889.

SITZLER : *Ueber die Sprache der Elegiker*, Jahrb. f. Philol. CXXV 504.

SCHNEIDEWIN : *Beiträge zur Kritik der Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 1844.

WAGNER : *Quaestiones de epigrammatis graecis ex lapidibus collectis* (by Kaibel) grammaticae, 1883. See also AIOLIC, § 100.

43.] It is advisable to approach the investigation of early iambic, trochaic, and elegiac poetry from the point of view of the nationality of the poet. The poetry of those who 'purchased fame by keen iambicks' is redolent of the soil from which it springs. The elegists, on the other hand, fall into two distinct divisions: those of Ionic blood, whose contemporary dialect is tempered solely by the diction of Homer, and secondly those of non-Ionic birth, who, though they may colour their dialect with forms drawn from the soil either of their birth-place or of their adopted home, are debarred by the laws of their art from inter-fusing their dialect with forms that are specifically Ionic ( $\kappa\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ ), *i.e.* forms whose use had not been sanctioned by having been adopted by Homer. Otherwise these non-Ionic elegists have equal recourse to the fountain head of elegiac diction, the epos.

*Dialect of the Iambists.*

44.] Iambic poetry was the weapon which dealt the sabre-thrusts of Ionic invective; and the cultivation of the iambic measures remained an almost exclusive prerogative of the Ionic race until the trimeter was claimed for a higher and wider purpose by the literary successors of the Ionians. Its reception by Solon paved the way for its adoption by Tragedy.

The dialect of the three iambographers adopted by the Alexandrian canon was the pure Ionic of the century and a half during which the iambus was cultivated by the race which had first used it as a vehicle of literary expression. In the lyrical parts of Archilochos we observe a widening of the dialect horizon. These are considered below § 62; on his trochaics, see § 52.

Hipponax alone has so coloured the diction of his 'halting' iambs with words not Hellenic, but drawn from Lydian<sup>1</sup> or Phrygian<sup>2</sup>, that he gained among the commentators the name of βαρύγλωσσος. τροῖσι in 51 recalls the Aiolic scheme of inflection of the numerals. In the hexameters of Hipponax we find epic forms.

In the examination of the phonetic and inflectional system of Ionic the diction of the iambographers Archilochos of Samos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax of Ephesos, Ananios, and Herodas, will be investigated in detail. The other monuments of iambic verse outside of tragedy and comedy are too scanty to yield information of value. A few interesting forms are found in Skythinos.

Though Anianios' personality is scarcely to be separated from that of Hipponax, his language speaks in favour of his being considered as a distinct poet. In some respect his inflections do not follow the strict norm set by his predecessors. Anakreon's iambs are too scanty to permit a conclusion as to their dialect.

The original colouring of the Ionic of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos and Hipponax, though partially obliterated by the ignorance or perversity of copyists, can nevertheless be restored without recourse to a violent disturbance of MS. tradition. In one or two cases epic forms seem to have forced an entrance into the text. In weighing the MS. evidence in the case of Archilochos, the testimony of the Thasiote dialect must be considered.

On the resuscitation of choliambics by the Dorian Herodas, perhaps a contemporary of Theokritos, Ionic came again into fashion. The Alexandrians confessed their allegiance to the Ionic norm; and Babrios' μυθίαμβοι Αἰσώπειοι attest, at least partially, the persistence of the Ionic standard. Cf. also Tzetzes in An. Ox. III 308.

The newly discovered papyrus of Herodas presents a tolerably faithful picture of the Ionic appropriate to this species of iambic composition. The Ionisms seem to be imitative, and not drawn from a living dialect, though there occur forms hitherto unknown in literature. Most of the Atticisms are

<sup>1</sup> βεβρός 64 cf. Hesych. βέβροξ· ἀγαθός; κονίσκε 64; μανλιστήριον 126; Κανδαῦλα 1 ('Μηρονιστί'). Perhaps the Hesychian glosses βάσκε πικρολέα· πλησίον ἐξεθάζε and βαστιζακρόλεα· θᾶσσον ἔρχου were derived from Hipponax.

<sup>2</sup> νηγίατον 129; cf. 135

due to a disturbance of MS. tradition. In the case of others, however, where there is no fluctuation (οὐχί twelve times), it may be doubted whether they are not to be ascribed to the author himself. The MS. has in places been corrected in the interest of the Ionic forms. Forms of Doric complexion may be referred to the speech of the poet's home. These are especially such as show a contraction of  $\alpha + \epsilon$  to  $\eta$ . The crasis of  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  shows more forms with  $\eta$  than with  $\bar{\alpha}$ .  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$  regularly has  $\eta$  ( $\delta\rho\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\rho\eta$ ,  $\delta\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ ).  $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha$  or  $\gamma\lambda\bar{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha$  is not necessarily Doric.  $\nu\iota\nu$  is not uncommon. Some of the most interesting traces of Ionism are the following:—(1) *Vowels*: Over 150 forms have the Ionic  $\eta$ , less than ten have  $\bar{\alpha}$  after  $\rho$ ,  $\epsilon$ , and  $\iota$ . The contraction of  $\epsilon + o$  to  $\epsilon\upsilon$  is very frequent; regularly so in verbal forms.  $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  2<sub>85</sub>, 6<sub>35</sub> and  $\alpha\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$  4<sub>62</sub>, 6<sub>5</sub> are unique. Hyper-Ionic  $\epsilon\upsilon$  occasionally comes to light as in  $\delta\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  5<sub>54</sub>,  $\chi\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\eta$ , 4<sub>42</sub>.  $\epsilon\omega$  is generally so written in noun and verb, though it must usually be read  $\epsilon\omega$ .  $\Pi\rho\eta\chi\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$  4<sub>23</sub> is a singular exception.  $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$  and  $\epsilon + \eta$  are always contracted when the forms were originally separated by *yod*.  $o + \eta = \omega$  in  $\beta\bar{\omega}\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon$  4<sub>41</sub>, 4<sub>5</sub>;  $\iota\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  is frequent, as is the synzesis of  $-\epsilon\alpha$  in neuter plurals. The Ionic  $\omicron\upsilon$  appears in  $\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon\rho\eta$ ,  $\gamma\omicron\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon$ ,  $\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\epsilon\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\eta}$  is attested 5<sub>85</sub>, cf.  $\epsilon\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  2<sub>58</sub>.  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega\upsilon$  is found twelve times,  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omega\upsilon$  but once. (2) *Consonants*:  $\kappa$  for  $\pi$  is very frequent. Traces of  $f$  are scarcely discernible; cf. 2<sub>52</sub>  $\tau\bar{\alpha}$   $\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}$ , but in five other passages the word has no  $f$ . The hiatus in 4<sub>18</sub> is excused by the caesura. There are many indications of psilosis, though these are outnumbered by the occurrences of the rough breathing. While  $\alpha\delta\tau\iota\varsigma$  is found there is no trace of  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}$ .  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\eta$  7<sub>76</sub> and  $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta'$  3<sub>33</sub> have driven out the Ionic forms.  $\sigma\sigma$  holds its own ( $\tau\tau$  only three times).  $\gamma\lambda\acute{\eta}\chi\omega$  occurs.  $\theta\lambda\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota$  3<sub>41</sub> and  $\theta\lambda\acute{\eta}$  2<sub>83</sub>, 5<sub>41</sub> (?) are not Ionic. (3) *Noun declension*:  $\epsilon\omega$  generally, and  $-\epsilon\omega\upsilon$  probably everywhere in the genitive of  $\bar{\alpha}$  stems.  $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$  and  $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$  are certain, though the longer forms occur. Iota stems have  $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $-\bar{\iota}$ . (4) *Pronouns*:  $\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron$ ;  $\eta\acute{\mu}\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ ,  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$  (2<sub>27</sub>) and  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$ ,  $\eta\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  as well as  $\eta\acute{\mu}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ . The Doric  $\nu\acute{\iota}\nu$  is slightly more common than  $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ . Reflexive pronouns in Ionic dress are  $\sigma\epsilon\omega\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$  2<sub>66</sub>,  $\sigma\epsilon\omega\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  7<sub>99</sub>,  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$  5<sub>78</sub> (cf.  $\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$  6<sub>84</sub>). The demonstrative officiates occasionally as the relative. (5) *Verbs*:  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$  4<sub>17</sub>,  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\nu$  *Class. Rev.* V 481 no. 3. Pure verbs that contract in Attic are always contracted though the *scriptio plena* is often found.  $\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha$  5<sub>4</sub> &c. and  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$  5<sub>49</sub> are new forms.  $\omicron\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\varsigma$  2<sub>55</sub> is the same form that Zenodotos regarded as Homeric. (6) *Adverbs*, &c.:  $\eta\upsilon$  almost always,  $\delta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\kappa'$  5<sub>20</sub>, cf. 7<sub>103</sub>,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ ;  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  is much more common than  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ .

The following is a brief statement of the position of the dialect. For a detailed examination, see the discussion of the sounds and inflections of Ionic.

45.] **The Vowels.**  $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\acute{o}\varsigma$  though frequent in the elegy, is not found in the iambists.  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$  is attested in Hipponax 88. Supposed Doric forms such as  $\kappa\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  S. A. 15 (cf. Anan. 5<sub>2</sub>) or  $\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$  in S. A. 29 do not vitiate the conclusion that the iambographers did not mix dialects. See under OΥ.

If  $\nu\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\iota$ , found in S. A. 1<sub>12</sub> is correct, it must be classed with  $\nu\acute{o}\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$ , &c.

On  $\delta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  in Hipponax 35<sub>5</sub>, see under OΥ.

$\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\alpha$  in Simonides of Amorgos 7<sub>87</sub> savours of the epic



transformation of the Ionic ὄνομα. It is probably a misread form. Usually the prosaical is also the poetical form, as witness Archilochos' ἐνάλιος.

Ionic *η* still occurs in Skythinos 1.

As to the contraction of vowels the iambic poets speak with no uncertain voice.

(1) When *yod* intervened between *aε*, *ao*, *aw*, *εε*, *εη* and *εει* contraction has resulted, even if, as happens in a few cases, the contraction is not visibly expressed; as in Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>9</sub> where the form δοκέει must be scanned as an iambus. *εω* results always in a monophthong as does *ειο*, though the orthography varies between *εο*, with synizesis, and *ευ*, which is perhaps due to the later manner of writing.

(2) Vowels originally separated by *F* or *σ* may, but need not, contract. *εσι* yields *ε̄ι* in all other cases except Hipponax 11, where Bergk's reading ἀγέ̄ι has an initial *ā* that is not in harmony with the etymology.

**46.] The Consonants.** The *κ* equivalents of the Homeric *π* forms appear at the opening of the seventh century and remain in undisturbed possession. The presence of ὄπως upon an inscription from Thasos is no proof, as Wilamowitz opines, of the avoidance by Archilochos of the *κ* forms. The rough breathing appears intact in the Thasiote Archilochos (with the exception of but two instances), a fact which seems to bespeak its presence in the Nesiotic Ionic of the seventh century. From the MSS. of Simonides of Amorgos no conclusion can be drawn in reference to the *psilosis* of the dialect, but Hipponax offers proof that the Ionic of the Asiatic mainland was devoid of the influence of the *spiritus asper*, save in fixed compounds of preposition with verb. Digamma seems to occur only in οἶ (Arch. 29<sub>2</sub> and Sim. Amorg. 77<sub>9</sub>), though the number of cases directly opposed to its presence is so overwhelming that we are compelled to regard ἦ δέ οἶ and οὐδέ οἶ as mere formulae, proving nothing more than similar cases of hiatus in the tragic poets.

ἄμμοπος in Hipponax seems to be the Epic and Aiolic form. See § 339.

Movable *nu* is employed, though sparingly.

**47.] Declension.** The dual is extinct. The genitives in -*εω* and -*εων* are completely established in the beginning of the seventh century.

In the dative plural instances of -*αις* and of -*οις* before consonants are rare, if permissible at all. It is by no means certain that (in the few examples which occur) we are not to recognize the instrumental which is obsolescent even in Homer. Scholars

of Nauck's proclivities have not succeeded in ousting all cases of this form from the epos. To cure Arch. 23 the knife must cut deep. The later Ananios without doubt used *-ois*.

*-oio* is rigorously excluded from iambic poetry. Archilochos in the elegy has a sure case of the archaic form. Hipponax bears witness to the influence of the epos only in his hexameter *παρὰ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο* (854).

*-εσσι*, in nouns which are non-sigmatic, is a stranger to all the iambographers except Ananios.

**48.] Pronouns.** The iambographers used *κεῖνος*, *κεῖθι*, the elegists both the longer and the shorter form.

**49.] Verbs.** The presence of the syllabic augment is rigidly enforced. Where the contrary seems to be the case, as Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>45</sub>, hyphaeresis must be assumed to have taken place. The temporal augment may be neglected in the case of verbs whose initial syllable is long by position. The existence of parallel forms in *-αω* and *-εω* begins as early as Archilochos, though it is not till the New Ionic period that these puzzling forms appear in great numbers. The elegy recognizes the existence of the *-εω* form in but one verb (Theog. 169 *μωμεύμενος*, 369 *μωμεῦνται*).

**50.] Prepositions, Adverbs.** *ἐς* is the preferred form. *ἄν* obtains everywhere except in Ananios who has the epic *κέ*.

**51.]** The language of the inscriptions alone is not an absolute proof of the Ionic character of a form in question unless the inscription is older than 400 B.C. and contains no form specifically Attic. The language of the iambists, when supported by that of the inscriptions, is the surest warrant of the Ionic character of any form, cf. § 92. The differences in inflection between iambic poetry and the literary Ionic of Hekataios, Herodotos, and Hippokrates tend mainly in the direction of the preference of the latter, or more strictly the preference of their MSS., for open forms. In iambic poetry diphthongs are less frequently deprived of their second element, *e.g.* in adjectives in *-us*, *-εια*, *-v*; there is no shifting of surd and aspirate in the dental and guttural series. The poets use both *θέλω* and *ἐθέλω*, while Herodotos and Hippokrates seem to have confined themselves to the use of the latter.

The relative and demonstrative pronouns are not restricted in the use of the poets to the Herodoteian rule. An external difference lies in the fact that the graphical expression of crasis is more frequent in the poets than in the prosaists and the inscriptions. *ῥοικα* seems to have been the usual form of the

perfect, as it is found in Sim. Amorg. and Herakleitos, while Herodotos uses *οἶκα*. Verbs in *-aw* are just beginning in Archilochos to admit the presence of the parallel form in *-ew* which has extended its domain so widely in the New Ionic. A sharp distinction between Herodotos and the older Ionic might be drawn on the lines of the existence of forms in *-ow* verbs made upon the model of *-ew* verbs. But the MSS. of Hdt., which alone contain these formations, have probably been vitiated to a considerable extent by theories as to the preference of Ionic for *ev* in all stages of its history.

The iambographers agree with the inscriptions in making a much freer use of the movable *nn* than was made, according to the prevalent, but incorrect, theories as to their diction, by the first writers of Ionic prose. See § 340.

### *Dialect of Trochaic Poetry.*

52.] No more surprising example of the extreme delicacy with which the lyric poets interveined one dialect with another, can be discovered than the diction of early trochaic poetry. It is upon the foundation of contemporaneous, native speech, that both elegy and iambic poetry are raised: the elegy, however, permitting a recourse to the language of the epos which is alien to the genius of iambic verse. Midway between the two, in contents and in spirit, stands trochaic poetry. Its dialect too is not exclusively that of the poet's native speech, but is nevertheless far more deeply rooted to the idiom of the soil than that of the elegy. Homeric forms, even if belonging to another dialect than that of the poet, occasionally force their way in to heighten the pathos of this species of composition.

Less impetuous than the allied iambic rhythm<sup>1</sup>, trochaic verse under the hands of Archilochos expresses an elevated moral purpose which bids man contemplate without surprise the marvels of his outward life, and hold him steadfast in the shock of calamity. The tone of fr. 56, 66, 74 recalls the elegiac to Perikles, as well as the 'No care have I of Gyges' golden store.' When utilized for a less lofty purpose the tetrameter of the inveterate hater may become the vehicle of indirect attack. Yet it never 'bites into the live man's flesh like parchment' as does the terrible and keen-edged iambic. It rarely descends to the coarseness of the latter rhythm.

<sup>1</sup> Of the trochaics it has been said: *uxores virilium iamborum non eodem impetu quo iambi incedunt*. Hermog. de Id. II 349 calls them *γοργότεροι καὶ λογοειδέστεροι* and well adapted for use when *ἐπείγασθαι ὁ λέγων δοκεῖ*.



In the Archilocheian trochaic tetrameter are found the following cases of divergence from the dialect of iambic verse:— (1) *Διωνύσοι* 77 is the only instance of this elision<sup>1</sup> in Ionic, non-Homeric poetry, and the only occurrence of the *-οιο* form in this species of verse. *-οιο* is not found in the iambs of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, or Hipponax. It may be noted that when Anakreon uses *-οιο* it is not in a trochaic fragment, but in an acatalectic iambic dimeter with anapaestic anacrusis. (2) *καθαροῦσι* 64 may easily be forced to yield to the form without apocope. Its removal, however, is unwise, since there are not wanting traces of apocope in monuments of the dialect which are free from the suspicion of having been influenced by the epos. At best these traces are very rare. Apocope is confined almost exclusively to Aiolic and Doric. (3) *φονῆες* in 59 has been regarded as containing the Homeric ending, which had disappeared from Ionic by the time of Archilochos. We find however in Samos *Πριηνῆι*, on which see § 510. (4) Omission of the syllabic augment in 73 is not an Homeric reminiscence. Read *ῥκιχῆσατο*.

Solon's tetrameters are couched in pure Attic save *μοῦνον* 33<sub>ε</sub>, and *κέν* 33<sub>ς</sub>, the latter form being interesting from the fact that it is the only non-Ionic, but Homeric, form employed in trochaics. *βίης* in 32<sub>2</sub> is probably an Ionic interloper.

Lesser trochaic rhythms employed by Archilochos show the beginning of melic poetry, and are therefore referred to § 62.

### *Dialect of the Elegy.*

53.] The history of the elegy from the earliest to the Attic period is in great measure the history of the receding of the Homeric forms, notably those of Aiolic tone, before the wave of modernization. As the freedom and mobility of the speech of the *Divina Commedia*, which set the form for the literary language as Homer did for his successors, were to be restrained in the course of time, so the epos was to lose something of its opulence and plasticity as it passed into the hands of the elegists.

The elegiac poets, whether of Ionic or non-Ionic birth, accepting the language of the Homeric epos as the basis of the fabric of their verse, subject it to two modifications. Either (1) the archaic forms are shaken off, or (2) those peculiar to the poet's home and age are adopted. To the forms which were found alike in Ionic and Aiolic, but were obsolescent at the time of

<sup>1</sup> See Platt, *Class. Rev.* II 99, Lugebil *Der genit. Sing.* § IV.

the completion of the Iliad and Odyssey (800-650 B.C.), the elegy, as the voice of the present, displays a varying degree of repugnance. Thus the archaic ἐθέλωμι has become an impossibility, of *F* there is but an echo, -φι added to nominal stems scarcely survives, -εειν in the second aorist no longer imposes upon our credulity, the open verbal forms are advancing rapidly, by way of synizesis, to the contraction stage. On the other hand the adaptability of -οιο still ensures its perpetuation.

It may be the result of chance, or it may be due to the innovating spirit of the Ionians, that in the fragments of the elegists not of Ionic birth we find more archaic forms preserved than elsewhere. Thus the suffix -θεν is found only in Tyrtaios and in Theognis, φι is preserved by Theognis alone, and the 'enclitic' δε, found once in Archilochos (epode 98), occurs in Tyrtaios, Solon, and Theognis. The terminations -σι (ἐθέλησιν), -σθα (ἔχρισθα), and -μεσθα (φερόμεσθα) are dead except in Theognis.

The bond of sympathy between Homer and the elegy is not felt in equal force by the different poets of the elegiac guild. Stylistic reminiscences of Homer are more frequent in Kallinos and in Mimnermos than in the elegies of Archilochos, the Ionian of the Ionians. It is the colours of war that are most eagerly transferred from Homer to the canvas of the elegists, and Kallinos and Tyrtaios contain more Homeric reminiscences than any other elegists. Some small part of the sententious wisdom of Solon and Theognis is an echo of that of the *bourgeois* Hesiod<sup>1</sup>. In the adoption of epic reminiscences Theognis and several of his contemporaries evince a fondness for those of Aiolie structure.

On the one hand then we have a contraction of the freedom permitted to the diction of the epopee. On the other, the elegists drew from the soil such forms as had not been deemed suitable in tone to express the splendour and remoteness of the epic. We can thus admit without hesitation the κ forms of the Homeric πότε, πῶς, &c., even where the MSS. have π-, perverted by copyists who had the Attic form in their mind's eye. The inability of the Ionic to geminate κ ensures the correctness of Kallinos' ὀππότε κεν δῆ, which has proved a stumbling block to Fick's theory that the elegy in the hands of native Ionians contained no form not pure Ionic in character.

<sup>1</sup> When Phokylides in his hexameters (3) uses the Doric τετόρων, he borrows not from the Homeric, but from the Hesiodic epos, which has left its traces in Theognis and Solon. Cf. *Works and Days* 698 and Kinkel epic frag. No. 248 (τέττορες). Hesiod, as a rule, was not popular with the Ionians of Asia Minor. There is scarcely a trace of an Hesiodic formula in Kallinos or Mimnermos.



Kallinos was not troubled by the thought that the form did not belong to the Ionic element in the *Iliad*.

54.] The chief feature in the linguistic character of the elegy that permits a line of division to be drawn between the older elegists Kallinos, Archilochos, Mimnermos, and Tyrtaios on the one hand, and the later Xenophanes, Phokylides, and Theognis on the other, is the presence of a greater number of Homeric Aiolisms in the latter class. These Aiolisms will be discussed under the head of AIOLIC.

A few noteworthy marks of the Ionic of the elegists are here recorded.

55.] **Vowels.** The indubitable Ionic form *ληός* (see § 160) is unknown to the elegy, despite the fact that it must have existed as early as the Ephesian poet Kallinos. From his time to that of Xenophanes, *λαός* was regularly used, if we accept the testimony of the MSS. It is inconceivable that it can have been employed in the sixth century as a living Ionic form<sup>1</sup>. The preservation of each archaic word must have its special history. *λαός* may have been archaic, as *folk* is, but with more distinctive dialectal colour. Archilochos may have used *ā* in proper names at a time when Ionic *η* before vowels had passed or was passing into *ε*.

56.] **Consonants.** Xenophanes and Phokylides show no trace of the influence of the *spiritus lenis*.

Though Mimnermos probably adopted *κότε*, *κῶς*, &c. (whereas Tyrtaios could not adopt so peculiarly Ionic a phonetic change), yet our MSS. treat both poets alike in presenting only the form with the labial.

*F* is practically dead in the elegists of Ionic extraction. In Mimn. 2<sub>11</sub>, Bergk writes *ἄλλοτε οἶκος*, where the hiatus can be explained on the same view as Solon's *ἄλλοτε ἄλλος* and Archilochos' *Ἐνναλίοιο ἄνακτος*. On Mimn. *ἵνα οἱ* 12<sub>9</sub>, Xenophanes' *ὅ οἱ* 2<sub>9</sub> (which recall *φ 9*), see § 389. *ἐξηκονταέτη* Mimn. 6<sub>2</sub> is a prose as well as a poetical form. Tyrtaios has, in comparison with Kallinos and Mimnermos, more traces of the labial spirant, while in Theognis the retention of the *F* was facilitated by the speech of his ungrateful fatherland.

Assimilation of the final consonant of a preposition which has suffered apocope occurs but rarely (Arch. 6<sub>2</sub>, Mimn. 12<sub>2</sub>, 14<sub>4</sub>) and savours of Aiolic, though evidence from prose may be adduced in support of its Ionic character. Tyrt. 11<sub>19</sub> may be epic or Doric.

<sup>1</sup> Fick's explanation of the presence of *λαός* in Homer is that the Ionization of the poems did not take place until about 540 B.C. when *ληός* was antiquated. With this view I do not agree, nor with that of Monro, *H. G.* p. 390. See AIOLIC, § 10 ff.



**57.] Declension.** Ionic  $-\epsilon\omega$  and  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$  are to be read with synizesis,  $-\omicron\iota\omicron$  occurs twice in the elegies of Archilochos, four times in Mimnermos and in Tyrtaios,  $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$  and  $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$  are not to be removed from Tyrtaios and Theognis. Their expulsion from the Ionic elegists can be accomplished only with great difficulties.

The inflection of  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  shows forms of various ages. Xenoph. 2<sub>9</sub> has  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ , Tyrtaios  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\eta\tilde{\iota}$  12<sub>15</sub> but  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$  4<sub>10</sub>, Theognis  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\eta\omicron\varsigma$  757 but  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  56. Archilochos has the old Ionic  $\nu\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$ . Kallinos preserves the old form of  $\eta\nu$  stems in  $\text{'}\text{Η}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu\eta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , which has its parallel in  $\phi\omicron\nu\eta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  Arch. tetr. 59. Tyrtaios and Theognis admit the  $\eta$  forms more freely. Phokyl. 1<sub>2</sub> professes to have  $\text{Προκλέους}$ , an impossible Ionic form.  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$ , which is stamped as Ionic by Archilochos (ep. 103), is also Theognideian.

**58.] Pronouns.**  $\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$  is read Mimn. 7<sub>3</sub>, though Bekker's  $\sigma\text{'}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$  shows that the critic could not reconcile himself to so early an appearance of the pronoun.  $\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$  Theog. 795 is generally declared to be Attic, while for  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\nu$  Xenoph., which Bergk (II p. 116) retains, Schneidewin proposed  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\acute{o}\nu$ .

**59.] Vowel combinations** are contracted in the elegy with almost as much freedom as in iambic or trochaic poetry. An  $-\epsilon\epsilon\iota$  from  $-\epsilon\omega$  verbs is unknown.  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Mimn. 11<sub>3</sub>,  $\kappa\lambda\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  14<sub>3</sub>, Xenophanes  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\sigma\iota\nu$  2<sub>5</sub> and  $\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\sigma\iota$  Phokyl. 9, are the only examples of vowels uncontracted in verbs upon the disappearance of  $yod$ . Forms from adjectives in  $-\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  which occur only in the elegists, likewise remain open.  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  is not displaced by the prose form. Contraction is not imperative upon the loss of  $F$  or  $\sigma$ .

**60.] Particles.**  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is regularly employed by the Ionians, except in a single instance when Kallinos uses  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ . In the latter part of the sixth century (Theognis)  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  is more frequently employed.

The second book of the Theognideian collection contains many forms which must be allowed to stand, though inconsistent with those that are usual in the earlier portion. So too in all portions which can be shown to be the result of later imitation, Attic forms must be allowed a place. This may excuse such forms as  $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$  456, but is chiefly applicable to the contraction of  $\epsilon + \omicron$  to  $\omicron\upsilon$  which occurs in the Alexandrine elegy in conjunction with the Ionic  $\epsilon\nu$ . The correctness of some Doric forms is not to be impeached because of the adoption of a Doric element by the later elegists. Until it is accurately determined what portions of Theognis are ancient, what of quite recent date, his text is an insufficient criterion in cases where a just doubt may arise as to whether or not a given form is contemporary Ionic.

*The Ionic Element in Solon.*

61.] In Archilochos no great interval in tone separates the iambic from the elegiac fragments. In Solon, too, the spirit of the elegiacs is not appreciably different from that of the iambic trimeters and tetrameters. Perhaps a greater measure of objectivity is discernible in the former than in the latter species of the lyric art as cultivated by the Athenian lawgiver. In the domain of language, however, each form of composition is subject to its own conditions.

The iambs are composed in the pure dialect of the first half of the sixth century. The pathos of the *γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν ἰέντας* (36<sub>9</sub>) echoes the spirit of the Athenian, to whom the adoption of an un-Attic idiom was not easy; a fact attested by the language of the epigrams discovered upon Attic soil which almost without exception adopt the contemporary Attic form. Cf. §§ 72, 75, 2, 189.

The fragments of the oldest Attic elegy as represented by Solon, and in fact the remains of the entire Attic elegy to the time of Kritias, have been handed down in a form whose correctness, so far as the interrelation of the Attic *ā purum* and the Ionic *η* is concerned, has been disputed, notably by Kirchhoff<sup>1</sup>. The form of the Soloneian elegy as presented by the MSS. is practically that of the later epigrams, which do not scruple to use, now the Attic *ā*, now the Ionic *η*<sup>2</sup>. Kirchhoff contends that an Attic elegy with *ā purum*, or an Attic elegy with *η* throughout, would be conceivable; that we could not take umbrage even at a mixture of Attic and Ionic, provided there were discernible some law governing the interrelation of the two dialects; but that an arbitrary procedure which permits now *ā purum*, now Ionic *η* in the same word, is, in the light of the evidence afforded by the contemporary elegiac fragments upon inscriptions, utterly inconceivable.

In § 72 it is shown that the language of the Attic elegy in the inscriptions of the sixth and fifth centuries is, as far as the use of *ā purum* is concerned, pure Attic without a single trace of the Ionic *η*. The evidence of the stone records contemporary with, or subsequent to, Solon speaks therefore with no uncertain voice in favour of the view that would expel all cases of Ionic *η* from the text of the ancient lawgiver. In confirmation of this opinion may be adduced the fact that the MSS. of Solon have

<sup>1</sup> *Zur Geschichte d. attischen Epigramms in Hermes V 48 ff.*

<sup>2</sup> *Wagner, Quaestiones de epigrammatis, p. 25.*



passed through the hands of scribes who substituted Ionic for Attic forms. In XIII 46 there is no other reading than the hyper-Ionic οὐδεμίην. Similar forms have been dragged into the text of the philosophers (cf. Anaxagoras, 4). With all his dependence upon the diction of Homer, it must therefore be held that all cases of purely Ionic η must be expelled from Solon's text.

On the other hand the inscriptional evidence does not support the contention of those scholars<sup>1</sup> who would find in the early Athenian elegy nothing but contemporary Attic forms; as it disproves Kirchhoff's view that the Old Attic epigrams contain nothing but Attic forms, the Ionic epigrams nothing but pure Ionic, and that a mixture of Attic and Ionic is unknown in the earliest period. κούρη we find in C. I. A. I 469 (§ 75, 2), εἵνεκα in conjunction with γενεᾶς C. I. A. IV 477 E (§ 78), Ἀῖδαο C. I. A. I 481, ἀπο]φθιμένοις C. I. A. IV 477 C., ποτί C. I. A. I 466. This admixture of the Attic and Homeric dialect which we meet in the sixth century B.C. is the forerunner of that constant juxtaposition of Attic and Ionic which exists in the epigrams of the latest period. With Φρασικλείας, κούρη in C. I. A. I 469, cf. Λυκείας, κούρην Kaibel 152. Kirchhoff indeed holds<sup>2</sup> that κούρη is an Attic form, the 'survival of older phonetic conditions of the Attic idiom.' Even Kretschmer, who contends<sup>3</sup> that Διόσκουροι is genuine Attic, does not venture the assertion that this ου is Attic save in compounds in which the accent preceded the syllable containing the diphthong.

If the Attic elegy, as it found expression among the common people in funereal monuments, did not refuse to own at least a partial allegiance to the epic, it is the more improbable that, in its literary form under the hands of Solon, it should have cast off all forms not of Attic colouring. εἰπέμεναι has, indeed, long ago retired before the εἰπέιν μοι of Aristotle; ἔμμεναι may only occur in a spurious verse: but all efforts to disturb ἡγεμόνεσσιν must be fruitless in the face of the fact that this form comes to light in the elegy upon the deeds of Kimon preserved by Plutarch (*Kimon* 7).

In general it may be said of the dialect of Solon that it goes along with that of his Ionic predecessors or contemporaries. Open -εω has ceased to exist in verbal and substantival forms, -εω or -ω being substituted therefor; Ionic -εϋ is found four, and Attic -ου three, times in the elegies. Verbs in αω, εω, ωω are always contracted. Upon the disappearance of intervocalic σ contraction results almost invariably. Solon has Παιῶνος 1357,

<sup>1</sup> Notably Fick, *B. B.* XIV 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes*, V 54.

<sup>3</sup> *K. Z.*, XXXI 442.



whereas Archilochos had *παιήονα*, but there are cases where vowels originally separated by *F* are kept apart. Traces of initial *F* do not exist. The Ionic form in *σσ* seems to have forced its way in, to the entire exclusion of the native *ττ*. Apocope of *ἀνά* occurs once (111<sub>2</sub>). *-οιο* is found but twice, while *-οις* and *-αις* are so rare that their existence has been denied. Wherever there is a variation in the MSS. between Attic and Ionic forms the former should be adopted.

On Solon's trochaics, see § 52.

### *Ionisms of Melic Poetry.*

62.] **Archilochos (Epodes).** Forms not in consonance with the native dialect of the poet are: *κόρης* 120 (iobacchics), *ὀρέων* 115, a fragment of like metre with 114, if the final syllable of *δυσπαιπάλους* be regarded as anceps. In 114 (asynartetic dactylic tetrapody + ithyphallicus) we find *λίπε*, a case of omitted augment which is not analogous to *κιχήσατο* 73 and *ποτᾶτο* 186, where hyphaeresis may account for the unusual form. The hiatus in *ἦ δέ οἱ* 97 recalls that of 29 (iambic), and is probably stereotyped.

Of the lesser trochaic rhythms<sup>1</sup> Archilochos manifests a preference for the ithyphallicus both in conjunction with the dactylic tetrapody, as in 114 and 115, and also when the paroemiacus precedes, as in 79, a fragment containing *Χαρίλαε*.

The trochaic tripody installed itself early in favour with the purely melic poets. Sappho united two ithyphallics to form a single verse, Anakreon employed the tripody after an iambic dimeter. Whether the *Hail to the Chief* of Archilochos (119) contains a catalectic trochaic tetrapody is doubtful. The occurrence of the form *Ἰόλαος* (in the iambic trimeter) is at least worthy of note. *λαός* does not appear in the pure iambics of Archilochos.

63.] **Anakreon.** The dialect of Anakreon is the Ionic<sup>2</sup> of his time with an admixture of Aiolisms (see under Melic AIOLISMS) sufficient to indicate the debt his genius owed to the Lesbian school. These Aiolisms are not rigorously confined to the metres inherited by the Teian bard from his Mitylenaian predecessors. Dorisms, though found in the fragments handed down by Hephaestion, held to exist by Eustathios (1862<sub>11</sub>) and suggested by Bergk in his emendations, are totally foreign to the atmo-

<sup>1</sup> On the tetrameter, see § 52.

<sup>2</sup> ἔγραψεν ἐλεγεία καὶ ἰάμβους, Ἰάδι πάντα διαλέκτω, Suidas.

sphere of the poet. The following Ionisms attest the character of his language: κ for π in κού, κώ, ἐσκατορᾶς 1<sub>6</sub>, ἐπίστιον 90<sub>4</sub>. κάθοδος 43<sub>6</sub> is not a proof of the presence of the initial asper in the sixth century. ὀχάνοιο in 91 is the only example of the archaic ending in the Ionic melos<sup>1</sup>; τιθέμεναι in the same fragment is another example of the persistence of the Homeric form (though both might be classed with the Aiolisms). Another older form is Ποσιδηϊών 6. The shorter forms -αις and -οις (e.g. 24, 64<sub>11</sub>) cannot be conjectured out of existence. Anakreon is of great importance for the study of the supposed fondness of Ionic for open vowels. In vocalic contraction Anakreon followed his predecessors in the treatment of vowels originally separated by *γολ*. φιλέει 70, δοκέεις 75<sub>2</sub> written with *scriptio plena* are due to Hephaestion and Heraklides Pontikos respectively. When *F* or *σ* intervened, Anakreon adopted the open or the contracted form. In a considerable number of instances the uncontracted forms appear in the MSS. despite the necessity of contraction or at least synizesis. Forms that are certainly open are rare, e.g. Θρηϊκήης 96 eleg. (but cf. 49, 75), πᾶις 21<sub>13</sub>. In 45 we even find ᾗδω (cf. 65), and in 63<sub>3</sub> ἐγχεάς! Initial *F* is extinct. The genitives in -εω and -εων are monosyllabic. The expulsion of the second element of the diphthongs *ει* and *οι* occurs chiefly in Anakreon and Hipponax, and reminds us of the approach of the later prose usage. Crasis is not often expressed graphically (8<sub>3</sub>, 21<sub>7</sub>, 88, cf. 44<sub>6</sub>).

*The Ionic Element in the Epigram and in Melic Poetry (Alkman, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides).*

64.] The nature of the mixed dialect adopted by Alkman, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Simonides of Keos, Pindar, Bacchylides, &c., who made use of Doric, Aiolic and Ionic, will be discussed in a later volume of this work in the chapter treating of the mixture of dialects in the earlier choral poetry and in the later universal melic.

The Ionisms which constituted a portion of the poetical apparatus of choral poetry, are drawn chiefly from the Homeric, less frequently from the Hesiodic epos.

Regard to the virtue of each of the component parts<sup>2</sup> of the melic art dictated the presence of epic forms in varying degree.

<sup>1</sup> This fragment is the only example of an acatal. iamb. dimeter with an anapaestic anacrusis.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, Rep. III 398 D: τὸ μέλος ἐκ τριῶν ἐστὶ συγκεῖμενον, λόγου τε καὶ ἁρμονίας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ.

When the substructure of the poem is Ionic and we find superimposed both Doric and Aiolic, Doric is the heavier, Aiolic the lighter element. When Doric lies at the base, the purely Ionic framework is more noticeable than the Aiolic.

65.] Forms of distinctly Ionic colouring are exceedingly rare in Alkman. In fr. 30 the MS. has γούνατα for which γώνατα is to be written with Hiller; so Dor. δωρί for δουρί fr. 68. In εἶαρος 26, τρεῖς 76, ὄρνεις 28, ἀγέεται (-ῆται Schneid.) 93, the *ει* is Ionic, as is the case in εἰμένα 97 (Hiller ἡμένα). The *ει* of εἵπατε 47, 56 B is pan-Hellenic.

66.] In the following sections are examined the occurrences of the purely Ionic forms in the melic poets, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides. In the case of the epigrams of Simonides the occurrences of *ā* are noticed. Since a registration of such Homeric forms as are not absolutely Ionic is not attempted, all Aiolo-Ionic forms are excluded.

In order not to break the light thrown upon the dialect of the different varieties of lyric verse cultivated by Simonides, the epigram has been noticed here rather than in conjunction with the elegy (see § 53 ff.).

67.] The epigram was originally completely local in colouring and not restricted to the elegiac distich as a vehicle of expression. In the oldest monuments we find the hexameter<sup>1</sup>, a metre which still proved serviceable after the distich had long been in vogue. Homer indeed was styled the first epigrammatist on the strength of H 89—

ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,  
ὄν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος ἼΕκτωρ.

Epigraphical monuments of the seventh century such as the Korkyraian inscriptions in honour of Polynovas, Menekrates, Arniadas (C. D. I. 3186, 3188, 3189) are composed in hexameters, but in the Korinthian dialect. Attic epigrams in hexametrical form are to be found C. I. A. I 468, cf. 465, 476, 478.

One of the earliest Doric epigrams in the distich form—

εἰ μὴ ἐγὼν ὦναξ παγχρύσεός εἰμι κολοσσὸς  
ἐξώλης εἴη Κυψελιδᾶν γενεά

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hdt. V 59, Plato, Laws XII 958 E. Epigrams in iambic or trochaic metre are rare in all periods.



was designed for the colossus of Zeus, consecrated by Kypselos not long after Ol. 33<sup>1</sup>. An early epigram in Boiotian is found in I. G. A. 146.

If the epigram was originally couched in the dialect of the person in whose honour it was composed, the rise of the elegiac distich<sup>2</sup> as the instrument for the expression of grief or of sententious thought, changed in course of time its linguistic framework. Instead of representing a purely local idiom in its literary form, the epigram often accepts the Ionic of the elegy as an ingredient. Antiquated terminations such as *-σθα*, *-μεσθα*, *-θεν*, *-φω* are rejected, though *-οιο* is retained from the fact that it is well adapted to come immediately before the first caesura, and at the end of the verse.

With Simonides the epigram widens its horizon, does not disdain ornament, and admits Doric and Attic forms as a constituent part of a diction that is not a local, but an epic, Ionic. Some portions of Ionic territory such as Chios, where no trace of an admixture of Doric may be discovered, have yielded epigrams containing a slight infusion of Doric forms. The Athenian epigram, however, displays a repugnance to forms alien to Attic. This consciousness of the duty to the mother tongue finds expression as early as Solon (*γλῶσσαν* (*γλῶτταν*?) *οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν ἰέντας*). Epigrams that have come to light upon the soil of Attika generally contain nothing that is not pure Attic. But when a Dorian or an Ionian caused a monument to be erected in Attika in memory of a fellow countryman, we observe the introduction of Doric or Ionic forms. So in Simonides Dorisms or Atticisms are admissible in case Dorians or inhabitants of Attika are the cynosure of the poet's eye. These Dorisms must not be too remote, that is, specifically local in tone.

In the course of time, as the individuality of dialect life disappeared, the strictness of the principles regulating the diction of the ancient epigram relaxed. In late inscriptional epigrams from Attika we find Ionic and Attic forms commingling, much in the same manner as in the MSS. of the old-time epigrammatists, whose texts have suffered no little depravation from the hand of time. A *παιδείαι καὶ σοφίῃ* is not an unusual occurrence. Even when the general frame-work is Attic or Doric, Ionic forms continue to appear. Nor are these Ionisms restricted, as might be expected, to those enfranchised by the Homeric poems. The New Ionic occasionally makes itself heard. Errors of the stone cutters in the direction of the insertion of familiar forms become more and more frequent as

<sup>1</sup> Bergk *Gr. Lit.-Gesch.* II 174.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mackail, *Anthology*, p. 5.

time advances. The poet even ventures upon dialect collocations which would have been avoided at an earlier date. In an execrable elegy commemorating the exploits of a Megarian in the Korinthian war, the Doric is contaminated by *Ἀθήνας* (which is pardonable enough), and by *δήμῳ*. We also meet with a Doric epigram in honour of an Ionian, whose name, however, still retains its Ionic stamp. In the epigrams of peoples who once spoke Ionic the admixture of Ionic forms is not more surprising than in those monuments which commemorate Dorians. Dialect epigrams became a matter of personal predilection dependent more or less upon the skill and taste of the local poet.

The investigation of the epigram at the period of its highest artistic excellence is beset with the difficulty that there has been fathered upon Simonides no inconsiderable number of creations of a later date (Bergk 178–188), whose spuriousness is not always easy to demonstrate. Junghahn's<sup>1</sup> criterion of the use of *ὅδε* and *οὗτος* is here of no avail. The possibility of deception was rendered comparatively easy in the case of the epigrammatists because it was not till late, as we learn from inscriptions<sup>2</sup>, that the artist affixed his name to his work as a mark of its genuineness. The fragments of the lyric poets were collected without critical examination at a tolerably early date, and Alexandrian and later learning was impatient of the confession that it could not discover the author of an epigram that professed to have been handed down from the golden age of lyric poetry. The result was that to Archilochos, Pisander, Sappho, Erinna, Anakreon, and especially Simonides, much has been attributed that is the product of mendacious art or scholastic exercise.

68.] Ionic H<sup>3</sup>. The choric poets agree in using *ā* for the Ionic *η* in all passages except those mentioned below, where the reading of the chief MSS. is stated; but pan-Hellenic *η* is not changed to *ā*.

(1) In the terminations of the first declension. Exceptions are rare, *e.g.* Sim. 46, 60, 66, 76; Bacch. 13<sub>1</sub>, 24, 26, 27<sub>1</sub>, 39; Stesich. 26<sub>4</sub>, Pind. P. V 67. In several of these passages there is MS. authority for the *ā* form, as also in Ibyk. 20.

In the epigrams composed in honour of Dorians *ā* is to be

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestiones de Simonidis Cei epigrammatis* (fourth Jahresbericht über das Luisenstädtische Gymnasium zu Berlin, 1869).

<sup>2</sup> The source of an epigram may be indicated in inscriptions by other means. In Hicks 11 we have a late restoration of an epigram by Simonides, whose name appears in the introduction.

<sup>3</sup> See Mucke *De dialectis Stesichori, Ibyci, Simonidis, Bacchylidis aliorumque poetarum choricorum cum Pindarica comparatis*. Schaumberg *Quaestiones de dialecto Sim. Cei, Bacch., Ibyci*; Peter *De dialecto Pindari*. See AIOIC, § 100.



accepted, *e.g.* Sim. 99, 103, 141, 160 where Ionic and Doric stand side by side according to the editions. The tendency to adopt epic instead of Doric forms is seen in 138, an epigram quoted by Thukydides, Demosthenes, Plutarch, and by Suidas with the Ionic 'Ελλήνων ἀρχηγός, μνῆμ', though the historian expressly says that the words were inscribed by order of Pausanias. ἐμπορίην in 127 must yield to ἐμπορίαν since γενεάν precedes. The MSS. vary in the case of Nos. 105, 115, 116, 141. Conversely Doric forms have MS. authority when no reason appears to exist for their presence (*e.g.* 89, 108).

(2) In forms derived from verbs with stems in -a or from nouns of the  $\hat{A}$  declension. Exceptions are ὀνησίπολις Sim. 53 (ὥνασα 55), ἔστη Bacch. 33 (*cf.* ἔφα), θνητῶν Sim. 71, Bacch. 3 and θνητοῖς Bacch. 9, 36. θνατός is frequently attested. ἀδμᾶτες Bacch. 34, the conjecture of Bergk, must be adopted in place of Clem. Alex. and Eusebios' ἀδμηῖτες (θεόδμητος in a few MSS. Pind. Ol. III 7, elsewhere -δματος). In Sim. epig. 141, we have νικήσαντα and αἰγλήεντα 177 (hexam.); elsewhere the η forms except μνάματα 134<sub>2</sub>, μνᾶμ' 138<sub>2</sub>.

Pindar has φώνασε Ol. XIII 67 &c., ἐδινάθην P. XI 38 (*B* has η), ὠκυδίνατος Isth. V 6, πεποναμένον P. IX 93, ποναθῇ Ol. VI 11, the first and last verbs having η forms elsewhere. Boeckh's φιλάσαντ' N. VII 88 and φίλασ' N. V 44 have but poor support; ἀπονοστάσαντος N. VI. 50; ὑμνασαι in all MSS. Isth. III 7.

(3) In the augment of verbs whose initial vowel is *a*. Sim. ἥρξατο 46 has long ago been corrected in the light of ἄλλοντο 40<sub>3</sub>. For ἄρθη 16 the MSS. have ἡέρθη. In the epigrams Sim. has η (*e.g.* ἡρθη 111<sub>1</sub>). Pind. P. IV 119 has προσηύδα.

(4) Forms with radical  $\bar{a}$ . S. has ἄπρακτος 5<sub>16</sub>, 39, Bacch. ἄπρακτ' 20, Pindar πρᾶξις &c., but ἀπρήκτων Isthm. VIII 8, which is defended by Boeckh on grounds that fail to produce conviction. Pindar has furthermore η in σιδηρίταν N. V 19. ἡσυχία is the better attested reading in six passages, despite the existence of ἀσύχιμον Ol. II 32, ἀσύχιον P. IX 22. Μνημοσύνας is supported by a consensus of all MSS. N. VII 15, and στήλα by the testimony of some in Ol. III 44. Elsewhere η is found only in proper names in Pindar:—Ζηνί fifteen times, Ζηνός four times, Ζῆνα P. IV 194, IX 64; Θρηϊκίων P. IV 205; Ἀσκληπιόν N. III 54 is condoned by Peter for the strange reason that the ode has an Aiolie colouring (Ἀσκληα- is Aiolie); an argument put forward by Hermann and Boeckh in defence of πολυμάλω Ol. I 12, which Gildersleeve regards as = πολυκάρπω. μῆλον *sheep* has η invariably in Pindar.



Simonides 79 with ἥδνμος brings up the question of the origin of the word and its relation to νήδνμος (see Leaf on B 2). In 41<sub>2</sub>, 71 and 74 S. has *ā*. In the following words *η* occurs:—*ἀμήχανος* 51<sub>1</sub>, cf. 43, *ἡματα* 12, *ἡμερόφωνος* 80 B, *σηκός* 46, *κληῖς* 23, *ἡλίθιος* 55. On *ὀνησίπολις* 53, &c. see above (2). In 57<sub>4</sub> *στάλας*, not *στήλας*, is correct. In his epigrams S. has *ā*, as in *Πελοποννάσου* 91<sub>2</sub> (*v. l. η*), *νᾶσος* 96<sub>2</sub>, *δάμῳ* 155<sub>10</sub>, *σᾶμα* 126, *καρύσσει* 182<sub>6</sub> (spurious?).

In a trochaic fragment (28) Bacchylides has ἡδύς, which is Attic rather than epic. In 24 we find *πῆχυν*, in 9 *Ζηνί*.

Ibykos offers *Θρηϊκίος* 1, *κῆπος* 1, *πεπηγώς* 21.

Stesichoros *νηυσίν* 32, *ἀμήχανα* 51 (as Epicharmos and Theokritos) with which cf. S. 51<sub>1</sub>, 43. Pindar has uniformly *ἀμάχανος*. Furthermore *κῆδεα* 50, *ἡλίβατος* 83.

(5) In compounds whose prior member ends in *o* usually. *στεφανηφόρον* (Bergk, P. L. G. III 734, l. 7) was formerly attributed to Pindar, whereas the correct form appears Ol. VIII 10. In P. XI 8 *ὀμηγερέα* or *-γυρέα*, despite *ὀμάγυριν* Isth. VII 46.

(6) Feminines in *-ānā*. Pindar's *Ἀλκμήνα* (*e.g.* Ol. VII 27) led Schneidewin to correct *Ἀλκμάνας* Sim. 8. *εἰράνα* (*Lysistr.* 1081) should not cause any confusion as to the Doric character of the form *εἰρήνα*, attested by Alkman and containing a pan-Hellenic *η*. *εἰράνα* seems to be due to the influence of *σελάνα*, *γαλάνα*. In Pindar we have *εἰρήνα* in almost all MSS. Ol. XIII 7, P. IX. 23, N. I 69 (*εἰράναν* in the pseudo-Pind. adesp. 140). *εἰρήνη* in Bacch. 131, needs only the slight change to *εἰρήνα* and not Boeckh's more caustic remedy. Pindar has both *Ἀθάνα* (*e.g.* Ol. XIII 82) and *Ἀθηναία*<sup>1</sup> (Ol. VII 36) and Sim. in his epigrams has *Ἀθάνας* 151<sub>1</sub> and *Ἀθηναίης* 143<sub>2</sub>. Compare the use in tragedy. If any change is necessary in Sim. 151, I should prefer *Ἀθηνᾶς* to Bergk's *Ἀθήνης*. This contracted form occurs in Attic as early as the sixth century. *Ἀθήνη* is a rare form, if it exists at all, upon old inscriptions. An instance is found Roberts I. No. 26, but at all events is too doubtful to permit us to assume that this form was a part of the poet's apparatus. Sim. has *Ἑλλάνων* 108<sub>4</sub> and 138 (epigr.) as Pindar, *e.g.* P. I 49, and Timokr. 2 *Ἑλλανας*. Pindar has *ἀπήνα* Ol. V 3, *ποτανός* often, but *ποτηνός* P. V 114 (Peter proposes *πετηνός* or *πετεινός*); *Μυκηναῶν* in P. IV 49 is strange.

(7) Suffix in *-tas* = Ionic *-της*. Bacchyl. 42 *ἀβρότητι*, where the Doric form is intentionally excluded by the choice of rhythm and tone of the fragment. Pindar has *-τᾶτ-* invariably.

<sup>1</sup> Peter thinks the *η* of *Ἀθηναία* was retained from the epic from a reverential regard for proper names. Cp. the treatment of *Ἡρακλῆς* in Boiotian and Thessalian. Most editors read *Ἀθαναία* in Ol. VII 36, N. X 84.

(8) Other suffixes: Ἰθακήσιος in Bacchyl. 38; καύχημα Istl V 51.

(9) Ionic ημ = Doric āμ = Aiolic ἄμμ, < ασμ. Ibykos 111 ha ἡμετέρας which was corrected by Hermann. Bacchylides 11 ha ἄμέτερον.

(10) In isolated words (radical syllables): Ibyk. 22 has νήριτο in the MS. which was changed by Boeckh to ἀνηριτᾶν. Bergk reads ἀναριτᾶν. In Ib. 12 μηλίδες (despite μάλον Stes. 29, Ib. 6) ha been corrected by Hiller. πηνέλοψ Stes. 91 (schol. *Ares* 1302). πρᾶτον in Sim. 182 (probably spurious).

69.] Other Ionisms. (1) Cases of the adulterine diphthongs ει are as follows.

Pindar: εἰνάλιος except P. IV 39 where ἐνάλιος occurs, ἀλεγείνός, ἐρατεινός, ποθεινός, σκοτεινός, κλεινός eleven times (elsewhere κλεινός three times, cf. κελαδεινός, φαεινός), κεινός Ol. III 4, and κενός. In the case of κελαδεινός and φαεινός Homer use the Ionic forms without exception.

The inf. in -ειν occurs besides that in -μεν and in -εν; εἰμέν P. III 60.

Stesichoros: κλεινᾶς 5, χειροβρώς 4, κλαίειν 51.

Simonides: ποθεινός 712 (also in Likymn. 4), εἰαρινός 572, 73 (Pind. ἡρινός P. IX 46); χεῖρας 82, χειρῶν 17 (χέρα 374, χερσί 52). In the epigrams Sim. has χεῖρα 1416, χειρός 1363, χεῖρα 1078, 1151; εἰροπόλιοι 235 (Bergk αἰριπόλιοι). ξεινός occurs only in the epigrams and elegies: Ξεινοφίλου 1473, ξεινοδόκων 84 and as v. l. in 96, 921; κλεινοῖο epigr. 941 (κλεινόν ep. 1203 κλεινόν by conjecture). ει also in εἰμί ep. 1521.

Bacchylides: ἰκνέισθαι 33.

(2) The adulterine ου and ου due to metrical lengthening occurs as follows:—

Pindar: Οὔλυμπος Ol. III 36, XIII 92, P. IV 214, N. X 84, Is. IV 55, frag. 304; Οὔλυμπιονίκας Ol. IV 9, Οὔλυμπία Ol. III 15, V 2, N. IV 75. Elsewhere Ὀλυμπος, Ὀλυμπιάς Ὀλύμπιος.

μόνρος P. IV 227, IX 27, Is. V 12, elsewhere μόνος; νοῦσος P. III 7, IV 293, elsewhere νόσος; κοῦρος κούρα throughout; δούρατος P. IV 38, δουρί Ol. VI 17, N. IX 26; γούνασιν Is. II 26; οὔρε Is. VI 32, οὔρεσι P. VI 21; οὐλόμενον P. X 41, -αν P. IV 293, frag. 10710; μουσικᾶς Ol. I 15, elsewhere Μοῖσα; Ἀρέθουσιν P. III 69. -ουσα in the participle is found in all MSS. Ol. VII 48, P. IX 23, Is. VIII 35; in P. VIII 4, Ol. I 31 some MSS. have -οισα, others -ουσα; -οισα elsewhere. Pindar uses either -οισα, or -οντι, as verbal terminations.

Stesichoros: κλείουσα 35; Μοῦσα 35, 44; κούρα 18, 35, κουριδίαν 8; μούνος 26.

Ibykos: *κούρα* 15, and 9 by conjecture (*κόρα* 45, *κόρους* 16 for *κουρ-* of the MSS., according to Dindorf). *θαλέθουσι* occurs in frag. 1.

Simonides: *δούρατι* 37<sub>7</sub>, *δουρί* 53<sub>1</sub>; *οὔρεας* 18<sub>2</sub>; *κούροι* ep. 108<sub>2</sub>, *κουριδίην* ep. 117<sub>4</sub> (but not in the melic fragments); *νοῦσε* ep. 117<sub>1</sub>; *Οὐλύμποιο* ep. 167<sub>1</sub> (*Ὀλυμπία* 125, *Ὀλυμπιονίκαν* ep. 149, *ὀλυμπιάδας* 152<sub>2</sub>); *μοῦνος* 87 (ep. 184<sub>5</sub>), *μόνος* 77, 88<sub>1</sub> el., 46<sub>1</sub>; *οὔνομα* ep. 110<sub>3</sub>; *Μοῦσα* 46<sub>1</sub>, *Μουσᾶν* 44<sub>2</sub>, *Μοισᾶν* ep. 148<sub>12</sub><sup>1</sup> are the MS. readings; *στρέφοισαν* 30<sub>4</sub> is a conjecture of Wyttenbach for *στρέφοιαν*; *στίζουσα* 78, *καλέουσι* 31<sub>3</sub>, *κλέπτουσιν* 42 are the MS. readings. Bergk adopts *ἀποτρέποισι* in 1<sub>2</sub> and *οι* throughout in *μοῦσα*, in the fem. part and third pl. The MS. evidence for this is very scanty. Pindar certainly extended the range of the Aiolic *οι* wider than Simonides.

Bacchylides: *Μοῦσα* 28<sub>2</sub>, *μαρμαίρουσιν* 27<sub>8</sub>, *ἄγουσιν* 27<sub>10</sub>, are Attic; *μοῦνος* 26 (*μόνος* 25 was changed by Gaisford to *μοῦνος*), *νοῦσος* 34, *κούρα* 48, eleg.

(3) **Varia.** The inf. in *-ναι* (*δεικνύναι* Pind. fr. 42<sub>4</sub>, *δοῦναι* P. IV 35), a form that prevails in Simonides (*-μεν* 30<sub>3</sub>, 31<sub>2</sub>, ep. 85<sub>9</sub>, 137<sub>4</sub>), Ibykos, Bacchylides. *ἡμῶν* Sim. ep. 89<sub>1</sub>, 97<sub>5</sub> (Bergk *ἄμιν*). *προδεδεγμένον* Ibyk. 19.

The Homeric genitive in *-οιο*, though more frequently retained in Ionic than in Aiolic, is to be regarded as the joint property of the two dialects. It is frequent in Pindar (who has also *-οι*) and is found in Stes. 8, 85, Ibyk. 9 (in *C D*). On the other hand, Ibyk. 29 has *Ἐνναλίου* though Homer has *Ἐνναλίοιο*. *ἑλικοβλεφάρου* is adopted by Bergk in Pind. P. IV 172, fr. 123<sub>5</sub> and Sim. 18. In the epigrams, Sim. has *-οιο* 84<sub>3</sub>, 94<sub>1</sub>, 113<sub>1</sub>, 129<sub>1</sub>, 143<sub>1</sub>, 167<sub>1</sub> (179<sub>1</sub>). Christ has collected<sup>2</sup> the traces of Pindaric and Doric *-ω* (gen. sing.) and *-ως* (accus. pl.), which may have been original, but supplanted by the Ionic forms.

### *The Nature of the Ionisms of the Universal Melic.*

70.] A study of the dialect preferences in the remains of the melic poets shows that it is hazardous to assert the existence of a dialect that is absolutely uniform even in the adoption of Ionisms, to say nothing of a consistent usage in respect of Aiolisms and Dorisms. Truth lies then on the side of Ahrens and Bergk in denying the existence of a uniform melic dialect, which

<sup>1</sup> The last verse of ep. 148 is in a different metre from the foregoing. Verses 11 and 12 are perhaps spurious.

<sup>2</sup> *Beiträge zum Dialekte Pindars*, p. 52 ff.



was advocated by Schneidewin, Boeckh, Neue, and others. On the other hand Ahrens, while holding that Ionic may be found in Pindar, went too far (II 132) in demanding the expulsion of the epic  $\eta$  when it is equivalent to the Doric  $\bar{a}$ . The paramount influence of Homer is seen in the fact that all the words containing an Ionic  $\eta$ , with the exception of the Simonideian  $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\phi\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\upsilon\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  and  $\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , are traceable to an epic source<sup>1</sup>.  $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\phi\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$  may be an error for  $\imath\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron-$  (cf. Sappho 39), a form actually found in some MSS.  $\delta\upsilon\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  awakens suspicion when confronted with  $\tilde{\omega}\nu\alpha\sigma\alpha$ .

The list of Ionisms given above shows that, while certain forms invariably appear in an Ionic dress, in other cases now the Ionic, now the Aiolic or Doric form is found. In general, however, the two latter dialects do not transcend the boundaries established for them by usage. The poets of the sixth century bear witness to the fact that at an extremely early period in the history of the Greek lyric certain words had assumed a fixed form. Departure from the stereotyped form contravened the principles of the melic art.

### *Relation of Old Attic to Ionic.*

The following treatises deal chiefly with the stylistic relations between Old Attic and Ionic prose. See also p. 74.

CYRANKA : *De orationum Thucydidicarum elocutione cum tragicis comparata*, 1875.

DIENER : *De sermone Thucydidis quatenus cum Herodoto congruens differat a scriptoribus Atticis*, 1889.

NIESCHKE : *De Thucydide Antiphontis discipulo et Homeri imitatore*, 1885.

C. F. SMITH : *Traces of tragic usage in Thucydides*. Proceed. Am. Philol. Assoc. Vol. XXII (1891), p. xvi.

71.] The identity of the  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\grave{\alpha}$  'Αθίς with the 'Ιάς as asserted by Strabo<sup>2</sup>, was widely held by the ancients<sup>3</sup>, by scholars of the

<sup>1</sup>  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\iota$  in Bacchylides' castigation of the Ionians (frag. 42) is also, despite  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\eta\varsigma$ , an exception.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo VIII. page 333 :  $\tau\eta\eta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ 'Ι\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\ \tau\eta\ \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\grave{\alpha}\ 'Α\theta\iota\delta\iota\ \tau\eta\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\eta\ \phi\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon\ \text{(καὶ γὰρ Ἴωνες ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τότε Ἀττικοί, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικήσαντες Ἴωνες καὶ χρῆσάμενοι τῇ νῦν λεγομένη γλῶσσῃ Ἰάδι)}$ . Cf. Galen, quoted § 95. Dionys. Perieg. 61 ; and § 119 on the dialect of  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\upsilon\iota\alpha$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\upsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ . Apoll. Dysk. says more cautiously of the Athenians that they are  $\delta\upsilon\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\iota\ 'Ι\omega\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\delta$ . p. 228<sub>18</sub> Schn. Cf. Anecd. Bachm. I. 265<sub>8</sub> and above § 24.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Gr. 235, 241, Gram. Leid. 628  $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ (\eta\ 'Ι\acute{\alpha}\varsigma)\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\ 'Α\theta\iota\varsigma$  according to the certain emendation of Koen ad Greg. Kor. p. 383. Dion. Halik.  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau$ . Θουκ.  $\chi\alpha\rho$ . 23 :  $\omicron\zeta\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\eta\ 'Ι\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\ \pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\tau\eta\eta\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\ \chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$  (i.e. of Kadmos and Aristaios)  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\ ' \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\upsilon$ ,  $\text{καὶ οἱ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀθίδα, μικρὰς τινὰς ἔχουσιν διαφορὰς παρὰ τὴν Ἰάδα}$ .

seventeenth<sup>1</sup> and eighteenth<sup>2</sup> centuries and in fact down to comparatively recent times. While the points of contact between the two dialects are patent, the question as to how long they pursued a parallel course of development and the problem as to the period when Attic may be said to have asserted an individual existence, have been answered in various ways.

The view maintained in the present work is that Attic and Ionic, so far as we can trace back their history, are, with all their correspondences, essentially separate and individual dialects; and that the argument which seeks to explain the Ionisms of Attic tragedy as Old Atticisms, that is as survivals of the period when Ionic and Attic were still undistinguished, builds upon a false foundation.

In § 172 the view is upheld that originally in Attic all cases of primary  $\bar{a}$  became  $\eta$ , and that at a later period this secondary  $\eta$  after  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$  and  $\rho$  became  $\bar{a}$ . At what period in the history of the Attic dialect did this recurrence to the original  $\bar{a}$  ensue? Furthermore, are there any traces in Old Attic of forms which are distinctly Ionic in colouring, forms which represent a still undivided Ionic-Attic, and which were uniformly abandoned by the later dialect of Attika?

Bergk, who was the first to maintain that Attic  $\bar{a}$  after  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$  and  $\rho$  was a development of  $\eta$ , was of the opinion that shortly before the Soloneian period we may trace the first beginnings of that revolution in Attic which, carried on shortly after Solon, became an accomplished fact by the time of Peisistratos. In Bergk's view then Attic did not receive the stamp of individuality until the sixth century. Gustav Meyer (*Gr. Gr.*, p. xxxii), while less positive as to the date of the separation of Attic from Ionic, makes the statement that it 'appears to be certain that the Attic spoken and written before the foundation of an Attic literature—that is, the Attic as we know it from the fragments of the laws and the inscriptions—was much more closely connected with Ionic than the later form of the language'.

72.] The oldest monuments of Attic dactylic poetry show scarcely a trace of an Ionic  $\eta$ <sup>3</sup>, despite the fact that the elegy was a creation of Ionic genius and specially cultivated by the Ionians. In C. I. A. I 471, dating from the time of Solon or even from an earlier period, we find  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron[\rho\acute{\epsilon}]av$ ,  $\eta\lambdaικίας$ ; in I 463, of very ancient date,  $\nu\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu'$ ; in C. I. A. I 469  $\Phi\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\kappa\lambda\epsilonίας$ ; IV C 422<sup>13</sup>  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\theta\omicron\nu[\acute{\iota}]av$ ; in C. I. A. IV 477 E  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}s$ ; in I 468  $\text{A}\nu\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota$ ; in I 478 A  $\text{I}\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ . All these inscriptions have  $\eta$  after

<sup>1</sup> For example, Salmasius.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. Bentley, Markland, Koen.

<sup>3</sup> See Kirchhoff, *Zur Geschichte des attischen Epigramms* in *Hermes* V, p. 48.



other sounds than those which caused the Attic  $\tilde{a}$ . In inscriptions of the fifth century we find Ποτειδαίας twice in I 442, βίαι 333<sub>4</sub>, σφετέραν IV B, 446 A 51. The Ionic forms αἰδοίην and πατρώης in I 477, and other occurrences of non-Attic  $\eta$  are due to the fact that the author of the elegy in which they occur is an Ionian.

It is but rarely that a specifically Ionic form has found its way into the oldest poetical monuments preserved in the Attic inscriptions. On κούρη, see § 75, 2. On εἵνεκα C. I. A. IV 477 E, § 78.

73.] The earliest inscriptions of Attic prose show no trace of a residue of Ionisms. In Klein's *Fasen* we have Ἐξηκτίας, Στησίας Καλ(λ)ιφόρα &c. (seventh or sixth century). Naturally the names of Ionic peoples such as Ἀυλιῆται, Ἰῆται, Ναξιῆται, Πριηνίης upon the Attic tribute lists from 456–424 B.C. are no exception to the rule. Oftentimes these very names have been Atticized. Ionic names may retain, non-Ionic names assume, the Ionic form, which is due in each case to peculiar reasons, *e.g.* Ἐφύρη Thuk. I 46, 4<sup>1</sup>, Θαλέω Plato Rep. X 600 A, Τήρεω, Πυθέω Thuk. II 29, Καμβύσεω Xenoph. Kyr. I 2, 1. In V 71 Herodotos speaks of the πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκράρων. The ναύκρᾱροι were instituted before the time of Solon. In the laws of Solon as adduced in Lysias' κατὰ Θεομν. we find ἡλιαία, θύρα. οἰκῆος *ib.* § 19, would, if correct, be the only example of an Old Attic -ῆος. But an οἰΚΕΟΣ might readily have been transcribed οἰκῆος because this word was antiquated even in Solon's time, and in Homer only forms with  $\eta$  are found<sup>2</sup>. κεραμ(έ)ως is read C. I. A. I 467.

74.] Against this mass of evidence, the counter testimony in favour of the view that Old Attic was essentially identical with Ionic can make no stand.

In addition to the four cases of Ἀθηναίη in archaic inscriptions held by Bergk and others to be the stronghold of the identity of Old Attic and Ionic, but which have been disposed of by Cauer (Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 244–249<sup>3</sup>), the following instances of supposed Ionic-Attic forms are to be examined:—

(1) The genitive in -εων in the psephism of Themistokles (Plutarch *Them.* 10): τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀθηνέων μεδεούσῃ. On this passage Siefert and Blass remark that the expression τῇ Ἀθ. μεδ. was drawn from the original document by Plutarch's source, and that its Ionic colouring is due to the fact that the Ionic of the time of Themistokles was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Choirob. in Bekk. An. III 1173, Hdn. I 340.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dittenberger *Hermes* XVII 36 ff., Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXVII 263.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kirchhoff, *Hermes* V 53.



nearly allied to Attic. The phrase is primarily epic but adopted not only by the poets (Aristoph. *Knights* 763 Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεδεούσῃ; cf. 560, 585, *Lysistr.* 834), but also in ordinary speech, as on a term-stone in Samos (Bechtel No. 216), which contains the inscription: οὐρος τεμένεος Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀθηναίων μεδεούσης. Here the mixture of Attic and Ionic shows that the phrase was familiar to the Attic cleruchs of the island. μεδέουσα occurs in inscriptions in Ionic colonies (Latyshev, II 19, 28, 343).

Ἀθηνέων in Aristophanes' *Clouds* 401 is found in a phrase of Homeric texture; in *Thesm.* 329 the MSS. have Ἀθηναίων, but Bergk's -εων is admissible, the passage being choral. In *Knights* 159 MSS. -αιων, Bergk -εων on the ground of the character of the passage and the metrical difficulty.

Furthermore, an Attic genitive in -εων<sup>1</sup> in the  $\hat{A}$  declension was an impossibility even in the seventh century (cf. *ὀρχηστῶν Mith.* VI p. 106, cf. p. 118—the oldest known Attic inscription). In the decree concerning Arthmios, Demosth. *Phil.* III 42 we find Ἀθηναίων.

(2) That the accent of such Attic forms as μυριαδῶν, χιλιαδῶν (Choirob. in *Bekk. Anecd.* III 1263, *Arkad.* 136, *Hdn.* I 428<sub>9</sub>) makes for the existence of an Ionic-Attic -εων in consonantal stems is incredible. In Herodoteian MSS. the insertion of the hyper-Ionic ε occurs, though not so commonly as in Hippokrates and the Pseudo-Ionists. If even in *Hdt.* both χιλιαδέων and μυριαδέων may be shown to be unwarrantable (§ 428), it is impossible that Attic -ῶν in these forms should be a survival of a period when both Attic and Ionic had -εων in -δ-stems. The sole means of rescuing the perispomenon accent is to assume that the *delta* stems have adopted the genitive ending of the  $\hat{A}$  declension, for which procedure a parallel may be found in Hesiod's θεμιστέων *Theog.* 235 (-ίστων in M 3). See § 480.

75.] In the chapter of his *New Phrynichus* entitled the *Growth of the Attic Dialect*, Mr. Rutherford has advanced a theory as to the genesis of the language of tragedy which deserves notice, inasmuch as it trenches upon the question as to the interrelation of Old Attic and Ionic. Recognizing the fact that in Greece 'different kinds of composition had a tendency to adhere generally to the dialect in which they started,' and that even in comedy, when there was occasion to use hexameters, old words and forms were introduced, because 'epic verse did not deviate from that use of words which Homer had discovered to be most suitable to the genius of hexameter verse,' he holds—despite the obvious

<sup>1</sup> -εω is found in C. I. A. II 4, B 19 (400 B. C.), but it occurs in the name of a Thasiote exile.

objection that the Athenians were not the inventors of the iambic line—that ‘the basis of the language of tragedy is the Attic of the time when tragedy sprang into life.’ On this view Mr. Rutherford proposes to account for the discrepancy which exists, both in vocabulary and in accident, between tragedies and comedies of the same date.

The chief argument advanced in support of this theory is that whatever is peculiar to Herodotean Ionic and to the Attic of tragedy is Attic of the sixth century, then, it is held, not distinguished from the Ionic of Asia Minor. That certain words in use in the time of Thespis have become obsolescent or entirely obsolete in the age of Perikles is due, it is claimed, to the extraordinary revolution undergone by the language under the influence of democratic institutions. And again: words whose lease of life was expiring in the sixth century were rescued from oblivion by their absorption into the literary dialect of tragedy.

The objections to this theory on the score of the differences in accident between Old Attic and Ionic have been ignored (*New Phrynichus*, p. 5). The argument in its favour on the side of similarity of vocabulary cannot claim our unqualified assent if it can be shown that the dialect of tragedy contains forms of the most ordinary occurrence which never existed in Attic in any stage of its development. Some of these forms which may here be mentioned will necessitate the modification of important particulars, if they do not tend to overthrow a considerable part, of the entire theory brought forward by Mr. Rutherford.

(1) If the language of tragedy is the Old Attic of the sixth century, how are we to account for *μοῦρος*, *γούρατος*, *ξέρος*, words which are pure Ionic, and at no time Attic? *φ* disappeared from \**μόρφος*, \**γούφατος*, *ξέρφος* in an extremely early period of Attic<sup>1</sup>. In C. I. A. I 463 (sixth century) we find *ξέρος*, in I 20 (middle of the fifth century) *ξέρια*. Solon's *μοῦρον*<sup>2</sup> 33<sub>6</sub> is an instance

<sup>1</sup> The solitary examples that may be brought forward to attest the actual presence of *φ* upon Attic soil (*αφῦρῶ* C. I. A. IV C 477 P, *ναφῦ[πηγός]* *ibid.* IV C 373<sup>2</sup>), and the examples cited to prove its power in shaping Attic forms, are powerless to give life to any theory that *φ* was the cause of an Old Attic *ξέρος*, &c. Attic *πέρας* side by side with Ionic *πεῖρα* < \**πέο-ρα*, shows that Attic-Ionic *ἄπερος* is from \**ἄπερος*; Attic *δεῖρας*, *Δειραδῶτα* belong to Skt. *dēśat*, not to *deṛf-*. *φ* was retained in Attic until the movement which changed *η* to *α* after *ε*, *ι*, *υ*, *ρ* had spent itself; until \**στερφάς* had yielded *στερδεάς* and \**παρφάς* had yielded *πᾶνός* Agam. 284. The *φ* of *αφῦρῶ* like that of Naxian *αφῦρῶς* is used for a distinct purpose, and no more proves the longevity of *φ* upon Attic soil than the Naxian word proves the existence of *φ* as an essential part of the framework of contemporary Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> The Attic *Μουρία Μουρία* &c., are ascribed by Meisterhans to dialect mixture, which no doubt often occurs in proper names. It may be doubted whether *μοῦρος* is connected. That the *ου* is not Attic is clear



f the retention of an epic form in trochaic verse; cf. κέν 335. In his senarii, which represent contemporary Attic, Solon has *ῥους* 364 (Ionic *οῦρους*).

(2) *κούρη* in C. I. A. I 469, 355, IV C 373a<sup>5</sup>, 373<sup>23</sup>, cannot outweigh the Old Attic character of *κόρη*. *φóρη* is the correct reading in an inscription of the sixth or even the seventh century (C. I. A. IV B 373, No. 97 B), and *Κόρει* occurs C. I. A. I Add. 57 B 8 (362 B.C.). In the second of the instances of *οῦρη* quoted above, the words *Διὸς γ(λ)αυκώπιδι κούρηι* indicate sufficiently the source of the form. In the first instance, *κούρη* occurs in direct conjunction with *Φρασικλείας* which is Attic beyond dispute. See § 61. *Κόρη* in the later Attic documents (always in this form) is restricted to official decrees, whereas vase inscriptions and others of like character always use *Φερρέφαττα*.

(3) In Aischylos *ἦν*<sup>1</sup> occurs but twice (Pers. 708 troch. tetr., Sept. 1027 trim.), in Sophokles it has so gained on *έάν* as to be met with over twenty times, but never except in dialogue. *έπήν* is found in Aristophanes (Birds 983, 1355, Lysis. 1175). This form is Ionic, not Attic. In C. I. G. I 8 B 7 (before 570 B.C.), in *Mith.* IX p. 117 (between 570 and 560) and in numerous instances in inscriptions of the fifth century, *έάν* is the prevailing form. So too in the fragments of the ancient laws; Hicks 59 Drako's law taken from the first axon of Solon), Lysias' *Theonnestos* § 16, Demosthenes' *Lept.* 102. *ἦν* occurs nowhere in the Attic inscriptions.

These facts speak clearly against the assumption that the *ἦν* found in early Attic prose<sup>2</sup> is an Attic form. The testimony of the *στοιχηδόν* inscription C. I. A. IV p. 14, No. 46 B proves that the official text of the treaty given by Thuk. V 47 had *έάν* (cf. line 28 of the inser.), not *ἦν* which is read in all the MSS. The solution of the problem as to the variations between the stone

from the fact that it occurs in inscriptions from the fifth century B.C. to the third century A.D. Munichia, not Munychia, is the proper English form. That no case of *Μον-* occurs should warn against adopting Kretschmer's conclusion (*K. Z.* XXXI 442), that, with the accent removed from the syllable preceding *f*, *μονf-* yielded *μουν-*; or that for the *ου* of *Διδσκούροι* no other explanation is to be sought than a purely phonetic cause acting within the confines of the Attic dialect.

<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding Brugmann's suggestion, *Grundr.* II p. 627, that *έάν* is from *ἦ-άν* and *ἦν* from *εἰ-άν* (though *εἰ-άν* after *καί* could become *άν* the peculiar position of *ἦν* in Attic literature justifies our refusal to admit that it is an Attic word and the result of an Attic phonetic change.

<sup>2</sup> I find *ἦν* but twice in the *de republ. Athen.* II 17, III 3), whereas *έάν* occurs I 4. 15; II 3, 4, 11 *bis*, 17, 18, III 5 *bis*, III 7.; *κάν* II 19, *άν* I 11, 17. In Antiphon there appears to be no case of *ἦν*; *άν* occurs *κατ. φαρ.* 23, *Tetral.* I A, 1. Isokrates made use of *ἦν* (Benseler *ad Artop.* p. 146 ff.). The speech of Gorgias on Palamedes *circa* 411 B.C., which is genuine according to Maass, contains a case of *έάν* (§ 36).



record and the text of the historian does not concern us here<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps the presence of  $\eta\nu$  in early Attic prose is due to the influence of Gorgias, who gave the impetus to the formation of a tragic prose dialogue as a counterpart of tragedy itself<sup>2</sup>. Ionisms were adopted by Thukydides, not because they were also Old Atticisms, but because they were the result of certain stylistic tendencies in vogue at Athens before his exile, tendencies which ran their course in so brief a period of time that they were out of date upon the return of the expatriated historian. The later disciples of Gorgias made great concessions to the Attic norm.

76.] So long as the morphological and inflectional side of language constitutes the standard of exact dialectical differentiation, so long must Mr. Rutherford's theory as to the identity of Old Attic and Ionic be pronounced superficial. While the language of tragedy is replete with forms that are the common property of Attic and Ionic (*e.g.* -οισι, -ησι after consonants except  $\rho$ ), forms that are also contemporary Attic, there yet remains a residue of pure Ionisms. These were not drawn directly from the epos, nor from the melic<sup>3</sup> art of Simonides and Pindar<sup>4</sup>, though both epos and lyric may have indirectly contributed their quota of influence towards the adoption of forms which they had consecrated to the poet's use.

The occasional Ionic colouring of the dialogue portions of tragedy affords another proof of that artistic conservatism which forms so prominent a feature of the development of the Greek lyric and prose writing<sup>5</sup>. The dialogue of tragedy records the fact that the iambic trimeter was first cultivated by the Ionic race<sup>6</sup>, as its choruses record the fact that the choral ode was a creation of Doric genius. The bulk of the diction of tragic dialogue, so far from being solely contemporary Attic, reaches back into that obscure domain which lies beyond the awaken-

<sup>1</sup> Croiset (*Præf.* XX) thinks that  $\eta\nu$  was introduced into the text of Thuk. by the scribes who recognized that  $\eta\nu$  was the genuine Thukydideian form.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.*, p. 313; Diels *Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1884, p. 367; Maass *Hermes* XXII p. 566.

<sup>3</sup> Gerth in Curtius' *Studien*, I B 269 contends that, as all the epic forms in the dialogue and lyric parts of tragedy are found in Pindar, the diction of tragedy has an exclusively lyric background.

<sup>4</sup> It is noticeable that tragedy has more intimate connection, as regards myth and form, with Ibykos and Stesichoros than with Pindar and Simonides, though no great chasm in dialect separates the Eastern melic poets from the Chalkidian of the West.

<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.*, p. 310 ff.

<sup>6</sup> It is not surprising that there are but few traces of literary reminiscence of the Ionic iambic poetry in Attic tragedy, *e.g.* Eurip. Or. 1547 = Sim. Am. I 1. The ethical intent, the political and social horizon were entirely different. So in the case of Pindar, who uses Aiolisms without regard to the distinctive character of the Lesbian poetry.

ing of Attic genius. The coincidences in vocabulary between the New Ionic of Herodotos and the Attic of the drama are indications that both Ionic and Attic had preserved to a large extent the old-time wealth of words<sup>1</sup> with their raciness, picturesqueness, and vividness, the *sonantia verba et antiqua*. But how much is contemporary Attic, how much archaic Attic in the vocabulary of the dramatists, cannot be discovered, because we are ignorant of the nature of the ordinary speech of the men of the time of Thespis.

A considerable portion of the words which Mr. Rutherford says were cast aside by the innovating spirit of democratical and imperial Athens may have been outworn, or at least found a resting-place in poetry, in the days of the Peisistratidai. Their retention at the same time by Herodotos is only another instance of the conservatism in language manifested by the colony, a conservatism which finds expression in the retention in the dialectal speech of America of many vocables that were part of the ordinary speech of the England of the seventeenth and earlier centuries<sup>2</sup>. It is inconceivable that such a revolution in vocabulary, as is a necessary feature of Mr. Rutherford's theory, can have occurred between the birth of Aischylos and the death of Sophokles.

The beginnings of Attic comedy are not so far removed in point of time from the age which witnessed the dawn of tragedy that, had comedy not from the first breathed a different air from its sister art, it too might have preserved here and there survivals of that Old Attic-Ionic whose retention Mr. Rutherford regards as the prerogative of tragedy. The diction of Kratinos, whose *Wineflask* gained the day over Aristophanes' *Clouds*, cannot have been less redolent of the popular speech than that of his rival; yet the youth of Kratinos must have been passed under the same linguistic influences as those under which, on the view that the Attic of tragedy is the Attic of the sixth century, the vocabulary of Aischylos was formed.

The atmosphere of comedy was from the first local and foreign to the admission of old-time phraseology. Pointing their wit with the idiom of the soil, Deinolochos, Epicharmos and Sophron created a chasm which was always to intervene between the diction of the comic and the diction of the tragic art.

<sup>1</sup> The notes to Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Herakles* often comment upon Ionic words in tragedy.

<sup>2</sup> Many examples might be given: In South Carolina *use* in the Spenserian and Miltonic sense may still be heard, in the Cumberland mountains in East Tennessee *contráry* in the Chaucerian sense ('For sothe I wol no lenger you contrarie').

*Ionisms of Tragedy.*

ALTHAUS : *De tragicorum Graecorum dialecto. curae secundae*, 1870.

BARLEN : *De vocalis α pro η in trag. Gr. versibus trimetris usu*, 1872.

DRESSEL : *De Dorismi natura atque usu in trag. Graec. diverbiis et anapaestis*, 1868.

EICHLER : *De formarum quas dicunt epicarum in tragoediis Aeschyli atque Sophocli usu*, 1873.

GERTH : *Quaestiones de Graecae tragoediae dialecto*, in Curtius' *Studien* I, 2, 193 ff 1868.

KUEHLSTAEDT : *Observ. crit. de tragicorum Gr. dialecto*, 1832.

LECHNER : *De Aeschyli studio Homérico*, 1862. *De Sophocle poeta* Ὀμηρικωτάτω, 1859.

RUTHERFORD : *The New Phrynichus*, pp. 1-31, 1881.

SCHNEIDER : *De dialecto Sophoclis*, 1822.

VERRALL : *On some Ionic elements in Attic tragedy* in *J. H. S.* I 260, II 179.

WEIDGEN : *Qua ratione Euripides in carminibus melicis Doridem, in anapaestis Atticam dialectam temperaverit*, 1874.

Other treatises, dealing with the Doric elements in tragedy, will be mentioned under DORIC.

77.] The following list contains a selection of such forms as bear an unmistakable Ionic mark. Epic forms not thus characterized are not mentioned. The diction of Tragedy does not adopt New Ionic forms when they differ from those in vogue in Homer.

1. H<sup>1</sup>.

Θρῆξ and congeners occur, not only in dialogue, but also in choral parts. Θρηίκιος is also Pindaric.

Θρῆξ Ant. 969 (ch.), Tereus fr. 523; Hek. 19, 428 (Θραξί), 682 (ch.), 774, 873, 1036, Alk. 483; Rh. 379 (ch.), 394, 409, 429, 522, 662, 732 (ch.), 733 (ch.), 744 (ch.), 804, 924; Θραῖ Erech. 362<sub>48</sub> (D).

Θρῆσσα Ant. 589 (ch.), Tham. fr. 229; Alk. 967 (ch.).

Θρηκή Pers. 509, 566 (ch.); Hek. 75 (lyr.), 81 (lyr.), 856, 963 1090 (lyr.), 1142, Alk. 67, Andr. 215, Rh. 279, 381 (ch.), 931.

Θρηίκιος Pers. 870 (ch.); Ag. 654, 1418; O. R. 197 (ch.); Kykl. 329, Erech. 370<sub>4</sub> (Θρηίκιον D), Hek. 7, 36, 710, Alk. 498, 1021, Rh. 297, 302, 313, 440, 616, 622, 651, 670, 745 (ch. iamb.), 950.

After ι we find Ionic η in proper names such as Ἀσιήτις, Ἀδριηνός, and in foreign words such as ἡλέμος, τήρα. πολιήτις is also found e.g. Hipp. 1126 (ch.). In the Mediceus we find ἔδρης Prom. 201 and αἰτήην 226, forms that cannot be defended.

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff, *Hermes* V 50, sees in the use of Ionic η a desire to produce an aesthetic effect corresponding to the nature of tragic ethos. The grammatical endings are, on Kirchhoff's view, unaffected by this movement in the direction of Ionic.



Mr. Verrall does not scruple to introduce Ionic *-ιη* into passages which are tinged with Ionisms and which contain *-σύνη*, e. g. *οὐρανίην* Hipp. 166, *Ἀσίην* Persai 584, (Weil *Ἀσιηνάν*), despite the fact of their occurrence in choral parts. The occurrences of *-συνη* in tragedy are inherited, on Mr. Verrall's view, from Ionic poetry, and carried as a rule associations that were literary, not local.

Ionic *η* frequently appears in choral passages, as in *μηλοφόρων* Eurip. H. F. 396, with which compare *Μηλῖς*, never *Μαλῖς*, in tragedy. On *πλήκτρῳ* Eurip. H. F. 350, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *ad loc.* *Ζηνός*, *Ζηνί*, *Ζήνα* as in Pindar, according to the best MS. testimony; *σκήπτρον* Prom. 171 and other forms in lyrical passages where the Doric form is not admitted. The choral lyric had *σκάπτων* (Pind. Ol. I 12). *η* furthermore in *Παρνησίδα* Choeph. 563 (cf. 953), *πρύμνην* Philokt. 482 (§ 420).

2. *ευ.* (a) by contraction:—

*πωλεύμεναι* Prom. 645, in the recital of Io (only one MS. *πολούμεναι*); cf. Od. 2, 55.

*εἰσοιχνεῦσιν* Prom. 122 (anap.), cf. Od. 9, 120.

*μυθεῦσαι* I. A. 790 (ch.) in MSS.

*ὑμνεῦσαι* Med. 422 (ch.).

*αὐτευν* Hipp. 167 (ch.).

(b) From *ην* in *πρενμενής* Aisch., Soph., Eur., cf. Hdt. *πρηύτερος*, Plato *πράότερος*.

3. **Forms containing Ionic *ει*.** *ξείνος* occurs but once in Aischylos—Sept. 942 (ch.) with 40 cases of *ξένος*. Aischylos uses the Attic form of the vocative, whereas Sophokles merely prefers *ξέινε* (about 40 times) to the Ionic *ξείνε*. In opposition to the view defended by Elmsley, that *ξείνος* is only then permissible when required by the metre, Hermann argued justly that since in Iph. Taur. 798 the vocative *ξέν'* would almost disappear, metrical considerations may be outweighed by rhetorical reasons. The first foot in the iambic trimeter line bears the burden of the chief emphasis. *ὦ ξείνε* occurs in the dialogue portions of Soph. 7 times (O. K. 33, 49, 856, 1096, 1119, El. 675, 1119)<sup>1</sup>. In three passages the non-vocative form *ξείνος* has the support of the best MSS.:—

O. K. 1014 *ὁ ξείνος, ὠναξ, χρηστός· αἱ δὲ συμφοραὶ | αὐτοῦ πανώλεις.*

O. K. 928 *ξείνον παρ' ἀστοῖς ὥς διαιτᾶσθαι χρεών.*

Frag. 153 *ἐν Ἀργεὶ ξείνος ὦν οἰκίζεται.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jebb on O. R. 1418. *ὦ ξέινε* occurs when *ὦ ξείνε* was possible (O. K. 62, 492, El. 662, 1112). Eust. 1396, *ὦ ξείνε* (Phil. 791) cannot stand.

In these passages the occurrence of the Ionic form is defended by Gerth on the ground that there is a direct contrast of thought, while in such passages as O. R. 817, El. 975, Tr. 187 ξένοι ἢ ἄστοι has become a mere phrase. In none of these passages, it may be remarked, is ξείν- metrically permissible. Ellendt, on the other hand, can discover no passage in Soph. analogous to the ξείν' of Iph. Taur. 798; and Jebb in O. K. 928 prefers ξένον of the Vat. to ξείνον of L and A, which is adopted and defended by Wunder in his excursus. Here at least there is no such contrast as that found in 1014, and it is the only place except I. T. 798 where the diphthong is not under the ictus.

In choral passages in Sophokles we find ξείνοι O. K. 174 (ξένου MSS.), 184 ξείνος ἐπὶ ξένῃς (ξείνῃς MSS.), 518 ξείν' (ξέν' MSS. see Jebb), 530 ὦ ξείν', cf. 510 and 215. Euripides uses ξείνος in the senarii but rarely (I. T. 798, El. 247), much more frequently in lyric passages (Hek. 82, 479, Alk. 598, Kykl. 510, Herakl. 355, I. T. 218, 226, I. A. 606); ξειναπάτου Med. 1392, ἄξεινον Andr. 793 in all MSS. except C, Πολυξείνη Hek. 76, πολύξεινος Alk. 568.

In Antig. 1241, L<sup>2</sup> has εἶν, for which some editors substitute Heath's ἐν γ'. In Trach. 495 κενόν has been substituted for κεινόν, though Aisch. Pers. 761 has ἐξεκείνωσεν. κεινός is both Pindaric and Euripideian (ch.). ὑπείροχος Prom. 428 (ch.), Trach. 1096 cannot stand.

If εἰλίσσω is from *Feλφικιω* we expect in Attic prose ἐλίσσω, which is Sophokleian. In Aisch. we find εἰλίσσω only in lyric passages. In sixteen passages in the extant dramas, Eurip. has ten cases of εἰλίσσω.

εἵνεκα (see below § 78) does not occur in the Laurentianus of Sophokles. In the same MS. of Aischylos it is met with Prom. 345, Suppl. 188 (οὔνεκα 4 times). None of the best MSS. of Euripides have this form, which stands in MSS. of the second class H. F. 210, Hek. 137, Andr. 251, 408, frag. 4993.

Aischylos has δέρη, Euripides δειρή in lyrics.

Only in choral passages do the following words with Ionic εἰ occur: εἰνάλιος Ant. 346, Eur. Elekt. 450, I. T. 1240 (Kirchhoff), Troad. 1095, Hel. 526 (Herm.), εἰνόδιος Ion 1048.

4. **Forms containing Ionic ου.** μῶνος occurs 13 times in the dialogue portions, twice in choral, and twice in anapaestic passages of Sophokles. Aischylos has μουνῶπα Prom. 804, but never μῶνος. In the Rhesos 31 μούναρχοι is generally abandoned for μόναρχοι, Euripides having invariably μόνος. Gerth calls attention to the fact that in S. we never find οὐ μῶνον ἀλλά but always οὐ μόνον ἀλλά. The necessities of the trimeter, not the requirements of emphasis, decided the question as to



whether the Ionic or the Attic form should be admitted. Cases of the emphatic use of *μοῦνος* (as Antig. 308), may be confronted with others where no emphasis is discernible. In Antig. 308 it is the word, not the form of the word, which adds emphasis; *μόνος* would have been equally effective.

Other cases of *ου* are *γούνατα* O. K. 1607 in the speech of the messenger (*γόνασι* Phil. 485). Aischylos has no instance of the *ου* forms, which in Euripides occur with the same freedom as the Attic (in the senarii Andr. 892, Hek. 839, Alk. 947, in lyrics Andr. 529).

*δουρ-*. Aisch. *δουρικλύτοις* Pers. 85 (ch.), *δουρικμῆτι* Ch. 365 (ch.), *δουρίπηχθ'* in dialogue, Sept. 278. Sophokles *δουρίληπτον* Aias 894 (ch. iamb.), *δορίληπτος* Ai. 146 (anap.), *δουριάλωτον* Ai. 211 (anap.), *δούρατι* Phil. 722 (lyr.), *δούρειος ἵππος* Troad. 14 (sen.) and in comedy (see below).

*οὔρειος* in choral passages Ant. 353, I. T. 127, 162, 1126, Troad. 533, Phoin. 232, 806, Elekt. 210 (*ὄρειος* Hipp. 144), *οὔρεσιβώτας* Phil. 1148, *οὔριθρέπταν* Hek. 204 (*ὀριδρόμων* Bacch. 986 Kirch. and Sandys).

*Οὔλυμπος* but once Her. F. 872 (troch. tetr.).

*οὔνομα* is not found in tragedy despite Markland on I. T. 36. In Phil. 251 *οὖν-* of the MSS. is rejected by all, so Bacch. 320, where *οὖν-* is found in *P C* (see Elmsley).

*νούσων* Aisch. Suppl. 684 (ch.) where *νόσων* is possible.

*κούρη* has been seen (above § 75, 2) to occur upon Old Attic poetical inscriptions of the sixth century. In the Septem 149 Dindorf rejects *κούρα*, a form whose enfranchisement in choral diction is clear from *κουροβόρω* Ag. 1512 and *κούρα* O. K. 180, where the metre requires the diphthong, though elsewhere the half Attic, half Doric *κόρα*, *κόρας* prevails in lyrical passages. *κοῦρος* is an error Trach. 644 (ch.). Euripides has *κούρα* in lyrical passages Hipp. 141, Alk. 410, I. T. 210, 217, 402, Hel. 382, 1307, 1314, El. 481 MSS. (cf. 117), 1184, Hek. 462. In I. T. 1114 Kirch. reads *κόραν*; in Androm. 1224 *κόρη*, Troad. 144 *κόραι*: in El. 481 *κόρα* is due to Dindorf. In dialogue portions *κούρη* does not occur (*κόρη* is now read in Hel. 1098)<sup>1</sup>. *κοῦρος* is met with nowhere out of lyrical passages (7 times). The same holds good of the Euripideian compounds *κουροτόκος* Suppl. 957, *κουροτρόφος*<sup>2</sup> Tr. 566, Bacch. 420. Neither *Διόσκοροι* nor *Διόσκουροι* appears in Aisch. or Soph. Eurip. uses the *ο* form in the senarii eight times. In Hek. 943 (ch.) *F* has the *ου* form, which is rejected by Kirchhoff. *Διοσκούρων* I. A. 769

<sup>1</sup> *κόροι* also frag. 534ε.

<sup>2</sup> In regard to the retention in prose of *κουροτρόφος* and similar polysyllabic words, we should not fail to regard the distaste manifested by Attic towards a succession of many short syllables.



(ch.) is defensible. *κούρω* was formerly held to exist in a supposed formulaic<sup>1</sup> *κούρω καὶ κόρη* (Plato *Laws* VI 785 A, where it has the support of but one MS.; cf. *κόρου καὶ κόρης* VII 793 E, *κόρους καὶ κόρας* 796 C). Since in proper names forms alien to the native dialect are not uncommon, and since [Δι]ο[σκ]ουρίδου is found C. I. A. II 66, 4 (356 B.C.) and Dittenb. *Syll.* 418, 2 (not before 292 B.C.) it need not surprise us that *Διοσκούρων* is met with Plato *Euthyd.* 293 A, Thuk. III 753 τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων (-κόρων in only two MSS.) *ιερόν*, IV 110 τὸ Διοσκούρειον<sup>2</sup> (thus the MSS.). Phrynichos says that those who use the Ionic form are open to ridicule. *κουρεῖον*, *κουρεῶτις*, which Mr. Rutherford quotes from Lobeck's note, have nothing to do with *κούρος*. Their *ουρ* is from *ορσ* (cf. *κορσοῦν* 'κείρειν, and *κορσωτεύς*, *ἀκερσεκόμης*). *ἐπίκουρος* has probably nothing to do with *κούρος*, *κόρος*; cf. W. Schulze *Quaest. Hom.* 17.

5. **Ionic forms in Declension.** *φύσιος*, *πρήξιας* (Ambr.) Eurip. fr. 902, *δήριος* Agam. 942. *ὄρνις* Eurip. H. F. 72, is regarded as Ionic for *ὄρνιθας* by Wilamowitz, for what reason I do not know.

The forms of *ναῦς* with *η* are rejected by the editors despite their not infrequent occurrence (Kühner-Blass, p. 463). On *νηός* in New Ionic see § 170.

6. **Varia.** *κεῖνος* for Attic *ἐκεῖνος* (also in Attic prose after *η* or rarely after a short vowel or diphthong); *σσ* for *ττ*; on *Ἄιδης* with long *a* see § 160; on *ἰρός* see § 300. *ζόη* for *ζωή*; *πολλός*; *ποτί* a form that, however, never appears in any New Ionic monument. *ρσ* in *θαρσεῖν*, *ἄρσην*, &c. is possibly Ionic, cf. *Θαπρίας* C. I. A. I 445 (middle of the fifth century).

### *The Ionisms of Attic Comedy.*

RUTHERFORD: *The New Phrynichus*, 32-52, 1881.

SETTI: *Il linguaggio dell' uso comune presso Aristofane in Museo di antich. class.*, I 113-130.

SPECK: *De Aristophanis dialecto*, 1878.

78.] Ionisms are admissible in the lyric parts of comedy, not excluding those of anapaestic movement. Even in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pollux VIII 107, Apollod. III 123, 153, Schol. Acharn. 146, Diod. Sik. IV 61 *κούρους καὶ κόρας*.

<sup>2</sup> Hdn. II 848<sub>1</sub> *-κουρεῖον*, I 375<sub>12</sub> *-κούρειον*, II 864<sub>21</sub> *Διοσκούρων κώμη Λιβύης*. The treatise under Herodian's name (Moiris p. 445) cites *Διόσκουροι* but *Διοσκόρω*; a differentiation that could not last. That in one and the same dialect two different forms of the name of a divinity may occur is evident from *Κόραι* and *Κούραι* in Knidos (C. D. I. 3538<sub>1, 3</sub>) and often in 3539-3544, 3546-48).

trochaics of the parabasis there is a well-attested case of an Ionic termination. Koch and Humphreys contend that the occurrences in anapaestic parts ('Αθηναίη Knights 763, Τριτογενείης Clouds 989) and in the parabasis (Σεληναίης Clouds 614, Dindorf -as), are instances of the survival in the popular dialect of older, more poetical forms. That this is an erroneous position is clear from an examination of all the Attic inscriptions previous to the Peloponnesian War. In no inscription, whose genuineness has not been universally suspected, or whose Attic character has not successfully been disputed, is there a single occurrence of Ionic -ιη. It is therefore impossible that 'Αθηναίη and *a fortiori* Τριτογενείης are Attic. Plato's 'Αθηναίη (*Euthyd.* 302 D) does not alter this conclusion in the least. The three instances quoted above are taken from an Ionic, and poetic source. On 'Αθηνέων see § 74, 1<sup>1</sup>.

In the dialogue portions Ionisms are not admissible save when the speaker is an Ionian, in paratragedic passages, or when proper names have been preserved in an Ionic form by the pressure of Ionic tradition.

Peace 46: 'Ιωνικός τίς φησι παρακαθήμενος  
δοκέω μέν, ἐς Κλέωνα τοῦτ' αἰνίσσεται,  
ὥς κείνος ἀναιδέως (τὴν) σπατίλῃν ἐσθίει

where δοκέω and κείνος hit off the Ionian. Phrynichos II 583 (2)<sup>2</sup> is either corrupt or the line was spoken by, or of, an Ionian. On κείνος in Eupolis see Koch I 294 (139). Eurip. Orestes 742 οὐκ ἐκείνος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη κείνον ἐνθάδ' ἤγαγεν was parodied according to the Schol. κείνος appears in lyrical passages Thesm. 784, Wasps 751.

κεινέου is not adopted by Koch I 50, in his attempted restoration of Kratin. II 83 (6).

εἵνεκα is well attested in Aristophanes, Timokles, Plato, Philemo. That it was an Ionism adopted in Attic literature is evident from its occurrence in Thukydides, Plato, Isaios and Demosthenes (at least 20 times in Σ). In Old Attic poetry it is found in one passage (C. I. A. IV 477 E). By the period of the empire it has fully established itself in popular speech, to which it was heretofore more or less a stranger. See Wackernagel K. Z. XXVIII 109-130.

κοῦρος, κούρη. Aristoph. has κοῦρε Birds 977 (hex.), κοῦραι Thesm. 102, κούρην II 39 (lyr.).

In senarii κουρίδιον λέχος Peace 844, κουροτρόφος Plato II 674,

<sup>1</sup> See Cauer l. l. p. 246, Speck *De Aristoph. dial.* 15 ff., 29.

<sup>2</sup> References are given to the paging of Meinecke's *Fragmenta* when his reading is that accepted by Koch.

cf. Κουροτρόφῳ in the Herald's proclamation Thesm. 297. Aristoph. has always Διοσκόρω, as Amphipolis and Menander. Chionides' Διόσκουροι II 8 (Koch I 5), if actually used by the poet, occurred in anapaests.

δοῦριος Birds 1128 (ἵππων ὑπόντων μέγεθος ὅσον ὁ δ.), cf. Plato II 688 (24), Diphilos IV 419 (7). All these passages refer to the Trojan Horse. Cf. Eurip. Tr. 14, Plato Theait. 184 D.

Οὐλύμπου Knights 9, where Dindorf suggests that the line may be a quotation or adaptation from a poetical source. Perhaps Οὐλύμπου νόμος had become a technical phrase.

Homeric in colouring are οὐλοχύτας Strato IV 546 (v. 34); γούνατα in the hexameters of Metag. II 751 or of Aristagoras II 761 (Krat. II 207 (91) has γόνυατα); παρέοντα in the Cheiron of Pherekrates, II 335 (3); μεδέουσα Knights 585 (ch.), 763, Lysist. 834 (sen.), μεδέων Knights 560 (ch.) (cf. above § 74, 1). οὐρείαις occurs in Birds 1098 (lyr.).

In Thesm. 878 the use of the Ionic πεπλώκαμεν (πεπλεύκαμεν D) is a jeer on Euripides (Hel. 461, 532).

In Birds 867 (herald), Peace 1064 (hex.), -ησι is found after ι; in Wasps 399 πρύμνην (§ 420). ὅτ Peace 930 is called by the poet Ἴωνικὸν ῥήμα. It is also Aristotelian. ἀρχηγέτι Lys. 642 (lyr.) may be noted in connection with this.

ὅκως, Krates II 233 (1).

### *Dialect of Ionic Prose. 'Pure' and 'Mixed' Ionic.*

79.] The criterion by which the ancient rhetoricians distinguished the varying aspects presented by the dialect of the early prosaists was its purity, that is to say, they sought to discover whether their Ionic was ἄκρατος or μεμιγμένη. Upon the basis of this standard of comparison, Herodotos was placed in the second, Hekataios<sup>1</sup> and Anaximenes<sup>2</sup> of Miletos, and Hippo-

<sup>1</sup> Hermogen. *De Ideis* III 399, W (cf. Strabo I, 7, 18): 'Εκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος, παρ' οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ὠφέληται ὁ Ἡρόδ. (cf. Suidas s.v. Ἐκατ.), καθαρὸς μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ σαφής, ἐν δὲ τισὶ καὶ ἡδὺς οὐ μετρίως, τῇ διαλέκτῳ δὲ ἀκράτῳ Ἰάδι καὶ οὐ μεμιγμένῃ χρῆσάμενος, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρόδ. ποικίλῃ, ἥττον ἐστὶν ἕνεκά γε τῆς λέξεως ποιητικῆς. καὶ ἡ ἐπιμέλεια δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ τοιαύτη, οὐδ' ὅμοιος ὁ κόσμος ὁ περὶ αὐτήν. διὸ καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐλαττοῦται πολλῶ τοῦ Ἡροδ., ἀλλὰ πάνυ πολλῶ. III 319, W: ἐκεῖθεν δὲ μάλιστα διαρκῇ ἔσχε (Ἡρόδ.) τὴν γλυκύτητα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴν εὐθὺς τὴν διάλεκτον ποιητικῶς προείλετο εἰπεῖν. ἡ γὰρ Ἰὰς οὐσα ποιητικὴ φύσει ἐστὶν ἡδεῖα. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων διαλέκτων ἐχρήσατό τισὶ λέξεσιν, οὐδὲν τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ ἄλλοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἐχρήσαντο μὲν καὶ ἄλλαις τισὶ λέξεσιν ἑτέρων διαλέκτων, τὸ πλεῖστον μὲν ἰάζουσι.

<sup>2</sup> Of Anaximenes, Diog. Laert. II 2 says κέχρηται τε γλώσση Ἰάδι ἀπλῇ καὶ ἀπερίττῳ.



krates of Kos<sup>1</sup> in the first division. Herodotos stands alone, in the view of the ancients, as the representative of 'mixed' or 'variegated' Ionic, though Ktesias of Knidos, whose fragments have not been utilized in the present treatise, followed in the wake of Herodotos<sup>2</sup>.

To the students of Greek style under Augustus, Herodotos had become the canon of the Ionic dialect<sup>3</sup>. The term *ἄκρατος* 'Iás, when applied by the rhetoricians to the other Ionic prosaists, seems to have been employed with direct or indirect reference to the historian of Halikarnassos. It is instructive, however, to notice, in connection with this, the judgment of a grammarian, the greatest authority on syntax of his age, who was himself the author of a treatise *On the Ionic Dialect*, and hence more cautious than the rhetoricians whose criticism often lacks perspective. Apollonios Dyskolos pronounced against the claims of Herodotos and Hippokrates to be regarded as representatives of Ionic, and elevated to that position Hekataios, Pherekydes and Demokritos<sup>4</sup>.

Now if it could be shown that by 'pure' Ionic the critics of antiquity meant a dialect vigorous enough to repel the encroachments of a non-Ionic idiom such as Doric or even Attic, a dialect that preserves its native system of phonetics and inflections, the value of their criticism would be inestimable; and command the greater respect in view of the fact that many

<sup>1</sup> Bachm. Anecd. II 367<sub>33</sub>, cf. Cod. Parisinus, p. 679 in Schaefer's Greg. Korinth.: 'Ἡρόδοτος γὰρ διπροσφευμένους λέγει τοὺς φορείους φερόμενους, καὶ Ἱπποκράτης πολ- λάκις χρῆται τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, ὃς ἀκράτῳ τῇ Ἰάδι χρῆται' ὁ γὰρ Ἡρόδ. συμμίγει αὐτὴν τῇ ποιητικῇ. See Ilberg *Studia pseudhippocratea* p. 33, Lobeck *Philologus* VIII, p. 14 ff. Of the λέξις of the logographers Dion. Hal. (*de Thuc. jud.* VI 865, 819 R.) says: καὶ γὰρ καθαρὰ καὶ σαφὴς καὶ σύντομός ἐστιν, ἀποχρώντως σώζουσα τὸν ἴδιον ἐκάστης διαλέκτου χαρακτήρα. A grammarian quoted in Schaefer's Greg. Kor. p. 910 says that for ἔω, ἔσχω is used, οὐ κατὰ διάλεκτόν τινα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχηματισμὸν ποιητικόν, ἀφ' ἑτέρου ἐφ' ἑτέρον τύπον ῥήματος. ὅτι Ἡρόδ. χρῆται τοιούτοις μετα- σχηματισμοῖς. κλέπτεσκε γὰρ φησι καὶ ἄγεσκον. μήποτε γοῦν ἰωνικά εἰσι ταῦτα μᾶλλον. ἀλλ' ἀναμφίβολον πάλιν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, τὸ μὴ τὸν Ἡρόδ. ἀκράτῳ τῇ Ἰάδι χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ μεμιγμένη τῇ ποιητικῇ. Longinos calls Herodotos Ὀμηρικώτατος (*Subl.* 12). Eustathios *Iliad* A p. 9, says: ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδ. τῷ Φερεκύδῃ καὶ Ἐκαταίῳ ὅμοιος τοῖς καταβαλοῦσι τὸ τῆς ποιήσεως εὐδόκιμον.

<sup>2</sup> Of Ktesias, Photios (p. 45 a 7. 20 Bekk.) says: κέχρηται δὲ τῇ Ἰωνικῇ δια- λέκτῳ, εἰ καὶ μὴ δι' ὅλου καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐνίας τινὰς λέξεις. ἀνεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἐν ἐνὶ βιβλίῳ, ἐν οἷς μᾶλλον ἰωνίζει. The last words indi- cate that in Ktesias' time a partial Ionism was held to be sufficient to main- tain the tradition of the Ionic origin of the historian's art. Ionic obtained a foothold in the Doris before the birth of the author of the *Περσικά*. Hero- dotos and Hippokrates felt the pressure of the Ionic atmosphere of their surroundings.

<sup>3</sup> Τῆς Ἰάδος ἄριστος κανὼν Dion. Hal., Photios l. l., and in the epigram in St. Byz. s. v. Θούριοι:—

Ἡρόδοτον Λύξεω κρύπτει κόνις ἥδε θανόντα  
Ἰάδος ἀρχαίης ἱστορικῆς πρύτανιν.

<sup>4</sup> *De Pron.* 118 B.

of the fragments of the logographers and philosophers have either perished completely or have been forced to submit to a more or less thoroughgoing depravation of their original form. Unfortunately, however, this judgment of antiquity respecting 'pure' as distinguished from 'mixed' Ionic means no such thing. Its value is vitiated for the purpose of dialectology because it is a verdict based upon the insecure premise that vocabulary and style are essentially determinative of dialect character. So far removed from the immediate purpose of the rhetoricians was the conception that purity of dialect consists in the unimpeded transmission of an indigenous vowel and consonantal system and in a native method of inflection, that they are constantly exposed to the danger of not distinguishing dialect from diction. Exceptions are rare. When Dionysios of Halikarnassos wishes to display the power of the Herodoteian style in its marshalling of words, his first thought is to cast aside the veil of the dialect that no extraneous charm may reinforce his argument as to the perfect disposition of the tale of Gyges or of the descent of Kroisos<sup>1</sup>.

The grammarians rarely<sup>2</sup>, the rhetoricians never, busied themselves with any possibility of difference between the idiom of the soil and that of Ionic prose literature, filled from the horn of plenty of the epos. The nature of the inflections, the character of word forms, fail to trouble Hermogenes when he sets Hekataios<sup>3</sup> off against Herodotos, or characterizes the poetical nature of the latter's diction<sup>4</sup>.

80.] The distinction between *pure* and *mixed* Ionic is therefore, in view of the attitude of the rhetoricians towards the creations of Ionic prose literature, a distinction destitute of authority for us in respect of matters of phonology and inflection. Whatever significance it may possess can be understood only in relation to the genesis and stylistic development of prose as a literary instrument.

Two views have been advanced in ancient as well as in modern times, which seek to penetrate into the obscurity enveloping the dawn of Greek prose.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Quint. IX 4, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Dionysios Thrax ch. 1 illustrates the horizon of the grammarians:—*γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων.*

<sup>3</sup> In the passage n. 1, p. 80, Hekataios' style is described as simple, in contradistinction to the parti-coloured diction of Herodotos. The passage ending with *ποιητικός* may have reference to epic style and vocabulary. See Zarneke *Literatursprachen*, note 32.

<sup>4</sup> Hermog. II 395: *καὶ γὰρ ταῖς ἐννοίαις μυθικαῖς σχεδὸν ἀπάσαις, καὶ τῇ λέξει ποιητικῇ κέχρηται διόλου . . . οἱ γὰρ πλείστοι τῶν ρυθμῶν αὐτῷ κατὰ τε τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τὰς βάσεις δακτυλικοί τε εἰσὶ καὶ ἀναπαιστικοί, σπονδειακοί τε καὶ ὕλως σεμνοί.*



81.] The ancients with scarcely a dissenting voice, and the moderns in the early part of the nineteenth century under the leadership of Heyne especially, held that the rise of Ionic prose was due to a gradual abandonment of the metrical form, though at the same time the word structure that belonged to poetry was retained. Dealing with local myths at the outset, but continually widening its horizon, it nevertheless retained some of that poetical colouring which had proved so splendid an ornament to the tale of the Trojan war. Strabo is the chief authority in ancient times for this view<sup>1</sup>.

In confirmation of this side of the controversy it was urged that the connection between the epic and the earliest literary prose was most intimate<sup>2</sup>, an inference suggested by the tradition that Akusilaos transferred Hesiod to prose, and because of a similar legend attaching itself to the name of Eumelos. The language of Anaximander is replete with poetic reminiscences<sup>3</sup>; and the diction of Herakleitos<sup>4</sup> and Demokritos<sup>5</sup> has not lost traces of its affiliation with the poetic past<sup>6</sup>. Doubtless some part of the poetic flavour of Platonic prose is not entirely due to the vivid imagination of the artist, but is the result of a more or less conscious reproduction of the philosophic diction of the Ionians (*e.g.* ἐγκρίνω *Rep.* VI 486 D).

The bond of sympathy between archaic literary prose and verse<sup>7</sup>, the refusal to abandon the medium of metre after a philosophical prose had won a place in the literary circles of Ionia, the analogy of the diction of Pythagorean prose, proved powerful factors in gaining the suffrage of scholars to the view that Strabo was substantially correct.

82.] If modern criticism does not actually overthrow the Strabonian explanation of the genesis of prose writing, it at

<sup>1</sup> I 18: ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν, ὁ περὶ λόγος, ὃ γε κατεσκευασμένος, μῖμημα τοῦ ποιητικοῦ ἐστί. πρῶτιστα γὰρ ἡ ποιητικὴ κατασκευὴ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ εὐδοκίμησεν, εἴτα ἐκείνην μιμούμενοι, λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τᾶλλα δὲ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικά, συνέγραψαν οἱ περὶ Κάδμον καὶ Φερεκύδην (i.e. of Syros), καὶ Ἑκαταῖον· εἴτα οἱ ὕστερον ἀφαιρῶντες ἀεί τι τῶν τοιούτων εἰς τὸ νῦν εἶδος κατέγαγον ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ ὕψους τινός. The passage from Strabo reappears in Eust. *Il.* p. 9. With this statement may be associated the remark of Aristotle (*Poet.* i. 8) that the language of Empedokles was in no wise different from prose, save in the fact that it was metrical.

<sup>2</sup> See throughout Zarncke's *Entstehung der gr. Literatursprachen*, which contains the best defence of the older view, though the part dealing with the rise of prose is the weakest part of the article.

<sup>3</sup> Theophrastos, *apud* Simpl. *phys.* 6 r 42.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, p. 3, βελτίων δ' Ἡρακλ. καὶ ὁμηρικώτερος.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, *Orat.* 67.

<sup>6</sup> Anaximenes, according to one witness at least, seems to have been less constant in his adherence to the poetic element in philosophical style. Diog. Laert. II 2, cited above, § 79.

<sup>7</sup> The *Karneonikai* of Hellanikos was written in prose and verse.



least demands its modification in several important particulars. It is maintained that the foundation of Ionic prose is to be sought in the local dialects (notably the Milesian), and that the diction of historical, philosophical and scientific writing can have come into being only after the labours of successive generations had succeeded in rendering the rude idiom of the registers and decrees capable of being a vehicle of literary expression. Those of this second school emphasize the fact that even in antiquity there was no consensus of opinion, and bring forward at least two utterances making in favour of their view: (1) Cicero (*De Orat.* II 12, § 53), in speaking of the earliest Roman annalists who made no use of poetical ornament, compares them with Pherekydes, Hellanikos and Akusilaos. (2) After describing what manner of men the older local historians were, Dionysios of Halikarnassos<sup>1</sup> says that their style was clear and intelligible to all, pure and precise. Of the moderns, no less an authority than Bergk says: '*it is remarkable how slight has been the influence of poetry upon the prose of the earlier period, though poetry attained at an early date to a periodic connection of sentences. Prose, originally a totally different species of composition, intentionally renounces the artistic means adopted by poetry*'<sup>2</sup>.

83.] In all this speculation, both of the moderns and of the ancients (who possessed a greater wealth of material, but not the horizon enabling them to estimate its dialectal value), a vital fact has been ignored. Style is one thing, phonetics and inflections something quite different. Poetical ornament or poetical reminiscence, the recourse to archaic or obsolescent words, be they never so frequent, are not incompatible with a contemporaneous system of inflection and phonetics. The substitution of prose for the λέξις εἰρομένη by the logographers of the sixth (or fifth) centuries is not identical with the adoption of an Homeric scheme of declension. The various dialects of Hellas, in which are preserved early dedicatory or laudatory hexameters of epic tone, have no scruple in adopting inflections proper either to an archaic or to a contemporaneous form of the language, while at the same time the words are borrowed to a greater

<sup>1</sup> D. H. de Thuc. judic. 819 R. : σαφῆ καὶ κοινὴν, καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ σύντομον. Before he says : κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαιροῦντες, καὶ χωρὶς ἐκφέροντες, ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσώζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις μνήμαι κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, εἴτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴτ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξευγεῖν, οἷας παρέλαβον· μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι, μήτ' ἀφαιροῦντες, ἐν αἷς καὶ μῦθοί τινες ἐνῆσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θεατρικαὶ τινες περιπέτειαι, πολὺ τὸ ἡλίθιον ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν δοκοῦσαι. Demetrios, de Eloc. 12, vol. IX, p. 9 W says of the style of the older prosaists : διηρημένη, εἰς κῶλα λελυμένη οὐ μάλα ἀλλήλοις συνηρημένα, ὥς ἡ Ἐκαταίου, καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν Ἡροδότου.

<sup>2</sup> Bergk, Gr. Literaturgeschichte, II 394, note.

or less extent from Homer. So in the domain of prose. The archaic words employed in Herodotos' vocabulary, when it is identical with that of Homer and divergent from that of Attic prose, may coexist with contemporaneous inflections. Even in the vocabulary of Ionic prose, much of what has been regarded as poetical is in fact nothing more than old-time Ionic, a survival of the time when the Ionians did not dwell over-sea, and cherished with all the fervour which unites the speech of the colony to that of the metropolis. In the America of to-day there survive words drawn from the treasure-house of Chaucerian, Spenserian and Shakesperian English, words which were still vigorous with life in England in the seventeenth century, but which have since been permitted to starve. The Tennessean says *suddint* for *quick-tempered*, as Chaucer said *sodeyn Diomedé*.

On the one hand then, the utterances of antiquity and the hypotheses of the moderns in reference to the difference between the Herodoteian and non-Herodoteian dialect lead to no result, since they proceed on the lines of discriminating one style from another. On the other hand, we find in the extant fragments no answer to the much-vexed question whether there was any radical difference in the dialect of the various writers of early Ionic prose.

84.] Upon turning to the existing monuments of Ionic prose, we confront the fact that, so far as the fragments of the logographers permit a comparison of their dialect with that of Herodotos, there is no appreciable difference between the two. These fragments are but few, and even these bear the touch of Attic or pseudo-Ionic hands. Of Kadmos and Dionysios, Deiochos and Bion of Prokonnesos, Eugeon of Samos, nothing has been preserved. Akusilaos of Argos, the first writer not of Ionic stock who pursued the genealogical enquiries of the Ionians, must have written in Ionic, though the fragments extant in antiquity were branded as spurious by Suidas. The *Σικελιώτης συγγραφή* of Antiochos of Syrakuse, utilized by Thukydides, offers no picture of the form assumed by the literary Ionic of the Western colonies. Charon of Lampsakos has *ἀπίξεται*, and a few cases of *-ιη*, which was the feature of the dialect which resisted dislodgment most obstinately. In frag. 2 Plutarch has *βασιλῆϊον* together with *τείχους* and *ἐπαναχωροῦσι*. Of Xanthos nothing worthy of note is preserved.

Even the fragments of Hekataios yield no result commensurate with their greater number. In the field of vocabulary we notice here and there a peculiar word, but even upon the basis of the study of vocabulary and style, we have not material



sufficient to test the criticism of Hermogenes. It is only occasionally that Ionic forms appear in Steph. of Byzant. and in Athenaios<sup>1</sup>, whose texts present now the Attic, now a partial Ionic form. The pseudo-Longinos always Atticizes. *δοκέω* rests upon the authority of Hdn. π. μ. λ. I p. 13. There is no example of an open *εε* or *εει*.

Direct quotations from Pherekydes are extremely rare. Some Ionic forms are preserved by the schol. on Apoll. Rhod. III 1178 (= Pherek. 44): *Ἀθηναίη, ὄφιος, λίθοισιν, δοκέοντες, κρατέουσιν*; by the schol. on Pind. P. IV 75 = 133 (= 60): *μαντήϊον, Αἰήτεω, Ἥρη, νόον*; by the schol. on Eurip. Alk. I (= 76): *Βρόντεω, Στερόπεω, Ἀργεω*; and by Dion. Halik. *Arch.* I 13 (= 85): *καλέονται, οἰκέοντες, Διαμαίρης*. All of these citations contain in addition Attic forms.

In Ion of Chios as quoted by Athenaios I find the Attic verbal forms except in *δοκέον, ἀφαιρετέοντα*. The adjectives of colour and material appear in the open form (*πορφυρέω, -έας, χρυσέας*).

85.] The vigour displayed by Ionic as the language of the scientists of the day, not merely Ionians of Ephesos, Samos, Klazomenai or of the Thrakian Abdera<sup>2</sup>, but thinkers from Krete, or cosmopolitans, puts to confusion the aesthetic-physiological vapidness of many older, and some modern, books on Greek. The mollient harmonies of the Ionic vowel system were applied, even at the period of the destruction of effeminate Ionia upon the fall of Miletos, to give expression to the hardest thinking that the Hellenic world had witnessed. So far from the Ionic dialect in early prose always appearing in the easy-flowing, anecdotal style of an Herodotos: it is the idiom which has to express the resplendent subtleties of Herakleitos. 'Milesian tales' are exchanged for the crabbedness of an Obscurantist, or for the defence of the all-pervading power of causality by the Atomic philosopher; and finally for the picturesque yet terse and nervous style of the Father of Medicine.

And yet, however different the styles in vogue among the thinkers of the sixth and fifth centuries, styles ranging from the poetic prose of the speculative thinker Pherekydes of Syros to the powerful compression or unadorned simplicity (as in the *Ἐπιδημῖαι*) of Hippokrates, we are unable to bring together

<sup>1</sup> In Steph. Byz. *-εου-* appears fr. 67, 78, 114, 135, 189, 190, 193, 195; contracted *-ου-* 105, 186. Athen. has open *-εου-* 290, *-εο-* 172, *-ου-* 173, 341; *εε* and *εει* are always contracted.

<sup>2</sup> In connection with this, reference may be made to the view upheld by Gomperz that the pseudo-Hippocratic tract *περὶ τέχνης* is the work of an Abderite, and also to the view of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff that the pseudo-Hippocratic *Νόμος* is the production of Demokritos.



enough material to warrant the conclusion that there was any thoroughgoing differentiation between the dialect of historical and that of scientific writing. Apart from the question of the relation of Herodotos to Hippokrates, which will be considered in § 100, there is scarcely a trace which points to a difference in dialect between Anaxagoras, Herakleitos, Demokritos, Diogenes, Melissos, Apollonios, or Protagoras<sup>1</sup>. While tradition has not been impartial in its dealings with the original colouring of their dialect, it nevertheless appears tolerably certain that they all made use of the inflections belonging to the accepted idiom of the day, which was common alike to the logographer and to the scientist. Radical differences in phraseology, sentence arrangement or syntax<sup>2</sup> may have existed, it is true, though in the scanty material at command, they elude our powers of observation.

Scientific writing gradually passed over into the hands of the Athenians. Archelaos of Miletos, the pupil of Anaxagoras, was in the view of Diogenes Laertios the first who transferred from Ionia to Attika the study of the philosophy of nature. Anaxagoras himself was banished from Athens, and a like fate befell the cosmopolitan Protagoras. Though none of these thinkers deserted the literary form established by their predecessors, we find that Bion, the pupil of Demokritos, wrote partly in Ionic, partly in Attic. This procedure may have given a start to that paraphrasing of the old Ionic texts which in course of time won for itself a place even among the critics who were not unsusceptible to the charm of dialect.

*On the Transmission of the Text of the Ionic Philosophers.*

For pseudo-Ionisms and hyper-Ionisms see § 113.

86.] 1. No fragments in dialect have been preserved of Anaximander or of Anaximenes (on whose dialect see note 2, page 80). Anaxagoras is known to us solely from the citations made by

<sup>1</sup> Some have held that Melissos imitated Hdt., Demokritos Hippokrates (ξύν). Mullach (*Vulgarsprache* p. 10) notes that Demokritos often agrees with neither Hdt. nor Hipp., but with the epic poets or inscriptions. He is unique for his 'pregnant brevity, poetic colour, and independent boldness in word formation.'

<sup>2</sup> μετὰ with the genitive (in the singular) of things, especially of an abstract character, occurs, probably for the first time in Ionic prose, in Demokritos, who has μετ' ἀποδείξεως (?). Mommsen (*Gr. Praep.* p. 112, note 50) says that the use of μετὰ with plural nouns is almost entirely avoided before Euripides; but cf. Hippokrates, περὶ ἀρχ. ιητ. I 612 (§ 17). See Gomperz, *Apologie d. Heilkunst*, note 2 on p. 92.

Simplicius, who has turned into Attic many of the essential features of the original language of the philosophers. Thus  $\epsilon\omicron$  is contracted into  $\omicron\upsilon$ , the  $\kappa$  pronominal forms have given place to those in  $\pi$ , the Ionic forms of the reflexive pronouns have completely disappeared.

2. Melissos has been treated more kindly by Simplicius.  $\epsilon\omicron\iota$  is retained in the optative, and  $\epsilon\omicron$  has not entirely disappeared. The retention of  $\kappa\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $\kappa\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  is noteworthy. In one instance a pronominal form in  $\kappa$  has escaped the levelling process.

3. Herakleitos has fared better at the hands of his excerptors than most of his contemporaries. The compression of his style may have prevented too great a deflection from the original. The earliest direct citation (by Theophrastos) is, however, paraphrased. The  $\kappa$  pronominal forms are preserved by Clemens, Stobaios, Plutarch, Hippolytos, Origen; the  $-\omicron\upsilon$ - forms are found in Strabo, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertios, Julian, &c.; uncontracted  $-\epsilon\omicron-$ ,  $-\epsilon\omicron\upsilon-$  in Clemens of Alexandria (whose MSS., however, are inconsistent in this regard and also in the retention of the characteristic Ionic  $\kappa$ ); uncontracted  $-\epsilon\omega-$  in Diogenes Laertios, Strabo.

$\epsilon$  in place of  $a$  in  $-a\omega$  verbs is found in Clemens and Hippolytos.

$\xi\nu\nu\acute{o}\nu$  for  $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{o}\nu$  in Origen, Plotinos, Porphyrios, Sext. Emp. The  $\epsilon$  forms in the comparative degree are rarely preserved intact by late writers.  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  is found in Clemens,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$  in Stob. The Ionic  $\eta$  is retained except by those who Atticize outright. Plutarch rarely swerves from the original.

The fragments of Herakleitos found in the Strassburg MS. of Justinian, now destroyed, and dating 474-491 A.D., are completely Atticized with the exception of  $\acute{o}\kappa\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\varsigma$ .

4. The longest single fragment of Diogenes of Apollonia has been paraphrased by Aristotle. In the other fragments as preserved in Simplicius we notice the retention of the Ionic declension of *iota* stems, except in  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ .  $\epsilon\omicron$  is kept open in  $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , a genitive form which is as unique in Simplicius as is his retention of  $\acute{o}\kappa\eta$  in Melissos 14. The reflexive pronouns conform to the Attic standard.

5. The *Moralia* of Demokritos, handed down chiefly by Stobaios, present the features of Ionic distorted by Atticisms, which at times completely overshadow the original lineaments of the dialect. Within one and the same fragment (*e.g.* 70) we find the same word now in Attic, now in Ionic, guise. The characteristic features of the dialect of the Abderite philosopher emerge often



enough to permit the reconstruction of the whole, though not always in the form adopted by Mullach. The *-ων-* forms of the reflexive pronoun are tolerably common (*e.g.* 92, 100, 188); *κρέσσον* we find in 94; *οϊκήιος* (94); *-ιος* and *-ias* in *-ι-* stems (20); the *κ* pronominal forms have often given place to the Attic *π*, but the guttural appears (13, 20, 41); retention of *ψίλωσις* (92) is as rare as the open *-εο-* and *-εω-* are common. These forms appear with greater consistency than any other deflection from the Attic usage. There is a constant fluctuation between *ξύν* and *σύν*, and between the longer and shorter forms of the dative plural of the *Ā* and *O* declensions. Mullach has edited *ξύν* and *τοῖσι* and *τῇσι* indefensibly. *τοῖς* and *ταῖς* occur even when, as is rarely the case, the nouns end in *-σι*. The articular *τοῖσι*, however, occurs in 41, the relational in 47; *τῇσιν ἐπιθυμίῃσι* in 46. *τολμέωσι* is found in 215.

The *Physika*, as cited by Sextus Empiricus, are almost completely Atticized. Ionic *η* is occasionally preserved; *ὄρην* occurs in § 139 (frag. 1).

*On the Style of Early Ionic Prose Writing.*

87.] Among the early logographers who raised the edifice of their recitals upon the simple annals of the Ionic cities, genealogies, priestly records, &c., some would seem to have adopted a plain and homely style, ungarnished by that admixture of epic colouring which distinguished the work of others. Both styles, however, had their roots in the local idioms in which subsisted variations to some slight degree. No Ionic prose in fact held itself aloof from the idiom of the soil. But to the epos, rather than to the unaided efforts of the early worthies, is due the creation of what might fairly be called a literary instrument. The influence of the epos cannot be conceived save upon the supposition that the ruder prose had of itself been already elaborated to a degree enabling it to make a distinct advance under the inspiration of a poetic model. There seem to be certain indications making for the conclusion that the language of the earliest logographers was in closer touch with the idiom of the soil than that of Herodotos. In this view 'unmixed' Ionic would show less of that conscious recourse to the epos and other literature (*cf.* § 89) which characterizes the dialect of Herodotos, and which in fact constituted his *ποικιλία*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It is wide of the mark to extend the application of the words of Hermogenes: 'Ἐκαταῖος παρ' οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ὠφέληται ὁ Ἡρόδοτος (*cf.* above § 79) so as to find in them a confirmation of the belief, whether well founded or not,



Pherekydes and Hekataios dwelt within a narrower circle, while Herodotos extended the boundaries not only of subject-matter but also of style.

It is often a matter of dubitation what is the contemporaneous Ionic form which deserves a place in Herodotos, so scanty are our epigraphic materials and so perverse the confusion in the grammarians between the different strata of Ionic forms. Yet it is nevertheless certain that, save in passages which bear the unmistakable stamp of deliberate recurrence to Epic formulae, the system of phonology and inflection is that of the soil. If it

that Herodotos purloined from his predecessor much of his subject-matter. The tone of the passage in Hermogenes indicates the belief of the rhetorician that Herodotos owed a debt in matters of style to Hekataios, notwithstanding that the latter used the ἄκρατος, οὐ μεμιγμένη ἴδις. A hard and fast line between the Milesian and the Halikarnassian cannot well be drawn. I am indebted to Diels, *Hermes* XXII 426, for reference to a passage in Eusebios, *Pr. Er.* X 3, p. 466 B, to the effect that Porphyrios in his *Φιλολόγος ἀκρόασις*, following Pollio *περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου κλοπῆς*, showed that Hdt. transferred from Hek. several passages without material change (*βραχέα παραποιήσας*). Diels does not hesitate to regard the *ποικιλία* of Hdt. as due to the wider horizon of the historian, which embraces not only description of all manner of things but also stylistic affinities with the epos, tragedy, &c.

In connection with this, reference may be made to a treatise which has generally escaped the notice of scholars: Peyron's *Origine dei tre illustri dialetti Greci paragonata con quella dell' eloquio illustre Italiano*, first published in 1838, and now accessible as the 12th appendix to his *Tucidide*, Turin, 1861. In §§ 49-56 he treats of Ionic, chiefly in regard to the relation of Herodotos to his predecessors and to the statements of Hermogenes (above § 79) and Dionysios of Halikarnassos (above § 82). His views are, briefly, as follows: the language of Hekataios and that of the early logographers was that of the native city of each, here and there ennobled by a slight admixture of the poetic element. An ἄκρατος dialect is a dialect spoken by the common-folk in a single city or district and not yet elaborated by literary artists; the words οὐ μεμιγμένη refer to a diction uncontaminated by the adoption of Homeric or other species of Ionic; and *ποικιλία* is used of a speech which seeks to avoid the monotony incidental to the use of a single dialectal idiom, by having recourse to forms and inflections other than those native to a single locality. Pseudo-Plutarch used *ποικίλος* in this sense when speaking of Homer (*λέξει δὲ ποικίλῃ κεχρημένος τοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης διαλέκτου τῶν Ἑλλήνων χαρακτῆρας ἐγκατέμιξεν*). In confirmation of the view that the diction of Hekataios was essentially plebeian, the following words are cited: *δέας* for *κρέας*, *αἴμον* for *αἶμος*, *γέγειος*, *ἐπίσσαι*, *κίβωτος*, *σκορπίζεσθαι* = *σκεδάννυσθαι*, *ἀδελφίζειν*. In general the predecessors of Herodotos wrote as they spoke, but gradually *il fraseggiare del volgo si innalzava verso la dignità ed il ritmo della grave prosa*. Hekataios and his compeers were not absolutely intolerant of the dialect of other localities than their own, nor were they invariably studious of the avoidance of Homeric phraseology. They only essayed a unification of elements, whose fusion was reserved for the genius of Herodotos. Herodotos took as the foundation for his dialect the language of Homer, as the successors of Dante regarded his diction as their sovereign norm. The *ποικιλία* of Hdt. is the result of the superimposing upon Homeric Greek of the Ionic of Herodotos' own day and of other non-Ionic elements.

Latterly the ancient qualifications of the style of Hdt. have been regarded as covering loan-forms from non-Ionic dialects, which, it is assumed, were foreign to the writers of the 'pure' Ionic. Cf. *K. Z.* XXX 572.

is erroneous to regard Ionic prose as naught save the epic done into prose, to ruthlessly expel all Homeric forms from the text of Herodotos or of any of the early Ionic prosaists is to blind oneself to the true character of the genesis of prose in Ionia.

The presence of distinctly Homeric forms in Herodotos is due to the literary complexion of his history and is explained in part by his relationship to Panyassis. It is implied also in great measure by the after history of the text itself. It was the existence of an admixture of a poetic element which gave room and verge enough for the later redactors to erect the structure of an hyper-Ionism, whose creed licensed an indiscriminate substitution of epic forms in place of those of the living speech of Herodotos' day.

What may have been the distinctive virtue of the diction of the many representatives of Ionic prose classed by the ancients as writers of pure Ionic, it is now beyond our power to discover. Certainly if the *ποικιλία* peculiar to Herodotos has been correctly explained above, the bipartite division of antiquity does not rest upon differences of dialect in the strict sense of the word, and dialectal 'purity' is to be kept apart from stylistic 'purity.'

### *The Dialect of Herodotos.*

- ABICHT: *Quaestionum de dialecto Herodotea specimen prim.* 1859; *Philol.* XI 275  
(on -*αται*, -*ατο* for -*νται*, -*ντο*).
- BREDOW: *De dialecto Herodotea*, 1846.
- DINDORF: *Dissertatio de dialecto Herod.* in the Didot edition, 1844.
- FRITSCH: Critique of Merzdorf's *De dialecto Herodotea*, in *Jahrbücher für kl. Phil.* 1876, p. 105 ff.
- LHARDY: *Quaestionum de dial. Herod.* cap. I and II, 1844-46.
- MERZDORF: *Quaest. gramm. de vocalium in dialecto Herodotea concursu in Curtius' Studien VIII* 127-222, 1875. *Vocalverkürzung und Metathesis im Ionischen*, *ibid.* IX 201-244, 1876.
- MEYER, W. L.: *Ueber die Contraction der Verba auf -έω*, *Programm des Paedagog.* zu Ilfeld, 1868.
- NORÉN: *De contractis verbis in -έω apud Herodotum.*
- SPREER: *De verbis contractis apud Herodotum*, 1874.
- STEIN: in the *Praefatio* to the first volume of his critical edition (1869), p. xlv ff.
- STRACHAN: in the Introduction to his edition of Book VI, 1891.
- STRUVE: *Quaestionum de dial. Herodoti specimina III*, 1828-30 (in the second volume of his *Opuscula*).

The following *i. a.* deal with the relation of Hdt. to Homer:

- BOETTIGER: *De Herod. Historia ad epici carminis indolem propius accedente*, 1792.
- HOFER: *Ueber die Verwandtschaft d. herod. Stiles mit dem homerischen*, 1878.



HOELSCHER : *Die Entwicklung u. d. Zusammenhang d. ionischen Prosa mit den homerischen Epen*, 1875.

PICHLER : *Ueber syntaktische Beziehungen Herodots zu Homer*, 1882 (*Jahresbericht d. philol. Vereins zu Berlin*, X (1884), p. 366).

STADELMANN : *Dissertat. de Herodoto ejusque dialecto*, 1830-32.

STEPHANUS : *Herodotus* 1570, p. 18 ff. (contains a collection of expressions in which Hdt. and Homer agree).

See also ZARNCKE's *Entstehung der griech. Literatursprachen*, 1890, pp. 38-45.

88.] Within less than a century after Herodotos had concluded his history, the epitome of its contents by Theopompos became a possibility. The construction and continuance of an Athenian empire, whose reason for existence was the presence of the barbarian in the home of the Ionic Greeks; the rise of an artistic Attic prose as a more facile and more highly elaborated organ for the expression of trained political thought; the unexampled rapidity of development displayed by this new creation of Greek literature; the extinction of the easily flowing and loosely joined style of the Ionic narrative prose; the absorption of the fourth century in the process of perfecting the rhythmic and periodic style; and finally the continual widening of the chasm that separated the Eastern Greeks from those of Hellas proper;—all these factors contributed to the speedy decay of interest in the Herodoteian work. Now to this unpopularity of the Father of History, lasting from the extinction of Ionic literature to the time of Dionysios of Halikarnassos, is due in large measure the absence of a definite tradition of his original text. The disturbance of the current of Ionic tradition by the appearance of Attic worked to the prejudice of Herodotos. The impoverishment of the dialect and the deflection of literary curiosity to other quarters prevented a constant modernization of the original text, and ensured a speedy obscuration of the original complexion of so unique a literary product. When the interest in Ionic literature revived during the Augustan age, the seeds of corruption had borne their fruit; and it was impossible to reconstitute the genuine tradition of Herodotos as of other Ionic prose writers, who from this time onward continue to excite an attention in the rhetorical schools which they had failed to obtain in a more creative period of Greek literature.

The MSS. of no other prose writers exhibit such a wilderness of various readings and so complete an inability to transmit the original form as do those of Herodotos and Hippokrates. Fortunately in the case of Herodotos, with whom we are here more immediately concerned, this aberration affects not the sense, but the external form. No single dialectal canon seems to have



guided the copyists, who adopt now one standard as regards one set of forms, now another as regards a set completely analogous. The absence of any scholia makes for the view that Alexandrian learning did not (as it did in the case of Homer, the lyric and tragic poets), by means of critical studies devoted to the dialect, erect a bulwark against the gradual transformation of that part of the authentic text in which Later Ionic was exposed to contamination with Homeric Ionic.

The incoherency of the Herodoteian scheme as it appears in the MSS. is evident from many considerations. If *οε* and even *οη* are contracted, is it conceivable that *οο* should remain open?

Despite the general acquiescence in the traditional belief that the open forms of the *-εω* verbs are genuine Herodoteian and Hippokratic, there are not wanting signs of a more rational view even in circles that do not despise the evidence of the MSS. in all matters pertaining to the contraction or non-contraction of vowels. Gomperz in his *Apologie der Heilkunst* does not scruple to adopt the closed forms, though the Paris MS. *A* has only 18 instances against 21 instances of the open forms in the pseudo-Hippokratic *περὶ τέχνης*.

Neither of the two classes<sup>1</sup> of MSS. of Herodotos (the older represented by *ABC*, the younger by *RPVS*) succeeds in carrying us to a period antedating the existence of an ignorant speculation as to the original form of the dialect adopted. The Florentine MS. (*A*) of the tenth century contains a greater farrago of perverse Ionisms than is found in the Romanus (*R*) of the fourteenth century. Cobet and Gomperz rate higher, for other reasons, the younger family of MSS. to which *R* belongs. On the one hand the confusion in the mind of the dialectologists between Homeric (cf. Greg. Korinth. § 20, 22) and Later Ionic foisted upon the early MSS. forms that are purely Homeric, and sometimes even such as owe their origin to a depraved Homeric tradition; and on the other the text, like all dialect texts, was exposed to the inroads of paraphrasing Atticists. In the uncertainty as to what was genuine, the dialectological sciolists played havoc with the later Ionic, and their blundering stupidity gave birth to such misshapen creatures as *ἐγενέατο*, *δεσπότεια*, *Κροίσεω*, *Βάπτω*, *τουτέων*,

<sup>1</sup> Holder arranges the MSS. as follows: the archetypal MS. split into (1) *α*=*AB*, (2) *R*+*V*<sup>1</sup>=*V*+*S*. *C* and *P* are placed by Holder among the *codices contaminati vel mixti*. See Kallenberg, *Philologus*, 1885, p. 717, who showed that in books I and IX, *P* belongs to the family *ABC*, but was corrected from a MS. of the *R* family; in books II-VIII *P* belongs to the family *R* but underwent correction from a MS. of the family *ABC*. Together with *ABC*, *R* is to be cautiously used. Stein held that only when *P* and *R* agree is use to be made of their readings. Cobet called *R* at once the best and the worst MS.

αὐτέων (masc. neutr.), τουτέοισι, σταθμεύμενος, ἐδικαίουν, which run riot in the MSS.

89.] The ancient grammarians, to a large extent under the influence of the rhetoricians, neglecting the influence exerted upon Herodotos by tragedy, lyric poetry, and perhaps even by the contemporary Sophistic, regarded his ποικιλία as emanating from his sympathy with the form and complexion of the epos. For Epic diction is characterized by a ποικιλία of its own<sup>1</sup>. It was alien to the purpose of the ancient rhetoric to attempt to trace out in Herodotos the possibility of a combination of local idioms, each of which might have been compelled to yield its contribution towards the creation of a prose style, more highly elaborated than that wrought out by the predecessors of the Halikarnassian historian. Such a conception of the Herodoteian style, though not warranted by actual facts, could become possible only in modern times. Various have been the attempts within the past fifty years to explain the ποικιλία of Herodotos. Some, misconceiving the spirit of a Greek historian and the atmosphere of Ionic prose, have regarded it as the result of the fusion of Ionic with Karian, despite the fact that Halikarnassos was Ionized at least by the middle of the fifth century. Others, misconceiving the words of Suidas (ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ τὴν Ἰάδῃ ἡσκήθη διάλεκτον), have regarded his dialect as Samian, which solely on this account was held to be a mixture of all the Ionic sub-dialects; though in fact, so far as we are acquainted with its structure, Samian Ionic opposes the infusion of alien, non-Ionic words and inflections<sup>2</sup>. Most of the modern editors of Herodotos maintain the view that his 'variegated' Ionic is due to the presence of poetical (epic, lyric, elegiac), Doric, and Attic forms and expressions, which arose for the most part from the birth, training and surroundings of the historian. The present treatise, while professing allegiance to a view which holds, properly enough, that the personal coefficient has been largely instrumental in giving to Herodoteian style its peculiar virtue, is nevertheless antagonistic to the theory that his ποικιλία permitted Herodotos to adopt, as Homer adopted, now one, now another inflection for one and the same word; and in fact to the conception that the variegated complexion of the MSS. is any indication of a ποικιλία in the form reproduced by Stein and many modern editors. I hold that only in the treatment of proper names and in passages of unmistakably epic colouring is a certain latitude

<sup>1</sup> Ὅμηρος λέξει ποικίλῃ κεχρημένος says the author of the tractate περὶ Ὅμηρικῆς διαλέκτου.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, § 21.



on the lines of a departure from the contemporary Ionic to be regarded as justifiable.

90.] The language of Herodotos, as reconstructed upon the basis of the best MSS., consists of a mixture of early and late Ionic and a number of Attic forms. Doric forms occur in proper names. Much of what is genuine in Herodotos is likewise Attic, but some of the forms which appear to be found on Ionic soil alone readily admit of explanation by the laws of Greek morphology. Of the Ionic forms the greater part represents the dialect of the historian's time<sup>1</sup>, but of the considerable remainder one part was obsolescent, another obsolete in the fifth century.

91.] The critical canon adopted by many of the editors<sup>2</sup> and by some scholars<sup>3</sup> who have made a special study of certain portions of the diction of Herodotos is as follows: the form to be assumed by a given word in a given passage depends upon a count of its occurrences in the MSS., *i.e.* if one form has a majority of MS. witnesses in its behalf it is accepted, while the other must be rejected.

This principle, though seemingly the only safe guide, is illusory. Thus on the authority of a majority of the MSS. ποιέει and ποιέειν are to be adopted, while in the case of νοέω, νοέεις, -νόει and -νοεῖν would demand to be accepted. In the case of the subjunctives of -εω verbs the MSS. have the open forms in fourteen instances when a vowel precedes the ending, and the closed form ten times when a consonant is the preceding letter. What system of literary aesthetics can pronounce in favour of θάρσει but demand στρατηλάτεις; or differentiate the delicate shades of feeling in παραίνεις and βοιήθει? Shall we here conclude that there existed a thoroughgoing differentiation between vocalic and consonantal endings, when such a differentiation does not exist in other cases where -εω or -ω appears? In one instance δοκέη has been deemed worthy of a place in the text, though by count in the present subjunctive it has a

<sup>1</sup> That a Dorian of Halikarnassos should have written in Ionic is due not merely to the existence of an Ionic prose at the opening of the fifth century, but also because Halikarnassos had been Ionized before the birth of the historian. Cf. the Lygdamis' inscr. No. 238 in Bechtel's collection. The exceedingly old papyrus, published in *Philologus* XLI 748, dating probably from the fourth century B.C. and referred to Halikarnassos, contains several Dorisms.

<sup>2</sup> Holder, because more amenable to inscriptional authority, is much more radical than Stein in his refusal to accept MS. testimony.

<sup>3</sup> Notably Bredow. In justice to the memory of a careful scholar, it should be stated that Merzdorf abandoned in Curtius *Studien* IX 201, the position assumed by him in the *Studien* VIII 127. The futility of the principle of majority rule was shown by Fritsch in Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* 1876, p. 108, and in his *Vokalismus d. herod. Dialekts*, pp. 1 ff. Cf. *Kratylos* 437 D.



majority of but one over ποιῇ. In VIII 76 all MSS. have περιποιῶσι, though they have ποιέωσι IV 111, εἰδῶ II 114, but εἰδέω III 140, ἀποδεχθῶ I 124, but ἀπαιρεθέω III 65, ἀδικοῦεν V 84, but δοκέοι I 24, ποιοῖ or -οίη VI 35, but ποιέοιεν IX 104. In the case of thirteen *verba contracta* the closed forms prevail, in the case of two others, though the MSS. prefer the contraction, Stein capriciously edits the open forms; in thirty-eight verbs only the contracted forms appear, and in the case of ὀράω, εἰρωτάω and φοιτάω the wildest license reigns.

The adoption of the modern canon of criticism thus leads, as regards contraction or non-contraction (where the greatest lack of uniformity prevails), to a dissolution of a uniform system of inflection, and in fact to a conglomerate of inconsistencies such as is not found in any other prose author, with the possible exception of Hippokrates, whose text has met in great measure the same fate as that which has befallen the Herodoteian. From a survey of MS. evidence the conclusion is irresistible that this confusion is at least as old as the archetypal MS., which is held by some to be found in the conjunction of the readings of *ABR*. Whether the lack of uniformity displayed by the archetypal MS. is the echo of a similar lack dating from Herodotos (as some would maintain), or whether it is the result of a disturbance of the original tradition, are, it is scarcely necessary to remark, two totally different questions. The view reached in this work is that no agreement of MS. testimony in respect of contract verbs, unless it is an absolute consensus, is authoritative in the determination of the original text of the early Ionic prosaists. To establish an absolute consensus is often an impossibility. There are indications that different views as to the proper form of reconstructing certain parts of the Ionic verbal system obtained foothold at a very early period in the history of the transmission of the text. Thus as regards the 'pure' verbs, *ABR* often agree as to the necessity of contraction, *CP*<sup>1</sup> more frequently than the others (though not consistently) treat the -αω verbs as if they had passed into -εω verbs, the *Florentinus C* having -εω, the *Parisinus P* having εο, εον and εω for αο, αον and αω.

The attitude of the MSS. towards the question of the character of the dialect of Herodotos, can be accounted for only upon the supposition that at an early period, certainly not very long after the decline of literature under Alexander's successors, the knowledge of the text had become obliterated. When the period of reconstruction arrived the dialectological theories which en-

<sup>1</sup> Some of the forms of *CP* are regarded by Stein and others as due to the grammarians.

deavoured to break through the obscurity succeeded only in perpetuating divergent views as to the nature of prose Ionic. Nor did these theories, which found the chief field for their activity in the text of Herodotos, spare the texts of the lesser lights of the Ionic constellation.

92.] The investigation pursued in the present work proceeds upon principles which may thus be outlined:—

1. Herodotos made use of a uniform system of phonetics and inflection<sup>1</sup>, *i.e.* when a word can be shown to be genuine Ionic and Herodoteian, no variation in its form is permissible except in certain special cases, as, for example, those comparatively few epic reminiscences which are so direct as to carry the Homeric form into Herodotos. Nor are we to regard as recalcitrant such variations as *βοηθέω*, *βώσαντι*. Proper names of non-Ionic peoples and personages are given, now in the Ionic, now in the native, form.

2. The appellate court for deciding upon impeachable portions of the Herodoteian system of phonetics and inflection is composed of the inscriptions and the poets of Ionic birth. Herein we attribute greater weight to the writers of iambs and trochaics than to the elegists. The language of the inscriptions alone is not an absolute criterion of the genuineness of an Ionic form unless the inscription is older than 400 B.C. and contains no trace whatsoever of that which is specifically Attic. When the language of the inscriptions, with this limitation, agrees with that of the poets, we possess in their agreement the surest test possible under the circumstances by which to examine the credentials of any disputable form; and against the united voice of iambists and stone records the fluctuating orthography of Herodoteian or Hippokratic MSS. can make no stand. On the other hand, it is necessary to insist upon the fact, too often forgotten by some of the radical German scholars, that because a form is found in iambic poetry, or in the inscriptions, it does not follow that this form must be Herodoteian.

In the course of the detailed examination of Ionic my primary purpose has been to let the facts themselves show how great or how small is the difference between the actual speech of

<sup>1</sup> Stein, whose principle it is to follow the best MSS. in each passage, and who admits the doctrine of manifold forms, quotes with approval *Orator* 156: *alias ita loquor ut concessum est, ut hoc vel pro deum dico vel pro deorum, alias ut necesse est, cum trium virum non virorum, cum sestertium nummum, non nummorum, quod in his consuetudo varia non est.* But, as has long ago been remarked, this by no means implies that a writer has the liberty of mixing archaic and modern forms at will. There are not wanting in Herodotos, or even in inscriptions, analogues of the retention of the old gen. in *-um*, while cases similar to the younger *-orum* had elsewhere gained a place in the language of the day.



Herodotos' time and that which is ordinarily proclaimed as fifth century Ionic, the rules for which, as formulated by Dindorf<sup>1</sup> in the Didot edition, upon the authority of Herodoteian MSS., have proved for nearly two generations a treacherous guide to editors<sup>2</sup> of the Ionic writers of the Hadrianic Renaissance and of the authors quoting early Ionic literature. I have endeavoured not to advance any theory, either of the development of Ionic prose literature or of the nature of the Herodoteian dialect, which might throw into a false light the explanation of the life of the individual form; but to present the material in such bulk and in such shape that the theory advanced in this part of the volume, when supported by the facts as given in another, cannot be dislodged by the arguments of those of different belief.

The view of the dialect of Herodotos which, on the whole, seems most probable is as follows:—

The Ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις was originally composed, not in the pure Milesian dialect as spoken in ordinary life by the Milesians of the fifth century, but in an ennobled form of the Milesian dialect which, gradually perfected by the predecessors of Herodotos, had received under the hands of the historian an impress due to the peculiar virtue of his genius. This literary Milesian idiom had its roots in the soil. Its inflections and phonetics were those of the common speech. If this common speech did not invariably and at once reject all older forms that were brought face to face with those of more recent origin, *à fortiori* the literary dialect did not keep pace with the innovations of the speech of daily life<sup>3</sup>. It confessed the supremacy of the Ionic epos<sup>4</sup> by a frequent reproduction of Homeric sentiment and phraseology, chiefly for the purpose of ornament. An additional lustre was shed

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf, it is true, uttered a warning against a superstitious reverence for the authority of the MSS.: *quorum auctoritate sola qui regi iudicium suum patiuntur perinde faciunt ac si quis tesserarum jactu decernendum esse contendat quibus quoque in loco vocabulorum formis usus esse putandus sit Herodotus*. But Dindorf lived in a state of primeval innocence in respect of epigraphy. The iambographers have in his view no voice at all, the pseudo-Ionists an all important voice in shaping the form of Herodoteian Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> The dialectologist is hampered at every turn by this dependence upon a long established code which results in grafting upon such authors as Stobaïos all sorts of hyper-Ionic forms. Especially is this to be deplored in the case of the many editions which do not give a full conspectus of various readings. Such a book as Diel's *Simplicius* is a notable exception.

<sup>3</sup> For example, if in Halikarnassos or in Miletos the form of the article was τοῖς about the year 450 B.C., it does not follow that in Herodotos the longer form should be displaced, provided, as is the case, τοῖσι existed in Miletos in the sixth century. For τοῖσι in Hdt. to be correct, it is necessary that it should have existed at a time when the Milesian literary dialect was forming.

<sup>4</sup> Demetr. *de Eloc.* § 51: πλὴν οἱ μὲν γυμνῇ πάνυ χρῶνται τῇ μιμήσει τῶν ποιητῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐ μιμήσει, ἀλλὰ μεταθέσει καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος. Θουκυδίδης μέντοι κἂν λάβῃ παρὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τι, ἰδίως αὐτῷ χράμενος ἴδιον τὸ ληφθὲν ποιεῖ.



upon the heroes of the Ionic Revolt and of Marathon by the recital of their deeds in a language whose tone recalled that in which the poet had recounted the story of Achilles and of Odysseus. But in its external form, save in those passages which were imbued with epic colour, it was the dialect of the sixth and fifth centuries, such as is in part presented in the language of the epigraphic monuments and in part to be reconstructed by the aid of the living speech of a slightly older date, found in its purest form in the fragments of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, and Hipponax, and in the elegists after a considerable subtraction of epic forms has been made. And furthermore, this Milesian dialect must not be thought of as a highly artificial idiom, hostile to natural and spontaneous variation.

The practical effect of this theory, if applied to a reconstruction of the Herodoteian text, would leave undisturbed by far the greater part of the dialect. The system of declension unfolded in the best MSS. would be preserved, the traces of *ψίλωσις* vouched for, while its absence in compounds would not be branded as spurious. But in one particular which for years has been proclaimed a distinguishing feature of Later Ionic—the entire absence of contraction of the *-εω* verbs—the testimony of the stone records and of the iambists is fatal to the assumption that Herodoteian Ionic is fifth century Ionic. The evidence as to the scheme of inflection of the contracted verbs is so complete that those who maintain the genuineness of the readings of the ordinary editions must take refuge in the conclusion that the historian deliberately resuscitated an entire system of inflection which had passed out of actual speech nearly a century before his time. The artificiality of style which adopts obsolete, or gives renewed life to obsolescent words is essentially different from a prose diction which reproduces a whole scheme of dead inflections. Even on the view that Herodotos' prose, like that of Hekataios, was derived immediately from poetry, its inflection of the *verba pura* is not the inflection found in iambic or elegiac poetry. I can find no cause for Herodotos' adoption of Homeric inflections in the fact that the elegy of the fifth century shows a marked increase, as contrasted with the elegy of Kallinos and Mimnermos or that of Tyrtaios and Solon, in respect of the appearance of Homeric forms. It might well be asked whether there was any tie connecting the elegy with the other Ionic prosaists whose MSS. display the same forms as those of Herodotos. And it should be noted that in these elegists there is scarcely a trace of pseudo-Ionisms, of which the MSS. of Hdt. are full.

Though as regards the contraction of *-εω* verbs the evidence points in but one direction, there are several other cases where

we are unable to bring into court harmonious testimony to affect the evidence of Herodoteian MSS. Here the degree of certainty attainable is of necessity reduced, and each case must stand upon its own merits.

Thus where there is a direct conflict between the Herodoteian form and that of the inscriptions, as in the case of the specifically Ionic  $\kappa$  forms ( $\kappa\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ), Archilochos and Simonides of Amorgos show that such forms existed in their day. Conversely the inscriptions often vouch for the validity of a form in Herodotos which is absent from the Ionic poets.

Where Herodotos has a form which is unattested both by inscriptions and lyric poets, its spuriousness is not thereby proven, unless it is diametrically opposed to known laws of Greek morphology, and is beyond the recognized influence of analogy. Thus  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$  may readily be defended.

### 93.]

Though this treatise does not propose to lay down the principles governing the construction of a genuine Herodoteian text beyond those already stated, it is appropriate in this connection to quote the words of the eminent editor Stein in reference to the use of inscriptional testimony:—*‘In the first place the extent of these inscriptional texts, including those of late date, and their evidence as to language is so fragmentary and scanty, that they can make no reply when questioned as to many of the points in doubt. The provenance and the age of these inscriptions are quite different, the language in which they are couched, far from uniform (herein agreeing with the well-attested division into sub-dialects) and full of all sorts of unevennesses. This lack of uniformity is visible in the monuments of one and the same locality and period, and often in one and the same inscription.’* Whether Stein would apply these words, written in 1885, to the present corpus of Ionic inscriptions, I am unable to say. But since they express a wide-spread view as to the applicability of the Ionic inscriptions in questions of Herodoteian criticism, it is appropriate to state here that it has been found impossible to draw distinct lines between sub-dialects of Asiatic Ionic; that variations from an Ionic norm are traceable either in the direction of adventitious Aiolisms or Atticisms; that the differences in form within the confines of Ionic are differences of time, one locality having preserved an ancient form longer than another; and that this ‘lack of uniformity in one and the same inscription’ is nothing more than a casual variation in orthography ( $\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\tau\alpha$ ,  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ ). It is difficult to discover an actual contradiction upon the same inscription, or upon inscriptions of the same locality and of the same period<sup>1</sup>.

### *The Dialect of Hippokrates.*

94.] There is no satisfactory treatise on the dialect of the Hippokratic and pseudo-Hippocratic treatises. Observations more or less fragmentary will be found in:—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fritsch *V. D. H.* p. 4.



GOMPERZ : *Die Apologie der Heilkunst*, 1890.

ILBERG : *Studia Pseudhippocratea* 1883, p. 32 ff. ; and *Zur Ueberlieferung des hippokratischen Corpus*, *R. M.* XLII 436, 1889.

KUEHLEWEIN : *Observationes de usu particularum in libris qui vulgo Hippocratis nomine circumferuntur*, 1870. *Die Textesueberlieferung der angeblich hippokratischen Schrift ueber die alte Heilkunde in Hermes* XXII 179-193, 1887.

LINDEMANN : *De dialecto Ionica recentiore*, 1889.

LITTRÉ : in his edition, vol. I 479 ff., 1839.

C. F. LOBECK : *Beitraege zur Kenntniss des Dialekts des H. in Philologus*, vol. VIII 19 ff., 1853 (on the genitive plural of  $\bar{a}$  stems).

RENNER : *De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae*, in *Curtius' Studien* I 1, 133 ff., I 2, 1 ff. 1868.

95.] Though a native of the island of Kos and hence of Doric stock<sup>1</sup>, Hippokrates adopted the dialect which had been handed down as the recognized instrument of scientific thought. It was in Ionic that the speculations of Parmenides, Anaxagoras, Demokritos (the inferior of Aristotle alone in his encyclopaedic grasp of science), Melissos, and Diogenes of Apollonia found expression. But apart from the despotism exercised by literary tradition, it should not be forgotten that the Dorians had not wrought out a literature of their own in the middle of the fifth century. A Dorian prose scarcely existed. Furthermore upon Kos itself the influence of the neighbouring Ionic speech may have made itself felt as early as the time of Hippokrates. In the third century at least we find adventitious Ionisms in the dialect of the island<sup>2</sup>.

The dialect of Hippokrates did not receive any very widespread attention in ancient times. Gregory of Corinth rarely cites him<sup>3</sup>. Some of the lesser commentators commented upon

<sup>1</sup> Ailian, *V. H.* IV 20 : λέγουσι δὲ Δωριέα ὄντα τὸν Ἱππ. ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου χάριν τῇ Ἰάδι φωνῇ συγγράψαι τὰ συγγράμματα. This was making a virtue of necessity. A letter of the pseudo-Hippokr. says : τῷ γένει μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ Δωριεύς, πόλεως δὲ Κῶ.

<sup>2</sup> [ἀπο]δεξάντω in No. 260 of Newton's *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* : κνέσσα *J. H. S.* IX 334, l. 56, 61 (κνεῦσα p. 327, l. 2). See Bechtel *Gött. Nachr.* 1890, p. 31 ff. On the similarity of the Koan dialect of Hippokrates to Asiatic Greek in the use of certain words, cf. Galen XVII A 929, XVIII A 438, 469 (σῆτες), also XV 554, XVIII B 590. Naturally the forger of the response of the Koans to Artaxerxes did not scruple to put Ionic in the mouth of a Doric speaking people. In a late epigram from Kos (first or second century A. D. according to Kaibel *Epigr.* No. 202) we find *ιατρῶν* of the vulgar dialect in the first part of the inscription. In the last part (εἰς ἑαυτόν) the physician Melanthios, of Kos, is called *ιητῆρα*. Ἀίδας, in l. 3, is due to a Doric stone cutter. In Kaibel 254 from Paphos, third or fourth century B. C., we find Doric forms. Doric forms are not infrequent upon late epigrams in relation to medical matters. As a rule, however, Ionic was the dialect appropriate to the commemoration of physician or poet. On the other hand the form ἀρετά shows that there existed a tendency to emphasize this conception as Doric.

<sup>3</sup> ὥρεων, τῇσι χρόνῃσι λειεντερίσιν . . . σημείον, φθίσιος, τάμνειν are quoted by Gregory.



the Hippocratic use of words, in researches devoted more particularly to the investigation of his vocabulary<sup>1</sup>. Galen is, so far as we know, the only ancient who devoted himself to the study of the dialect of Hippokrates, having written a special treatise<sup>2</sup> containing in part his views upon the subject. Though Galen was doubtless no critical dialectologist, the loss of this tractate is greatly to be deplored, for Galen knew of readings in the possession of the ancient commentators<sup>3</sup>; he sometimes calls attention to the fact that Sabinius and Rufus<sup>4</sup>, who on his view was a conservative critic, mention the oldest readings; and is himself acquainted with MS. tradition antedating his own period by three or four hundred years<sup>5</sup>. As a compensation for the loss of this dialectological study we have side-lights thrown out in the course of the commentary, most of which are illustrative of the indifference displayed by his predecessors<sup>6</sup> and contemporaries to the general form of the dialect of the great Asklepiad.

Galen says that some write ὄσησι, others δόσησι, others ὀπόσησι with π instead of κ, which is the procedure of Capito in all similar cases. Then, as if to belie that philological zeal which incited him to an investigation of the dialect of Hippokrates, he adds that it makes no difference to science which spelling one may adopt, that he had devoted himself to showing up only those lapses in form which were destructive of the sense; and as for those changes which were merely verbal, he bids every one write as he pleases<sup>7</sup>. Galen was himself not above giving credence to hyper-Ionic formations, as is shown in § 116.

It has been widely held, and last of all by Christ, in his *History of Greek Literature*, that some at least of the Atticisms of Hippokrates are due to the influence exercised by the editions of Dioskorides and Artemidorus Capito under Hadrian. The latter

<sup>1</sup> Bacchios in his *Λέξεις* noticed that ποταίνια in Ionic denoted everything given for food or drink. The first glossator of Hippokrates, Xenokritos, a compatriot of the physician, called attention to the fact that the locution αλλοφάσω (*Progn.* 44) referred, not to language, but to intelligence (delirium).

<sup>2</sup> ἐνίων μὲν γραφόντων 'ἐχρην τὸν ἰητρὸν,' ἐνίων δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὴν ε' 'χρῆν τὸν ἰητρὸν.' ἔστι γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦτο σύννηθες τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, ὧν τῇ διαλέκτῳ χρῆται κατὰ τι καὶ ὁ Ἰππ., ὡς ἀποφύνασθαι τινὰς αὐτὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀτθίδα. ἐμοὶ δὲ καθ' ἕτερον ἰδίᾳ γράμμα μικρὸν ἂ φρονῶ περὶ τῆς Ἰππ. διαλέκτου δεδήλωται, XVIII B 322. There is no period of Old Attic which presents a dialect like that of Hippokrates.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. XVII A 1005.

<sup>4</sup> Of Rufus he says: ἀνὴρ φυλάσσειν . . . ἀεὶ πειρώμενος τὰς παλαιὰς γραφάς: cf. XVI 474, 636.

<sup>5</sup> XV 21-22 (*Peripatetiques*), XVIII B 630.

<sup>6</sup> Rufus and Sabinius, XVI 474, XV 22, XVIII B 631.

<sup>7</sup> XVII A 798; cf. also XVI 474.

edition is censured by Galen as deliberately setting aside the ancient readings. The recent researches of Ilberg have, however, shown that these Atticizing editions have left no trace of their influence upon the vulgate. Whatever the source of the Atticisms which have supplanted the Ionic element in the Hippokratic corpus, their presence testifies to a deterioration of the dialectological conscience of early transcribers and editors.

As if there were not already sufficient provocation for Atticizing texts, whose subject-matter, not whose external form, had ensured their renown, an additional reason for the displacement of the original Ionic may have been found by the ancients in the belief to which Galen gives expression when he states that Hippokrates made use of the Attic dialect up to a certain point. Some even regarded his dialect as the ἀρχαία Ἀτθίς. The existence of such an opinion in scientific circles only added force to the movement which obscured the original form of the dialect.

96.] A thoroughgoing examination of the dialect of Hippokrates is not attempted in this work, for the reason that the avenues of approach are barred by the uncritical character of our editions. Though Littré has the honour of recognizing for the first time the value of the Paris codex 2253 (*A*) of the eleventh or, as Ilberg thinks, of the tenth century, he did not make it the sole basis for his text. He merely utilized its readings for the correction of the vulgate of the more recent MSS. and of the edition by Cornarius. The edition of Ermerins, though adhering more closely to *A* than that of Littré, labours under the disadvantage of having had recourse only spasmodically to the Marcianus (*M* of the eleventh century). The projected edition of Ilberg and Kuehlewein will be based upon a more careful examination of *A* and *θ* (the Vienna MS. of the tenth century), upon a collation of *M*, the Vaticanus 276, and several Paris codices (*E*, *D*, *H*, *F*, *J*), and upon researches in the indifferently edited or still unpublished treatises of Galen<sup>1</sup>.

Until this edition appears I deem it unadvisable to venture upon so elaborate a study of Hippokrates' dialect as has been thought proper in the case of Herodotos, where full and exact MS. testimony is in our hands. The Ionic forms as found in *A* have nevertheless been given with some detail, especially in respect of the contract verbs in -εω and other crucial points. So far as I have followed the recent researches into the history of the transmission of the Hippokratic text, I conclude that it will be

<sup>1</sup> Ilberg has already shown, upon the basis of a collation of some Venetian MSS., that the text of Hippokrates in the hands of Galen was less dissimilar to the best traditional text than scholars are wont to imagine.



unlikely that a complete collation of *M* will necessitate other readings of the Ionisms than those found in *A* and *θ*. It must be borne in mind throughout that even *A* is not free from the constantly recurring inconsistencies presented by the *recentiores*, of whose variants Gomperz says that they are worth not a whit more than a series of modern conjectures. Like *M*, *A* contains not only a very considerable number of Atticisms which have obscured the original Ionisms, but also many pseudo-Ionisms, such as the open *εε* in forms of the *-εω* verbs, where *A* and *M* are often no better than the *recentiores*. The Vienna MS. *θ* often adopts the contracted, where the *recentiores* have the open, forms; *A* has even such hyper-Ionic forms as *αὐτέω*, *τουτέω*, though much less frequently than the inferior MSS.<sup>1</sup>

### 97.]

Ilberg has shown (*R. M.* XLII 443) that *θ* and *A* agree in opposition to most of the other MSS. in the following cases: *νόσημα* but *νοῦσος*; often *ἔταν*, *όπόταν*, *όποτε*, *ἔθεν* &c., together with the *κ* forms; *αἰτις* and *αἴτις*; *πυρίαν*, *διαιτᾶσθαι* where the Vulgate has *πυρίην*, *διαιτῆσθαι* (*διαιτεῖσθαι*); *χρῆσθαι* has contracted forms generally; often *κέϊται* not *κέεται*; *ιδεῖν* not *ιδέειν*; *ἄρκει*, *δυσσεβεῖν*, *κρατῆ*, *καλοῦσι*; *ἄσθενῆ*, *ξυνεχῶς*; *-οις* and *-αις* in dat. plural.

98.] The mint-marks of the Hippocratic dialect are not confined to the genuine writings, but are spread over the entire Hippocratic corpus. The criterion of dialect does not enable us to detect traces of spuriousness, nor does it display any considerable diminution in the amount of Ionisms in those treatises which diplomatic criticism has referred to the period following that of the founder of Greek medicine. Since several of these treatises are contemporaneous with, or slightly older than, Ktesias or Aristotle, it is idle to expect any thorough-going difference in the use of Ionic forms between these later treatises and those proceeding directly from Hippocrates himself.

99.] The chief mint-marks of Hippocrates' Ionism are as follows:—

#### 1. Vowels.

*η* for *ā* after *ε*, *ι*, *ρ*, as in *νεηνίσκος*, *καρδίη*, *ιητρός*, *πρηῦς*, *ἄκρητος*.

*ε* for *ει* in *ἐς*, *ἔσω*.

*ου* for *ο* in *μουνος*, *νοῦσος* (but *νοσέω*); *οὔνομα* is not to be adopted, though frequently occurring in the MSS.

*ω* and not *αυ* in *τρῶμα*.

*ῶν* has generally been displaced in favour of Attic *οῦν*.

*ων* for *αυ* in *έωντου*.

<sup>1</sup> See below, § 116.



ι is expelled in ἀεί. The εἰ forms in πλείον, &c., outweigh, as in Herodotos, those without the ι.

ηι for εἰ in suffixes is extremely rare. σημήιον is claimed as a certain case of ηϊ.

ο+η is uncontracted (as in Herodotos) in βοηθέω. In *De Arte*, νοῆσαι occurs despite the νω- form in Herodotos, Theognis, and, according to Philodemos in Demokritos.

In the forms of the -εω verbs, the *recentiores* have almost invariably the open forms which appear to a very considerable extent in *A* and *M*. θ often has the contracted forms where the *recentiores* adopt εε, εει. Littré holds to the non-contraction, while admitting the presence of εν in present and participle. Second aorists such as ἰδέειν have gained a position in the MSS. Adjectives in -υς have open εε (ὀξέες, πρήεις), adverbs in -εως are uncontracted; ἦρ is more frequently attested than εαρ.

## 2. Consonants.

Littré decides in favour of the κ forms in ὀκοῖος, &c.; while Gomperz (*Apologie der Heilkunst* p. 87) holds that the interrelation of *A* and the *recentiores*, notably in the case of *De Flatibus* and *De Natura Hom.*, makes for the conclusion that the κ forms were smuggled in through a belief that the π forms were not Ionic. Cf. Galen XVIII B 669.

In respect of the adoption of ξύν or σύν, Littré argues in favour of the former, Gomperz in favour of the latter form. The *recentiores* prefer the Attic form, *A* has both with a preference for σύν, which is the only genuine Ionic form.

Traces of Ionic ψίλωσις are rare, having been obliterated by conjecture at an early period. Gomperz restores ἀπ' ὅτεων in II 74, cf. *De Natura Hominis* 2 (VI 34), *De Flatibus* (VI 98). ἀπτις is found *De Flatibus* (VI 92), μετεωῦτοῦ in *M* (VI 114), ἀπικνέεται *De Sacro Morbo* 16 (VI 390), ἐπόδοισι in *De Diaeta* A 32 (VI 508), ἀπίκηται in *H* in *De Morbis* 1 (VII 8), ὠντός *De Carnibus* (VIII 588).

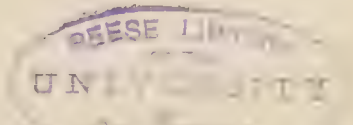
## 3. Declension.

The genitive plural of the  $\hat{A}$  declension ends in -εων, the dative plural in -ησι or sometimes in -αισι; in the O declension -οισι, but τοῖς according to Littré. Most of the cases of -οις occur before a vowel. The *iota* stems preserve the *iota* throughout. Neuters in -ος and -ης have uncontracted εο, εα, εω. In respect of the variation between  $\bar{\epsilon}\iota$  and  $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$  in the MSS., the former is to be adopted.

## 4. Conjugation.

On -εω verbs, see under 1. The participle of εἰμί is always ἑών. -εαται appears in the perfect (εἰρέαται for εἰρηνται) and -οιατο in the optative (γενόιατο for γένοιντο).

For other features, see § 97.



100.] The attitude of scholars towards the question of the original dialect of Hippokrates has been far from uniform. Heringa, holding that Herodoteian usage was that of Hippokrates, demanded that the texts of both Herodotos and Hippokrates should be so emended as to present the picture of one and the same dialect. Koraës recognised the desirability of assimilating Hippokratic to Herodoteian usage, though at the same time he adopted Homeric<sup>1</sup> and other forms. Struve first called attention to the existence of differences between the language of Herodotos and Hippokrates. Eight of these differences, as formulated by Littré (together with the testimony of the pseudo-Ionists which I have added), are as follows:—

1. δέκομαι in Hdt. Luk. (Arr. doubtful) = δέχομαι Hipp. Aret.
2. Hdt. and imitators frequently show traces of the Ionic ψίλωσις (ἀπικνέομαι, οὐκ οἶος); neither Hipp. nor his imitators follow Herodoteian usage herein.
3. ἱερός and ἱρός in Hdt. Luk. Arr. = ἱερός Hipp. Aret.
4. θῶμα<sup>2</sup> Hdt. Arr. = θαῦμα Hipp.
5. ἀπόδεξις Hdt. = ἀπόδειξις Hipp. The words are in reality from different roots.
6. σύν Hdt. and imitators = ξύν Hipp. and imitators.
7. -ηϊ- in Hdt. and imitators occurs far more frequently than in Hipp. The imitators of Hipp. follow their model herein.
8. The demonstrative pronoun (article) is used by Hdt. in place of the pure relative. Hipp. and imitators adopt the Attic usage. Lukian has many exceptions to the Herodoteian use.

In addition to these marks of divergence we may add the following:—

9. μέγαθος Hdt. and imit. = μέγεθος Hipp. and Aretaios.
10. πολλός Hdt. and imit. = πουλύς or πολύς Hipp. and Aretaios. Hdt. has but few cases of πολύς.
11. Hdt. and his imitators have ἐνικ-, Hipp. and Aretaios ἐνεγκ-.
12. Hdt. has ἔρσην, Hipp. (Lukian and Arrian) have ἄρσην.
13. Hdt. has ἀρρωδέω, Aretaios (and Lukian) have ὀρρωδέω.
14. Hdt. ὦν (Luk. Arrian), Hipp. οὔν, Aret. both.

The Hippokratic Ionic<sup>3</sup> is, if these differences are valid, a much milder form of the dialect than that used either by the iambographers or historians, that is, a dialect which is essentially

<sup>1</sup> That Hippokrates is often in touch with Homer affords no support for this view: cf. for example, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλκος ἀλθαίνηται with Θ 405 (Leaf).

<sup>2</sup> According to Littré θαῦμα was the preferable reading. But cf. §§ 205, 258. Lukian inclines to θῶμα.

<sup>3</sup> Under the head of word formation it may be noted that Hdt. has far fewer cases of -ηεις, -οεις than Hippokrates.



Ionic but admits numerous Attic forms. A parallel picture is presented by those inscriptions from Ionic territory which have adopted some Attic forms.

101.] Basing his position upon the fact that the dialect of the treatises current under the name of Hippokrates, but not emanating from the master himself, is practically the same as that of those free from all suspicion of spuriousness, Gomperz<sup>1</sup> argues that, of the eight marks of differentiation between the Hippokratic and the Herodoteian dialect, six can be shown not to exist, that in the case of -ηϊ- and -ει- the difference is gradual, as it is in that of ξύν and σύν; and that in one point only—Hippokratic δέχομαι, Herodoteian δέκομαι—is Littré substantially correct. Of the six additional marks of difference brought forward Gomperz is ignorant, as was Littré.

In his attack upon Littré's position, which has been conceded by later scholars (though doubtless without personal examination of the question), Gomperz admits that the presence of an isolated Herodoteian Ionism, even though it has been obscured in the course of transmission to the time of our best MSS. (the tenth and eleventh centuries), may justify us in holding that originally the area of its extension was much wider. Thus in § 11 of the tract *De Arte* he reads ἐπεὶ τί θῶμα<sup>2</sup> for the ἐπιτίθεται of *A*, in § 10 he upholds δέδεκται of *M*; ἰρός he finds in *De Sacro Morbo*, *De Diaeta*, and in *De Flatibus*; in *De Diaeta* 5 (VI 476) τὰ used as a relative, *De Prisca Medicina* 8 (I 586) τῶν. So in regard to the Ionic *psilosis*, and the use of ξύν and σύν, of which mention has been made above § 99, 2.

102.] So intricate is the problem of the complexion of the Hippokratic dialect and of its place in the history of Ionic, that we may well apply to it the words of Hippokrates himself—ἡ κρίσις χαλεπή. Two of the conclusions reached by Littré must not pass unchallenged, though no positive advance toward the solution of the main question is gained by their overthrow.

1. The dialect of the undoubtedly spurious writings of Hippokrates is nearly, if not quite, the same as that of the genuine treatises and of those whose spuriousness is still unproven. This fact, in Littré's view, can be understood solely upon the supposition that the dialect was a living idiom. The minor variations which come to light reflect, he argues, the spoken language; for if the dialect existed solely for literary or scientific purposes, the Ionisms of the genuine Hippokrates would have been copied with

<sup>1</sup> *Apologie der Heilkunst*, 1890, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> This form is generally adopted by editors of Hdt.



rigorous precision by his successors, none of whom is later than the age of Aristotle<sup>1</sup>. These minor variations, it should be noted, are almost invariably in the direction of the adoption of the Attic forms.

2. This actual dialect made use of by Hippokrates and his successors was one of the four sub-dialects of Ionic recognised by Herodotos, a sub-dialect in fact closely allied to Old Attic<sup>2</sup>. One of these sub-dialects was according to Littré the 'pure' Ionic of Hekataios, another, the 'variegated,' that of Herodotos, the third, that of Hippokrates.

It is evident that the overthrow of the second does not carry with it the abandonment of the first proposition.

In answer to these hypotheses of Littré, I hold that it nowise follows in the first instance that, because the successors of Hippokrates, his sons, his sons-in-law<sup>3</sup> or other upholders of his school, made use of the same dialect, this dialect was a living idiom intact till the age of Aristotle<sup>4</sup>. If literary tradition enforced in the fifth century the writing in Ionic by those who were not of Ionic stock, for example, Diogenes of Apollonia; if literary imitation at a much later date among the pseudo-Ionizers enforced a reproduction of Hippokratic Ionic; if the 'minor variations' make more and more in the direction of Attic, which by the year 400 had largely checked the production of Ionic literature and in the middle of the fourth century rendered impossible all creativeness in Ionic: it is, in view of these considerations, well-nigh incredible that a sub-dialect should have lived on, a *Sprachinsel* untouched by the waves which in the fourth century washed away so many of the landmarks of Ionic speech.

Littré's comparison of Ktesias<sup>5</sup> with Hippokrates, on the ground that both admit only a partial Ionism, is vicious. The language of Ktesias is not that of a living sub-dialect.

Still more destructive to the conclusions of Littré is the impossibility of localizing this sub-dialect of the Asklepiads. In the island of Kos, despite occasional Ionic ingressions, Doric

<sup>1</sup> This *terminus ante quem* may readily be disputed.

<sup>2</sup> Herein Littré follows in the wake of certain unknown ancient students of the Hippokratic diction; cf. § 95.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle quotes the *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου* under the name of Polybos, Hippokrates' son-in-law.

<sup>4</sup> Hoc veri simillimum videbitur originem collectionis consideranti, non conscriptam eam fuisse dialecto prorsus eadem, sed eos sequiorum temporum medicos, qui H. sibi proposuissent imitandum, non semper exemplar assecutos formas adhibuisse interdum, quas aut apud alios Iadis scriptores legissent aut Ionicas esse falso sibi persuassissent, qua re concessum esset fortasse, temporum nisi nocuisset invidia, ut non solum scripta vere Hippocratea multa facilius secerneremus a spurciis, verum etiam pseudepigraphorum auctores diversos dignosceremus; Ilberg, *Pseudippocr.* p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Ktesias used fewer Ionisms in his *Persika* than in his *Indika*; see § 79.

held its ground at least to the second century B.C. Hippokrates' dialect shows no trace of the Doric of his native speech.

It is of course no wonder that Littré failed to find the fourth sub-dialect of Herodotos' quadrilateral division. The Herodoteian sub-dialects are neither artificial variations of a 'normal' Ionic constructed for the purpose of giving diversity to literary expression, nor are they living sub-dialects ennobled and transfigured by Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates. The application by the ancients of the term 'unmixed' Ionic to the dialect of both Hekataios and Hippokrates cannot be tortured into a proof of the existence of two sub-dialects. The phonetics and inflections of Hekataios are practically identical with those of Hippokrates (except the Atticisms referred to § 100), as they are with those of Herodotos. If 'pure' Ionic, on the ancients' view, referred to matters of sound and inflection, and these Atticisms are a genuine survival of Hippokratic usage, it is difficult to discover how the dialects of Hekataios and Hippokrates are both 'pure,' in opposition to Herodotos' 'mixed' Ionic. And if these Atticisms should ultimately prove to be adventitious (as the epithet 'pure' Ionic does not prove them to be), we can then discover in the MSS. no difference between the dialects of the three prosaists so far as morphology is concerned. The close interrelation between the dialects of Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates makes for the conclusion reached above § 79, that the terms 'mixed' and 'pure' Ionic refer to stylistic differences, and that, emanating from the later rhetorical study of Ionic prose, they are useless as guides in the search for actual dialectal differentiation.

103.] On the basis of an actual count of occurrences of the forms in question, there is in the Hippokratic MSS. a not inconsiderable number of phenomena of Attic rather than Ionic mould. That the list given in § 100 is to be reduced on the lines of attack followed by Gomperz is not probable, despite the temptation to assimilate the Hippokratic to the Herodoteian dialect, and thus establish one literary dialect of Ionic, varying widely as to style but essentially the same in matters of phonetics and inflections. I do not think the existence of Attic element can be said to be imperilled until the following questions are decided:—

1. Is the presence of an isolated Ionism in the best MSS., or even in the *recentiores*, to be accounted for as a chance survival of an original wider extension, or as a form that has been smuggled in under the cover of a mistaken attempt to restore the original?

2. Does the entire absence of an Ionic form in *A* or *M* in



the case of a pseudo-Hippokratic treatise indicate that it was not Hippokratic, when this Ionic form occurs to any extent whatsoever in the same MSS. of a genuine treatise?

3. Is the critical principle to be applied in the case of the genuine, different from that to be applied in the case of the spurious, treatises?

### *Pseudo-Ionism.*

ALLINSON, *Pseudo-Ionism in the Second Century, A.D.*, A. J. P. VII 203, 1886.

LINDEMANN, *De dialecto Ionica recentiore*, 1889.

104.] The conflict between the Asianic and the Attic rhetoric in the first century before Christ not only led to a purification of contemporary ideals of style, but drew attention to the charm and grace of the history of Herodotos, whose fame, already imperilled in the fourth century, had suffered eclipse on the advent of that tasteless artificiality which dominated the period intervening between the death of Aristotle and the appearance of Dionysios of Halikarnassos. In calling Herodotos the 'best canon' of Ionic Dionysios at once represented the clarified stylistic sense of his age, and lent an impetus to that appreciative study of the historian which bore its own peculiar and engrafted fruit in the Hadrianic period.

The first tokens of the revival of interest in Ionic are, in general, synchronous with the regeneration of Aiolic. The literature of the declining days of the Roman Republic led the way to a deeper study of the style and linguistic apparatus of the two dialects in which were preserved some of the most splendid achievements of Greek genius, dialects whose actual life was now tarnished and outworn. The Sophistic Renaissance under Hadrian presupposes the existence of the pseudo-Ionic movement, which, having won for itself a recognised place in the literature of the early Empire, advanced with such rapid strides that writing in Ionic became a reproach by the time of Lukian<sup>1</sup>; who was, however, not above displaying his talents at the occupation he vilipended.

105.] The date of the first traces of the Ionic Revival and the aspect presented by the rehabilitated dialect are matters of no

<sup>1</sup> An interesting statement in reference to the Ionic of the doctors is found in πῶς δεῖ ἰστ. συγγρ. 16: (τοῦτο ἡτiasάμην αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἀρξάμενος ἐν τῇ Ἰάδι γράφειν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δόξαν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν μετέλθεν, ἱητρείην μὲν λέγων καὶ πείρην καὶ δόσα καὶ νοῦσοι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὁμοδαίαια τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα οἶα ἐκ τριόδου. Late epigrams upon inscriptions confirm the judgment of Lukian in selecting νοῦσος and ἱητρείην as sample words.



little uncertainty. Nikander's imitations of the logographers are lost, otherwise we might gain an insight into the complexion of Ionic prose in the period of Attalos III. Whether the Xanthian Menekrates, quoted by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, was a predecessor or contemporary of the rhetorician, I have been unable to determine. Of the pseudo-Herakleiteian letters, which contain a slight admixture of Ionism, some at least (the eighth and ninth) may be referred to the closing years of the first century before Christ, though the remainder belong to the following century<sup>1</sup>. Whether the *Periplois* of Menippos (under Augustus) was written in Ionic is uncertain. In this period of Ionic writing hyper-Ionisms do not occur. The open forms  $\epsilon\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$  in  $-\epsilon\omega$  verbs do not come to light in Dionysios, who has  $-\epsilon\omicron-$  side by side with  $-\epsilon\iota-$ . Significant for the date of medical Ionism is the fact that of all the epigrams containing laudations of successful treatment of disease, &c., scarcely one that is tinged with such Ionisms as  $\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\iota\eta\tau\eta\rho$  is antecedent to the time of Christ.

106.] The character of certain portions of the inflectional system of the old Ionic prose writers as found in the MSS. is due, in part, to the gradual divorcement of the traditional from the original form incidental to the transmission through centuries of dialect texts, and partly to a  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  which has left distinct traces of its existence in the peculiar complexion assumed by Ionic under the hands of Lukian, Arrian, Aretaios, and their contemporaries and successors.

The term  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ , as applied to certain mutations of form undergone by words upon passing from the orthography of the Attic to that of the Ionic alphabet, does not concern us here. The Ionic poets<sup>2</sup> (perhaps some of the elegists and lyrists not of Ionic birth), Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates<sup>3</sup> made use of the Ionic alphabet, doubtless in its Milesian form<sup>4</sup>. All Ionic literature was in fact free from the possibility of the depravation which threatened to impair the purity of that of Attika in its passage from the old to the new alphabet<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Bernays' *Die pseudo-heraklitischen Briefe*, Pfeiderer, R. M. XLII 153, Bywater p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Mimnermos may have made use of the signs  $\text{H}$  and  $\Omega$  to represent  $\epsilon$  and  $\omicron$ .

<sup>3</sup> The distinction between the Ionic alphabet of the islands and Euboia, and that of the Asiatic mainland is of no importance as regards the transmission of early Ionic literature.

<sup>4</sup> In his commentary on the  $\kappa\alpha\tau' \iota\eta\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ , when speaking of the old alphabet (II 23), Galen does not cite any example of MS. corruption due to this species of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

<sup>5</sup> On this point, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's chapter on the  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$  in his *Homerische Untersuchungen*.

There is, however, another species of μεταχαρακτηρισμός which is less a transformation of the isolated word than of the entire dialectal spirit. It proceeds on two lines: (1) either in the direction of the Atticizing of the dialect texts, a fact patent to every student of Greek dialectal literature, and of itself probable enough, since to a later age the matter, not the form, was of supreme interest. This is vouched for as regards Hippokrates by Galen himself. The Athenians were accustomed at a very early period to have a copy in Attic, sometimes on the same stone, of a document in another dialect. For example, the stelè of Sigeion. The Atticizing of dialect authors in the form of paraphrases which we meet in Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastos and others, was precedent enough for the later generations of a people whose standard in matters of quotation was not so exacting as that of modern times. This Atticization is not confined to those authors who quote a passage merely for the sake of the matter it contains. It attacks professed scientific treatises or grammatical commentaries<sup>1</sup>. Α ὦδέ πως did not disturb the ancient conscience.

(2) This μεταχαρακτηρισμός proceeded in the direction of the substitution of forms of the same dialect in the light of contemporaneous dialectological theories. Thus in Bechtel's collection, No. 108 B, we find an attempt at renewing the dialect of an Ionic inscription (108 A) at least five hundred years older. The texts of Homer, Alkman<sup>2</sup>, Korinna, Pindar, Epicharmos and others bear testimony to the activity of the modernizing μεταγραφάμενοι. This second kind of μεταχαρακτηρισμός leads either to the substitution of forms of a much later, for those of an earlier, date (as witness σιός in Alkman, οὔμές, κή in Korinna) or to the reverse process, which imparts an archaic colouring to texts which were originally composed in the dialect of the writer's own time.

The investigation of the vagaries of the MSS. of early Ionic prosaists affords ample evidence that this second type of μεταχαρακτηρισμός has left its impress upon the transmission of the texts of the logographers, of Herodotos and Hippokrates, as well as upon those of some of the monuments of Ionic poetry. The Ionic of these texts has either been Atticized outright, or it has been transformed in a greater or less degree under the influence of grammarians' speculation and copyists' ignorance.

<sup>1</sup> The schol. Ven. A is sometimes guilty of Atticizing, e.g. on IX 7, where ξθvous is quoted as Herodoteian. The Ionic contributors to the *Geoponika*, prepared by Cassianus Bassus at the command of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, all appeared in Attic dress.

<sup>2</sup> A text of Alkman in a Late Lakonian form must have been the only avenue of approach to the study of the poet.



The study of this *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* points in the direction of the view that it had its commencement probably in the first century before Christ and that its influence grew apace, until after the third century it resulted in producing a chasm between what was genuine Ionic and that which was thought to be Ionic by successive generations till the sixth century A.D. Finally, when the depravation from the hand of antiquity had done its work, the last blow to the text of Herodotos was dealt by the Aldine edition, which gave the widest scope to hyper-Ionisms. The result was that, as some one has said, the History of Herodotos is as perverse a mixture as a compound of Middle High German and Low German, created by a New High German writer.

107.] The writers of the Empire, and chiefly those of the age of Hadrian, received the full shock of that wave of speculation concerning the original form of the Herodoteian and Hippokratic dialect which was set in motion by the revival of interest in Ionic and its monuments. The pseudo-Ionists, whether they wrote entirely in Ionic or merely applied enough of Ionic colour to indicate their sympathy with the literary canons of the day, intended that their reproductions of the language of Herodotos or of Hippokrates should conform to the dialect of their exemplars. But from the point of view of higher criticism many of the pseudo-Ionisms of Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios are on a different footing from the identical forms adopted in Stein's or Holder's text. In the one case they are the result of a generous impulse to reproduce what was deemed Herodoteian or Hippokratic; in the other, they never existed in the original text of Herodotos or Hippokrates, but are the result of *μεταχαρακτηρισμός*, the coinage of a period far later than that of the historian and physician, and yet about two centuries antecedent to Lukian. This fact alone is sufficient to neutralize what little value the texts of the pseudo-Ionists might possess in the attempt to reorganize the disordered monuments of early Ionic prose. Struve saw long ago that recourse to Lukian and Arrian was unproductive of result for the student of Herodotos' dialect. We might almost say that the Ionisms of the pseudo-Ionic literature, so far from enhancing, tend rather to obscure our knowledge of the Ionic of the fifth century B. C.

108.] The endeavour, which we observe in the pseudo-Ionists, to present a correct picture of Herodoteian Ionism failed because of the uncertainty attendant upon the reconstruction of a dialect which had been corrupted by the turbid current of tradition. The Homeric Ionisms in Lukian and Arrian attest the fact of a confusion, persistent in the MSS. of Herodotos, between two species of Ionic widely separated in point of time; and the presence



of hyper-Ionic malformation is evidence that the Ionism of the Hadrianic age rests upon an insecure speculation as to the original form of the literary Ionic of the fifth century. This speculation vented itself in such forms as masculine and neuter *τουτέων, αὔτέων, τουτέου, έωντέου, αὔτέω, τουτέοισιν* (Lukian and Aretaios), *ώντέου, ώντέοισιν, ώντή, ώντά, ή ώντή, ή ώντή, ή έωντή, ταντέης, αὔτέη* (Aretaios), *δεσπότεια, μηνέων* (Lukian), *ήμερέη* (Abydēnos), *μοίρη, θηλέην* (Lukian), *βαθέη* (Arrian).

In these forms the essential feature is either the misapplication of the specifically Ionic diphthong *ων*, or the insertion of an *ε* before a vowel or diphthong with which it is not contracted, a characteristic of hyper-Ionism which at times outdoes that of the most lax MSS. of Herodotos. A feminine *τουτέων* was correct enough, but, its origin being misunderstood, the *μεταγραφάμενοι* conceived the erroneous notion that this *ε*, which in this case distinguished the Ionic from the Attic form, was a special peculiarity of the dialect which had gradually been abandoned. Hence they not only inserted an *ε* in *αὔτέω*, in *ρυνέων*, &c., which are purely hyper-Ionic forms, but they demanded the visible presence of an *ε* in *-εεις, -εει, -εεσθαι*, &c., which are anachronistic, though not historically impossible. Uncontracted forms were the shibboleth of the pseudo-Ionic sciolists who gave to Herodotos the form which served Arrian and Lukian for purposes of imitation. Their cardinal error was the foisting of such forms upon the MSS. of Herodotos, Hippokrates and other early Ionians. Confused by an inability to distinguish between Homeric and the Later Ionic; ignorant of the fact that some vocalic combinations normally remained uncontracted, while others had suffered contraction by the fifth century; unable to recognize the phonetic value of the conjunction of certain vowels which, though written apart, had nevertheless been fused as early as the seventh century, the *μεταγραφάμενοι* reached the conclusion that vowels of the same vocal line had the same claim to be kept separated as those of a different vocal line. Hence they wrote *εε<sup>1</sup>, εη, εει*, &c., without compunction. Even *ἐνείχες* Hdt. I 118 (in all MSS.) was ventured. It is not impossible that the earliest MSS. of Herodotos preserved an orthographical system of non-contraction of similar vowels which may have descended from the conservative literary circles of the fifth century, though in actual speech the contraction actually ensued. Be this as it may, the pseudo-Ionists accepted as genuine a scheme of inflections that can scarcely be claimed to be Herodoteian, and certainly cannot be claimed to be Ionic of

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it may be noticed that a Demetrios, not Ixion or γούπεσος, did not scruple to write *γενέσθαι* in Ξ 221.

the fifth century. The principle once established, and the rage after dialect colouring growing apace, ἐωυτέον, ῥινέων, αὐτέφ, and all their kinsmen of monstrous birth, come into existence. Some of these hyper-Ionisms that out-Herod Herod are too frequent and too well established to be ascribed solely to the copyists of the Middle Ages or of the Renaissance, though we have actual proof that they are responsible for many a case of uncontracted ε and for ηῖ in sigmatic stems.

One of the hyper-Ionisms that occurs chiefly in the MSS. of Hippokrates is η for α in such forms as ἰῆται, ὑποθυμήσθω, ὀρήν, where the blunder was caused by the stupid comparison of ἰητρός &c.

### *List of Pseudo-Ionic Writers.*

109.] The fact of having been born in a locality once Ionic seems to have had no weight in determining whether a writer should adopt Ionic or the κοινή. The Ephesians Rufus and Soranos made use of the latter, while the Kappadokian Aretaios and the Bithynian Arrian preferred the former. That the contiguity to Ionia of the birthplaces of Aretaios and Arrian had, as was formerly believed, any influence in determining their choice of a vehicle of expression may confidently be denied.

The subjoined list falls into two divisions, (1) those pseudo-Ionists whose date is certain or at least may be determined with tolerable accuracy, (2) those whose period is quite unknown.

110.] Pseudo-Ionists, whose date may be approximately fixed:—

1. Apollonios of Tyana (under Nero and Domitian), of whom Philostratos says: Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἰώνιον ἐρμηνεύει τρόπον, ἐπιστολῇ δὲ ἰαστὶ ζυγκειμένη οὕτω Ἀπολλωνίου προσέτυχον, καίτοι ζυνειλοχῶς αὐτοῦ πλείστας.

2. Aretaios of Kappadokia is placed by some as early as Nero<sup>1</sup>, while others regard him as belonging to the following century. His works περὶ αἰτιῶν καὶ σημείων ὀξέων παθῶν, περὶ αἰτιῶν καὶ σημείων χρονίων παθῶν, Χρονίων παθῶν σημειωτικόν and ὀξέων νούσων θεραπευτικόν are composed in imitation of Hippokrates. They are quoted from the pages of Kühn.

It is to be noticed that medical writers who lived in the first half of the second century A. D., e. g. Rufus and Soranos, both of Ephesos, wrote in the κοινή.

<sup>1</sup> That the Ionic fashion had set in by the time of Nero may be learned from the fact that Pamphila epitomized Ktesias' Περσικά.



3. Arrian of Nikomedia (under Hadrian): the Ἰνδική alone imitates the dialect of Herodotos; it is quoted from the edition of Hercher-Eberhard<sup>1</sup>.

4. Under Lukian's name we have preserved the *περὶ ἀστρολογίας*, *περὶ Συρίας θεοῦ*, and the genuine *βίων πρᾶσις*, in which Pythagoras, Demokritos and Herakleitos converse in Ionic. For the study of pseudo-Ionism it is almost a matter of indifference whether these first two treatises are supposititious works of Lukian or not. For a comparison of the Ionism of the first two treatises see Dr. Allinson's paper in *A. J. P.* VII 203 ff. (1886), where the conclusion is reached that the *Astrology* is the work of some third-class writer, while the *Syrian Goddess* may be genuine. Christ pronounces against the genuineness of both.

5. Kephalion (under Hadrian), author of *παντοδαπαὶ ἱστορίαι*; Müller *F. H. G.* III 625-631.

To Foerster's essay on Polemon I have not had access. There seems no evidence that the rhetor used Ionic.

6. Abydenos, author of a history of Assyria and Media, is placed by Müller *F. H. G.* IV 279 in the second or third century, though Kastor made him a contemporary of Apis. The Ionic of the fragment of Megasthenes (Müller No. 9) quoted by Eusebios *Pr. Ev.* IX p. 456 D is due to Abydenos.

7. Uranios' Treatise on Arabia, Müller *F. H. G.* IV 523, belongs to the third century. Frag. 12 has *χώρη, ποίην, κοχλίω*, but *πορφυρήν* and *γεωργοῦσι*.

8. Asinius Quadratus (third century), author of a Roman history (*Χιλιετηρίς*, *Χιλιαρχία* or *Χιλιάς*) from the foundation of the city to 248 A. D. See Müller *F. H. G.* III 659. Traces of Ionic are found in frag. 23 (*Ἰβήροισι, πολεμέοντες*).

9. Eusebios (fourth century) affected Ionic style in his history, beginning with Octavianus and continuing to 283 A. D. The two fragments extant—on the siege of Thessalonika—are found in Müller *F. H. G.* V 21-23.

10. Of Praxagoras (fourth century) Photios relates that he wrote in Ionic a treatise in two books *περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι βασιλευσάντων*, and one in six books *εἰς τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον*. See Dindorf *Hist. Graeci Min.* I pp. 438-440. No fragments of these works are preserved.

11. Eusebios of Myndos in Karia (fourth century), the neo-Platonist. His fragments, preserved in Stobaios, are collected in Mullach *F. P. G.* III 5.

<sup>1</sup> See Boehner *de Arriani dicendi genere* (in vol. IV of the *Acta* of the Erlangen Seminary) for the relation of Arrian to Herodotos.



111.] **Pseudo-Ionists of Uncertain Date.** In the case of several of the authors here mentioned only a minute study of the literature of the Hellenistic age can discover whether they may be classed as the direct successors of Herodotos, and preservers of the continuity of literary tradition, or simply as forerunners of the Ionic Revival.

1. On an inscription<sup>1</sup> from Epidauros we find a Doric epigram in honour of Philip of Pergamum, the son of Aristides, an historian otherwise unknown to fame. Underneath this epigram is placed the following passage in Ionic from his work:—

Ἐγὼ παντοίων παθέων καὶ ξυνεχέος ἀλληλοφορίας ἀνά τε τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὰ Λιβύων ἔθνηα καὶ Νησιωτέων πόλιας καθ' ἡμέας γεγενημένων ὁσίῃ χειρὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν καινῶν πρήξεων ἱστορίην ἐξήνεγκα ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅκως καὶ δι' ἡμέων μαθάνοντες ὁκόσα δημοκοπία καὶ κερδέων ἀμ[ετρίῃ] καὶ στάσιες ἐμφύλιοι καὶ πιστίων καταλύσεις γεννῶσιν κακά, παρατηρήσει παθέων ἀλλοτρίων, ἀπενθή(τους) ποιῶνται τὰς τοῦ βίου διορθώσιας.

The fragment is interesting in showing a recurrence to Ionic as the dialect first employed in historical writing. The proclamation of Philip as *θείας κοίρανον ἱστορίας* betokens a late origin. From the character of the alphabet the inscription cannot well be older than the first century B. C., if indeed it may be placed before the birth of Christ.

2. The author of the *Vita Homeri* ascribed to Herodotos was, strangely enough, placed by Bergk as early as the end of the classical period, though § 20 betrays acquaintance with Strabo p. 596. Christ holds that none of the *Lives of Homer* antedate the reign of Augustus. The late date finds an additional support in the sparse occurrence of Ionisms. Hyper-Ionic formations are very rare.

3. To Philteas, author of the *Ναξιακά*, are attributed by Herakleides of Miletos in Eustath. p. 1885 the hyper-Ionic *πεποιέανται*, *γεγενέαυται* and *ἔγεντο*. It is at least as probable that Herakleides was deceived by pseudo-Ionic texts, as that Philteas (who is called Philetas in Eustathios) was guilty of such grammatical obliquity. The argumentation by which Herakleides introduces these perverse formations is not calculated to prejudice us in his favour. Cf. Frye *De Heraclidæ Milesii studiis Homericis* p. 127.

4. Menekrates the Xanthian, quoted by Dionysios of Halikar-nassos I p. 76 (Jacoby) has *ἀνίη*, *στρατιῆς*, *βίη*, *Αἰνείης*, *Αἰνείεω*, *ἐδόκεον*, *ἐπολέμεον*, *ἐγεγόνει*, *ἔών*.

5. Agathokles the Babylonian, the same as Agathokles of Kyzikos, wrote *περὶ Κυζίκου*. Cf. Müller *F. H. G.* IV 288.

<sup>1</sup> B. C. H. II 273.

6. Demokrates' γνῶμαι χρυσαῖ are found in *Opuscula Graec. veterum sententiosa et moralia* (I 80–89) of Orelli, who is inclined to refer the author to an earlier date than is at all probable; 65 out of the 86 fragments collected by Orelli are adopted as Demokriteian by Mullach.

7. The spurious letters of Anaximenes, Bias, Demokritos<sup>1</sup>, Pherekydes of Syros, Pythagoras, Thrasybulos, Hippokrates<sup>1</sup>, Thessalos, son of Hippokrates.

8. Certainly before Lukian (cf. his πῶς δεῖ ἱστ. συγγρ.) are to be placed Kallimorphos, author of ἱστορίαι Παρθικαί (Müller *F. H. G.* III 649, 3), and an anonymous pseudo-Ionist (*ibid.* p. 650, 5) whose tractate on Parthia began: ἔρχομαι ἐρέων περὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσέων, and contained the following sentences: ἔδεε γὰρ Πέρσῃσι γενέσθαι κακῶς; ἦν Ὀρσόης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ὀξυρόην ὀνυμέουσι (cf. Hdt. I 7).

9. Alexander of Ephesos wrote under the early emperors a *Bellum Marsieum*, perhaps in Ionic. See Steph. Byz. s.v. Χαονία.

10. Chariton of Aphrodisias, the novelist of uncertain date, but probably of the fifth century (see Rohde *Griech. Roman* p. 488), interspersed his tale of the adventures of Chaireas and Kallirhoë with Ionisms borrowed from Herodotos. See Cobet *Mnem.* VIII 236.

*The Pseudo-Ionism of Lukian, Arrian, and Aretaios.*

112.] Cases of absolute divergence between the dialect of Aretaios and Hippokrates on the one hand, and that of Lukian, Arrian<sup>2</sup> and Herodotos on the other, are tabulated in § 100. Points of contact are noticed in the course of the detailed examination of the sounds and inflections of the dialect.

The three Lukianic pieces present in the main a uniform dialect, which, save for the occasional lapses in the direction of Attic and of Homeric Ionic, agrees with that of Herodotos as found in his MSS. Well marked and salient differences between Herodotos and Lukian are difficult to discover. Such minor, but persistent cases of divergence as ἔρσην, ἄρρωδέω (Hdt.), ἄρσην, ὀρρωδέω (Luk.), where the satirist shows a predilection in favour of the Attic form, are very infrequent. As a rule the MSS. of Lukian do not consistently reproduce the Ionic forms, the movement in the direction of Ionism being continually checked by Attic forms<sup>3</sup>, most of which are doubtless errors

<sup>1</sup> Mullach thought that the supposititious letters of Demokritos and of Hippokrates were composed in the third century of our era.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grundmann: *Quid in elocutione Arriani Herodoto debeatur*, in *Berl. Stud. f. class. Philol.* 1885.

<sup>3</sup> For example, *Dea Syr.* Ἀχιλλέως 40, Νιόεως 40, κινήσεως *Astr.* 5, Ἑρμοκλέους *Syr.* 26, νέω 39.



of transmission, though there is no reason for believing that Lukian intended his imitation to be pervasive. Thus, for example, we find *κατενεχθῆναι*, -γεως *d. S.* 8, οὔσι *Astr.* 5.

The Ionism of Arrian is more consistent than that of Lukian and approximates more closely to that of his exemplar. His MSS. refuse to admit some of the most uncouth hyper-Ionic creations which appear in those of Lukian. Arrian's divergences from Herodotos do not proceed on the same lines as those of Lukian, though, like the latter, they are in the direction of Attic. He has the *π*, not the *κ*, form; he uses only the relative, not the demonstrative and the relative, as does Herodotos; his use of the temporal augment is that of the *κοινή*. Other differences are less positive: Arrian *γίνομαι*, *σμικρός*, *αῦθις*, where Lukian has *γίγνομαι*, *μικρός*, *αὔτις*.

In certain cases the rage for Ionisms has extended beyond those adopted by prose literature; as in certain MSS. of Herodotos there is an ever present tendency to adopt Homeric forms. That both Lukian and Arrian draw to a limited extent upon the Homeric dialect shows how ineradicably fixed in the minds even of the cultured was the confusion between Homeric and Herodoteian Ionic.

In Lukian we find *εἶαρος d. S.* 49, *ἡέλιος d. S.* 29, *Astr.* 3, 5 (*Ἡελίου τὰς βόας Astr.* 22, like *ἀπρήκτοιο d. S.* 22, is an epic reminiscence or quotation). *βόας* occurs also *d. S.* 54. *γούνων* is admitted by Dindorf, *d. S.* 22, though he strangely enough expels the genitive in -οιο. In the *d. S.* 25 we find *ἔσσεται* (Hdt. *ἔσεται*), *d. S.* 31 *εἶαται* (Hdt. *ἔαται*); Arrian has *πόλῃες δ*, -*ηας* 11. Perhaps the reason that *ἔμμεναι* was not excluded (*Astr.* 26), was its occurrence in the oracle Hdt. I 85. Arrian refrains from adopting a form the non-Ionic character of which did not trouble Aretaios (pp. 10, 270, 332).

*The Transmission of Early Ionic Texts in its Relation  
to Pseudo-Ionism.*

113.] An examination of the form presented by the quotations made from the Ionic logographers and philosophers by later writers yields some conclusions as regards pseudo-Ionisms and hyper-Ionisms which, though tentative, may not be wholly without foundation. First it appears that in the first century before Christ no hyper-Ionic form, except *ὑμέες* in Parthenios, was admitted into the Ionic texts; secondly, the grotesque and misshapen forms occurring in the MSS. of Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios do not come to light in citations made from the early Ionic prosaists by any writer who is anterior to Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios. The MSS. of these writers, the flower



of the Ionic Revival, display the rage for hyper-Ionism in its most pronounced form.

The examination of the channels through which fragments of the Old Ionic philosophy and logography have reached us is not merely hampered by the lack of editions of many of the later writers so constructed as to enable the scholar to obtain a survey of the exact state of MS. tradition; it is confronted with the treachery of MS. tradition in general towards the transmission of such volatile phenomena as dialect forms; and embarrassed by the difficulty of determining whether the MS. form is an Attic equivalent or whether it is the genuine Ionic form of the fifth century, which, by some fortuity, has held to its moorings against the flood of dialectological speculation which swept away the very foundation-stones of parts of the Herodoteian inflectional system. It is only in comparatively recent times that scholars are awaking to the fact that much that has heretofore been cast aside as Attic is in reality pure Ionic.

Thus, for example, in § 9 (12) of the tractate *περὶ ἐρμηνείας* (generally ascribed to Demetrios of Phaleron, but the work either of Demetrios of Alexandria under Hadrian, or, and more probably, that of Demetrios Syros, an older contemporary of Cicero) we find quoted the beginning of Hekataios' *Genealogies*: 'Εκαταῖος Μελήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τὰ δὲ γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι κτλ. Despite the MSS. which have here *δοκεῖ* as well as *μυθεῖται*, Müller changes the former to *δοκέει*, though it is inconceivable that *εε* should have contracted in *μυθεῖται*, while *εει* remained open in *δοκέει*. Are these forms, as they stand in the MSS., nothing more than *μυθέεται* and *δοκέει* Atticized? Are they survivals of the genuine Ionic of the fifth century, one of which has been displaced by the editor of the *Fragm. Histor. Graec.* under the stress of current views as to the nature of the Ionic dialect?

In the following section attention has been directed to the light thrown by our sources on the question of the transmission of the *-εω* verbs, and to the date of the appearance of hyper-Ionic forms, notably those with parasitic *ε*. Sometimes an author, drawing upon early Ionic history or philosophy, may Atticize, sometimes he may endeavour to reproduce in dialect the very words of his source; at other times the veil of the dialect is only partially cast aside.

#### 114.] The Logographers:—

1. Hekataios: *μυθεῖται* and *δοκεῖ* (332) in Demetrios *περὶ ἐρμην.* §§ 5 (2), 9 (12); and elsewhere, wherever the authorities

quoting the logographer have preserved a form of an  $-\epsilon\omega$  verb,  $\epsilon\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$  are invariably contracted.  $\kappaινέεται$  in frag. 284, quoted by Müller from Steph. Byz., should be  $\kappaινείται$ . Hyper-Ionisms do not occur.

2. In Pherekydes of Leros we find  $\ποιείται$  in the same fragment with  $\δοκέοντες$  (44): so too in 85,  $καλέοντες$  (twice),  $οϊκέοντες$  together with  $καλείται$ ,  $γαμεῖ$ . Wherever  $καλείται$  occurs it appears in the contracted form (here, in 16 and in 89 and 114 A).

### 115.] The Philosophers:—

1. Herakleitos has come down to us with a text remarkably free from hyper-Ionic forms. By the time of Clemens Alexandrinus and Origenes a  $\tauουτέοισι$  (126) had engrafted itself upon tradition<sup>1</sup>; and in Hippolytos, who is slightly later than Clemens, we discover  $\tauουτούτων$  (2) where Sextus Empiricus has  $\tauουούτων$ . In 7 of the 21 instances in Bywater's edition of the concurrence of  $\epsilon + \epsilon$  or  $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$  in the contract verbs, Bywater edits the contracted form. In the 14 remaining instances where Bywater adopts the open forms, these have MS. support but 3 times: Clemens  $διαχέεται$ ,  $μετρέεται$  in 23; for  $ὠνέεται$  in 105, Iamblichos is the authority; Plutarch has  $ὠνείται$ . In all other cases Bywater adopts conjectures which desert the vulgate. Obviously there is no probability that Herakleitos used both  $\phiιλέει$  and  $\phiιλεῖ$ ; which appear in the text (117 and 10). Though Plutarch does not appear to have possessed MSS. of Herakleitos, his source was not affected by the vagaries of the pseudo-Ionic movement. All cases of  $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$  are contracted in his citations of Herakleitos.

2. For the study of Demokritos' *Morals* we have to rely to a large extent upon their citation by Stobaios, whose text, as it appears in Gaisford's<sup>2</sup> edition, presents a distorted picture of the original.

The greatest irregularity exists in reference to the treatment of those forms of  $-\epsilon\omega$  verbs in which, after disappearance of  $yod$ ,  $\epsilon\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$  came into conjunction. The majority of instances is on the side of the contracted forms. In Stobaios there are 5 cases of  $-\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$ , 16 of  $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota$  in the present indicative; 7 of  $-\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\omega$ , 16 of  $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$  in the present infinitive active; in the inf. mid. 3 cases of  $\epsilon\epsilon$ , 9 of  $\epsilon\iota$ , while there are 2 cases each of  $\epsilon\epsilon$  and  $\epsilon\iota$  in the present indic. middle. In Orelli's edition of Demokrates, of whose 86 fragments 65 have been claimed as Demokriteian by Mullach, only the open forms are read in the text, and these are not contradicted by any citation of MS. evidence on the part of

<sup>1</sup> Found also in the Justinian MS. formerly in Strassburg.

<sup>2</sup> Wachsmuth's second volume has not yet appeared.



Orelli. These are: present indic. -εει 3 cases, including δέει, which Stobaios invariably presents in the contracted form; present inf. active 4 cases; present inf. mid. 2 cases; and one case of the imper. act. (fr. 177).

Stobaios is furthermore authority for ἐπιθυμέης fr. 24, though in 188 (twice) and in 213 his text has -η in the subjunctive.

Parasitic ε appears in αὐτέων 20<sub>23</sub>, in ἐρπετέων 208, and in the second aorist 20<sub>14</sub>, 135, 164 (Demokrates). There is no authority for Mullach's -έειν in 70, 188, 213. Parasitic ε in the reflexive pronouns I have not observed.

3. Anaxagoras appears in Simplicius with only the contracted forms of the -εω verbs, for which Mullach has everywhere substituted the open forms. In frag. 6 (Simpl. 156<sub>27</sub>) Diels reads περιχωρέει. The presentation of the fragments by Simplicius is not free from the suspicion of having been partially Atticized. οὐδεμίη in 4 is shown to be incorrect.

4. Melissos has been handed down by Simplicius in nearly the same state as Anaxagoras; -εε and -εει are invariably contracted. -εοι is, however, retained as well as εο. Mullach's text of Melissos and Anaxagoras has admitted ὀρέομεν, ὀρέόμενος without MS. support.

5. Diogenes of Apollonia in Simplicius has no case of -εει, εε, though Mullach's text has δοκέει, ἐννοέεσθαι. The hyper-Ionic τουτέων in Mullach (frag. 2) is due to conjecture.

116.] **Galen's Relation to Hippokrates.** Though Galen excoriates Capito and Dioskorides for their depravation of genuine Hippokratic form, he cannot himself be freed from a similar charge. Both in the genuine and the spurious works of Hippokrates we find that Galen was not offended at πηχέει IV 202, βηχέων III 334, IV 540, ῥιρέων I 614, VIII 84, IX 278, 286, χειρέων III 420, 462, ὑπερβαλλέειν IV 92, αἰρέειν VIII 236, and such monstrosities as αὐτέη, αὐτέοι, τοιουτέου, έωντέου. In the *De Placitis Hippocr. et Plat.* of Müller we read, furthermore, as masc. or neuter τουτέων 698<sub>12</sub>, 691<sub>4</sub>, 700<sub>5</sub>, 702<sub>3</sub>, αὐτέων 690<sub>8</sub>, 692<sub>9</sub>, 781<sub>1</sub>. It may well be doubted whether Galen himself had access to an uncontaminated source.

Littré's text has adopted (on the authority of the vulgate) a very large number of pseudo-Ionisms, which are but rarely found in the oldest MSS. θ and Α. This is specially the case in respect of the parasitic ε in the pronominal forms. In the pseudo-Hippokratic περὶ ιερῆς νόσου the other MSS. agree with θ and Α in rejecting the hyper-Ionic ε (θ has, however, ταυτέους VI 354, τουτέω 384, the other MSS. τουτέων 394).

117.] **Ionic Poetry.** A pseudo-Ionizing of Archilochos is scarcely noticeable. φιλέειν in 81 is due to Hephaestion; for κερ-



τομέειν in 64, wherein Bergk follows Clemens Alex. and the schol. χ 412, Stobaios has the closed form. The unnecessary longer form is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria from Aristobulos. Hephaistion is also answerable for Anakreon's φιλέει (70), and Herakleides Pontikos for δοκέεις (75<sub>2</sub>). Hyper-Ionic forms have not found admission to the texts of the early Ionic poets. In Herodas we observe χειρέων 6<sub>11</sub> (changed from χειρῶν) and 7<sub>3</sub>; χασκεύση 4<sub>42</sub>, τεμεῦσα 4<sub>89</sub>, δραμεῦσα 5<sub>54</sub>. Uncontracted εε, εει, or εη (from -εἶω verbs) do not occur.

*The Ionisms of Theokritos.*

118.] The ancient prolegomena to the poems of Theokritos contain brief statements to the effect that the poet made use of two dialects: (1) that species of Doric called by one commentator ἀνειμένη καὶ χθαμαλή, by another νέα, and (2) Ionic. The discussion of the question as to whether this view refers to the presence of Ionisms in the so-called Doric idylls, may be left to the volume dealing with DORIC, in which the perplexing problem of the dialect of Theokritos, so far as it can be treated in a work of this kind, will receive ampler attention.

In the scholia on I–XVIII each poem, with the exception of XII, is classed as Doric without mention of the co-existence of an Ionic element. Of XIX–XXVII the glosses state that all are Doric, save XXIV and XXVII, concerning the dialect of which we have no tradition, and XXII which is Ionic. In the case of XII, the argument attributed to Eratosthenes as well as the glosses report that this idyll was composed in Ionic. Q, B, M, D, Junt. state with an unusual attempt at exactness that its dialect is the κοινὴ Ἰάς, a unique expression which recurs in the glosses on XXII, but nowhere else in grammatical literature, so far as I am aware. This 'common' Ionic is that usual, almost stereotyped form of the dialect which was borrowed from Homer and became a recognized implement of the poet's art. In no case does it contain features that recall the form of the dialect later than the epic, though occasionally isolated words come to light that were not employed by the epic. The κοινὴ Ἰάς included Homeric forms of Aiolic structure (XII 2, XXII 11, 64, 71, 84, 152, 166, 170; σημαίνουσα XXII 22 must be corrected).

The testimony of the scholia and the MSS. point so strongly to the Ionic character of XII and XXII (which I regard as genuine), that we may easily throw overboard the notice in *r* and *N* (in XII) and that contained in Calliergi (as regards XXII), which make for the Doric character of the two poems. In the case of XII, *r* and *N* have Ἰάδι διαλέκτῳ ἢ Δωρίδι, an uncertainty which has found practical expression in the editions of Ziegler

and Paley. Neither of these scholars has ventured to root out the best attested Dorisms, such as ἀοὶ 1, μᾶλον 3, ἄδιον 4, ἀελίου 9, Κρονίδα 17, ἐθέλοντι 23, ἀραιᾶς 24, ὄνασας 26, ἐριδμαίνοντι 31, ἐὰν 33, ἀπῆνθεν 33, which are the only Dorisms found in *k. p. m.* In other cases the Doric form is not supported by a consensus of these three MSS. The restoration of the Ionic forms in the above passages can be accomplished, usually by the adoption of the readings of 6, 16, Υ; but in a few places by recourse to conjecture (εὐφρανᾶς 8, ὅκ' 16). Noteworthy Ionisms are ἐπιβῶται 35, αἰτέω 20.

In XXII the Doric forms are accepted by all MSS. in a very few cases:—Λήδας 1, ὑμνέομες 4 (cf. I where *K* has ὑμνέομεν, the vulgate -μες), κοίλαν 12, γαλάνα 19. In many passages *D* (Scaliger's MS.) or *K* are our only authorities for the Ionic forms; in *c*, *η* is often superscribed over *α* which is the common reading. There are also several words whose Ionic dress is vouched for by no other authority than the marginal readings of the Juntina. In Ποσειδάωνος 97, τάων 111 the *ā* is Homeric.

## ACCENT.

### 119.] Retention of original accent motion:—

In the proethmic period the suffix part of the genitive and dative of feminine nouns, whose nominative terminates in Skt. in *-ī*, in Greek in *-ā*, received the accent, which in the nominative fell upon the radical syllable<sup>1</sup>. It is the peculiar distinction of Ionic to have preserved traces of this accent motion, which is, in fact, the only accent principle characterized as Ionic by the ancients.

In the genitive and dative of barytone words in *-iā*, the Ionic dialect, according to Herodian<sup>2</sup> (who seems to have accepted herein the guidance of Aristarchos<sup>3</sup>), transferred the accent to the suffix syllable. The forms quoted in attestation of this Ionic shifting of the accent are ἰὰ ἰās ἰᾷ<sup>4</sup>, μία μιᾶς μιᾷ, ἄγνια ἄγνιας ἄγνιᾷ, ὄργνια ὄργνιας, ἄρπνια ἄρπνιας and the two proper names Πλάταια Πλαταιᾶς, Θέσπια Θεσπιᾶς.

The only forms that bear the distinctive mark of the dialect are the Homeric ἰῆς Π 173, ἰῆ Ι 319, Σ 251, X 477, μιῆς Ο 416 (Sim. Amorg. 2<sup>2</sup>), ἄγνιῆ ο 441. ὄργνια occurs in Homer only in nominative and accusative, but in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 36.

<sup>2</sup> Hdn. I 411<sup>5</sup> = Joh. Alex. 10<sup>31</sup>, II 57<sup>22</sup> on Z 422, II 613<sup>23</sup> = An. Ox. I 134<sup>17</sup>, Theod. 37<sup>7</sup> (Hilg.), Choir. Dict. 405<sup>19</sup>, Ark. 128<sup>8</sup>, Et. M. 14<sup>21</sup>, 305<sup>33</sup>, 472<sup>46</sup>; cf. Schol. Ven. A on Π 173, Ark. 98<sup>3</sup>, La Roche *Hom. Textkritik* 177. In I 530<sup>29</sup>, II 613<sup>21</sup>, 901<sup>31</sup> Hdn. calls the accent of ἄγνιᾷ, ὄργνιᾷ Ionic. But cf. I 281<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Eust. 652<sup>53</sup>, Schol. Ven. A on Z 422, Schol. Ven. B on E 502.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ἰος ἰου, but ἰᾷ Et. M. 472<sup>46</sup>.



Hdt. II 149 we find ὀργυῖς<sup>1</sup>. No form of ἄρπυια with Ionic η is met with, Homer having ἄρπυια and ἄρπυιαι (ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρείψαντο α 241, υ 77, read by Fick Ἄρεπυιαι ἀναρέψαντο on the strength of Ἄρεπυια upon a vase *Arch. Zeit.* XL, p. 203, pl. 9, and ἀνερεψάμενοι Bekk. *Anecd.* I 401). Homer and Hdt. have Πλάταιαν, the latter also Πλαταιαί<sup>2</sup>; Homer and Hdt. have Θέσπια (Θέσπειαν). Thuk., who has Πλάταια and Πλαταιαί, has the paroxytone accent in the dative singular II 4, Paus. IX 4, 4 in the genitive. I do not find any example of Θέσπια in the genitive or dative singular. In regard to these names it is to be noted that the accent of their ordinary forms Πλαταιαί, Θεσπιαί follows the lines of such deme names as Κηφισιά, Λουσιά, and Τραγειαί, Κεγχρεαί, Πειρεσιαί, Ὀλμιαί, etc. Names of cities ending in -εῖα, if found in the plural only, are oxytone (Βρυσειαί, Ὀρνεαί), though in Hdt. I 149 we find Αἰγαῖαι.

Some grammarians<sup>3</sup> ventured to claim that this shifting of the accent was not Ionic, but Attic, or more especially Old Attic. Perhaps this divergence in view reflects the broken rays of a tradition that Ionic and Old Attic were one dialect in the preservation of this motion of the accent; as they were identified by the ancients for other reasons.

In the above mentioned words Ionic has allowed scope to the operation of the 'secondary' accent (on which see under AIOIC), though in general less amenable to its influence than Attic. Thus in δειρή<sup>4</sup> for Attic δέρη and ἡώς for Attic ἔως the original proethnic accent has been preserved by Ionic. Cf. Skt. *grīvā* and *ushās*. Examples of the tendency of the later Ionic to admit the recessive accent will be given below, § 123.

120.] In the following sections are collected the statements of the grammarians in reference to the accent of certain forms of Ionic colouring; and under the same heads are mentioned some forms whose accent, as it appears in the books, deserves note, especially in comparison with that in vogue in Attic. It is obviously impossible to attach authority to all the accents handed down in the MSS. unless supported by a definite tradition of Greek grammar. Oftentimes the utterances of the schools are hopelessly confused. The ancients are uniformly silent as regards the accent of Ionic words identical in form with Attic. Hence

<sup>1</sup> Here R has ὀργυῖης. In Aratos 196 ὀργυῖην, Nikander *Ther.* 169 ὀργυῖῃ (ὀργυῖνι Π).

<sup>2</sup> So ἄρπυιαί, ὀργυιαί Arkad. 983.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Ven. A on Z 422 = Hdn. II 57<sup>27</sup>. The Et. M. 14<sup>21</sup> by comparing Ὀρεῖθια seems to take a similar position; but cf. 305<sup>36</sup>. Eust. 1631<sup>29</sup> (cf. 1653<sup>3</sup>) calls ἄγυια and ὀργυια Old Attic only. In Attic we find ἄγυιᾶ, ὀργυιᾶ (Et. M. 14<sup>25</sup>) though, according to Zonaras 24, some wrote ἄγυιᾶ. These oxytones seem to be due rather to the influence of the plural ἄγυιαί, Πλαταιαί etc. than of the perispomenon genitive.

<sup>4</sup> δέρη is called Ionic, Et. M. 257<sup>4</sup>. The form δειρά, referred to Et. M. 256<sup>57</sup> (cf. Theogn. An. Ox. II 107<sup>6</sup>) can be only North West Greek or late Doric. Earlier Doric, so far as the radical syllable is concerned, is Δήρη, Ptol. I 15, 11.



the accenting of Ionic texts in the case of words whose accent varied in Attic is totally uncertain.

Krumbacher has shown *K. Z.* XXVII 521 ff. that, in its passage to the modern form, ancient Greek was forced to struggle against the depravation of the old-time accent. The removal of the classical accent which comes to light in the mediaeval documents is, however, not comparable with that which is such a striking feature of the modern Greek dialects.

Only the differences between Ionic and Attic are considered below. Some of the following words are discussed by Wheeler *Nominal Accent* p. 113 ff.

*Accent of Nouns and Adjectives.*

*First Declension.*

**121.] Masculine.** On the accent of Ἀτρείδεω, Ὀρέστω, Αἰνείεω, Ἀσίεω see *Choir. Dict.* 399<sub>32</sub>, 413<sub>11</sub>, *Et. Mag.* 153<sub>51</sub>. In quoting these forms the grammarian in *An. Ox.* I accents -έω. Instead of Θαλέω from Θαλῆς, the ancients accentuated Θάλεω. If, when the genitive in -εω followed a vowel, syncope ensued, the result was the paroxytone, as in Ἑρμείω, Βορέω, Ἀσίω, ἑυμμελίω (*Choir.*, *Et. Mag.* *l. l.*).

**122.] Feminine.** On ἄγνια, ὄργνια, ἄρπνια, Πλάταια, Θέσπια, δειρή, see above, § 119.

ποιή is thus accented in *Eust.* 185<sub>150</sub>, *Hesychios* and *Suidas*, ποιή in *Et. M.* 677<sub>55</sub>. Attic ποιά *Et. M.* 705<sub>2</sub>, 612<sub>42</sub>, 677<sub>56</sub>, but ποία *Et. M.* 770<sub>9</sub>, *Ark.* 100<sub>16</sub>, πόα when the *iota* disappears, Doric ποιά and πόα *Greg. Kor.* 220. The grammarians appear to have set up a difference in meaning between ποία and πόα (*schol. Equites* 603).

ροή in editions of *Homer* and *Hdt.* = Attic ροιά *Eust.* 94<sub>4</sub>, *Et. M.* 705<sub>2</sub>, *Ark.* 100<sub>14</sub> and so written in *Aristotle*. ρόα was accented ροά by *Arkadios l. l.*, which accentuation is adopted by *G. Meyer Gramm.* § 48. Doric ροιά and ρόα *Greg. Kor.* 220. The loss of the *iota* cannot change the accent<sup>1</sup>. Is ρόα due to the desire to differentiate the word from ροή *stream* (a counter suggestion to that made by *L. & S.*), or is ρόα to be classed with χροά as illustrations of the principle that when the accent precedes *yod* is to be expected, but when the accent follows *iota* appears?

χροή *Hom. Theogn.* = Attic χροιά (*Ark.* 100<sub>18</sub>, *Eust.* 94<sub>2</sub>, *Et. M.* 705<sub>2</sub>), but χροία *Et. M.* 679<sub>39</sub>, doubtless to account for

<sup>1</sup> Hence Δαρεος on a Milesian coin in *Mionnet Suppl.* VII 276, should be accented Δαρέος, not Δάρεος with *Pape*.

the usual Attic form *χρόα*. Lobeck *Phrynichus* p. 496 shows that later writers used *χροιά* and *χρόα* on one and the same page. Doric *χροιά* and *χρόα* Greg. Kor. 220.

*φθόη* is thus usually accented, according to the ordinary rules, despite Skt. *kshayá*.

According to the schol. Ven. A on N 212, who follows Herodian: *ἰγνύην* Ἰωνικῶς μετέβαλε τὸν τόνον, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον *ἰγνύα* (Lentz *ἰγνυά*) ἐστίν. Theogn. (An. Ox. II 106<sub>21</sub>) says that Herodian (I 303<sub>10</sub>) is authority for the statement that Aristarchos (?) by shortening the *a* and lengthening the *υ* of *ἰγνύα* accented *ἰγνυα*, thus making an enallage of accent and quantity. Cf. Lentz' note, Hdn. I 303, Chandler § 188. *ἰγνυα* does not occur, nor do I find the proparoxytone accent in any Greek word in *-υα* (*Ἐλευθέρυα* is doubtful). Did Aristarchos wish to bring his *ἰγνυα* into line with *ἄγνυα*, *ὄργνυα* &c.?

The Ionians according to Trypho (4) distinguished, as did Athenians and Dorians, between *μισετή* = ἡ ἀξία μίσους and *μισήτη* = ἡ καταφερέης πρὸς συνουσίαν. Cf. Eust. 1650<sub>64</sub>. In the scholiast on Arist. *Aves* 1619 we find a verse containing the former form which has been changed to *μισήτη* by Bergk, who thinks that the line is Archilocheian (184).

When Ionic has *η* for Attic *ᾱ* as in *ἐέρση* the nom. pl. is proparoxytone (*ἑέρσαι*). Ptol. Askalonites proposed to adopt the paroxytone accent (Schol. Ven. A on Ξ 351, Apio and Herodorus in Eust. 991<sub>24</sub>).

There is no trace of Ionic having adopted the proparoxytone in the nom. plur. of words in *-ια*, as was the case in late Attic (*εὐπράξιαι*, *δμίλιαι*, *τραγώδιαι*, &c., also *ἡμέραι* Choirob. 449<sub>16</sub>, schol. Ven. A on B 339, E 54, Lentz Hdn. I 423 note, Wheeler *Nominal Accent* p. 115).

Some distinguished *Ἐρυθραί* in Ionia from *Ἐρύθραι* in Boiotia (Eust. 267<sub>6</sub>, Choirob. *Ep. on Psalms* 27<sub>10</sub>).

The gen. pl. of *γῆ* is *γέων* in ABR, Hdt. IV 198, where P has *γέων*, C *γεών*. The first reading is that adopted by the most recent editors, the last by L. & S. with the older editions.

### *Second Declension.*

123.] 1. The tendency of the later Ionic to adopt the recessive accent of the later Attic in contrast to the accent of Homer and Old Attic<sup>1</sup>, though nowhere expressly sanctioned by tradition, has been tacitly recognized by more recent editors of Herodotos. This is notably the case as regards the following forms, chiefly adjectival:—

*ῥοῖος* in Hdt. according to Stein and Holder, as in later

<sup>1</sup> Ailius Dionys. *apud* Eust. 205<sub>41</sub>.

Attic (Eust. 341<sup>17</sup>, 531<sup>35</sup>, 799<sup>40</sup>, 1817<sup>15</sup>, Theogn. An. Ox. II 54<sup>3</sup>), *όμοιος* Homeric and Old Attic (Eust. 206<sup>1</sup>), adopted by Schweighäuser as Herodoteian. *όμοιος* is stated to be Doric, Greg. Kor. p. 318.

*έρημος* in Hdt. and in New Attic, *έρημος* Old Attic and Homeric (Et. M. 373<sup>14</sup>, Ark. 61<sup>6</sup>, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 33<sup>1</sup>, Eust. 217<sup>45</sup>, 341<sup>12</sup>, 531<sup>32, 41</sup>, 822<sup>5</sup>).

*έτοιμος* Hdt. and in New Attic, *έτοιμος* Old Attic and Homeric (Eust. 206<sup>1</sup>, 217<sup>45</sup>, 341<sup>12</sup>, 531<sup>41</sup>, 822<sup>5</sup>, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 33<sup>10</sup>. In Anakr. 43<sup>6</sup> the MSS. have *έτοιμον*, Bergk *έτοιμον*).

The accent of *έταιρος* (Hom., Archil., Sim. Amorg., Theog., Hdt.), the by-form of Hom. *έταρος*, is due to the influence of *έταιρα* from *έταρια* < gen. *έταριās*. Cf. *ία ίās* above. Homeric *έτάρη* is the parallel fem. of *έταρος*. See Wheeler *Nom. Accent* p. 59. Hippon. 1<sup>3</sup> has *έταιρε*, now read *έταιρε*.

*γελοῖος* Archil. 79. Of *γελοῖος* Apoll. *De Pron.* 63 B says: *οὐκ ἐξωμάλισται τὰ τῶν διαλέκτων, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν*. The later Attic seems to have accented *γέλοιος*, the *κοινή*, *γελοῖος* Moiris 109, schol. *Ranae* 6; and so Old Attic, Eust. 206<sup>1</sup>. See Chandler § 385.

*ἀχρεῖος* in Homer, Attic *ἄχρειος* according to Eust. 217<sup>39</sup>, An. Ox. II 284<sup>19</sup>, Hdn. I 135<sup>25</sup> = Schol. Ven. A on B 269. Arkadios 87<sup>6</sup> says that *ἀχρεῖος* is Attic, *ἄχρειος* is τὸ κοινόν. From Choirob. *Ep.* 123<sup>25</sup> we learn nothing. The Herodoteian form is *ἀχρήιος*. On Ionic *-ήιος* = Attic *-ειος*, see § 231.

*πῆρός* Homer, Sim. Amorg., Hippokr., *πῆρος* Attic according to Schol. Ven. A on B 599.

*μωρός* Sim. 57. *μῶρος* is called Attic by Arkad. 69<sup>13</sup>. Eust. 245<sup>37</sup>, 1749<sup>37</sup> ascribes *μῶρος* to the Attics, *μωρός* to the ὕστεροι.

*στρουθός* Hdt., Attic *στρουῖθος* Hdn. I 144<sup>17</sup>, cf. Schol. Ven. A on B 311.

2. If the Ionic texts are accentuated correctly, and the following is the correct tradition in reference to Attic, the latter dialect preferred an accent nearer the end in *μέδιμνος* Hdt., *μεδίμνος* Attic according to Thom. Mag. p. 602.

*κουφότης* Hippokr., *κουφοτήs* Attic (Choirob. 352<sup>11</sup>).

*Ἰνυκος* Hdt. VI 24 is oxytone in Plato's *Hippias Maj.* 282 E.

*ἀπτέλεβος* Hdt. IV 172, *ἀπτελαβός* Attic, 'παρалоγως' Ark. 46<sup>8</sup> = Hdn. I 139<sup>2</sup>. Cf. *γέρινος* = Attic *γυρίνος*, Eust. 1864<sup>6</sup>.

Ionic *όλιζον* = Attic *όλίγον*, Herakleides *apud* Eust. 1643<sup>1</sup>.

Attic *φαρμακός* degenerated, according to Photios 640<sup>8</sup> (cf. Eust. 1935<sup>15</sup>), into Ion. *φάρμακος*, the proximity of the barbarians having caused the Ionians to corrupt the ancestral element of their dialect (§ 23). In the fragments of Hipponax (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 37, 43) the MSS. have uniformly *φαρμακός*, cf. Hesych. s.v. Didymos' proposal to write *φαρμᾶκος* failed to receive recognition in ancient



times. In fact Hase and Dindorf suggest that he did not write *φαρμάκος* at all, but that the *προπερισπᾶν* of Harpokrat. p. 180 should be read *προπαροξύνειν*. Herodian seems not to have known of any difference between the Ionic and Attic accent, if we may judge from Arkadios' statement (51<sub>9</sub>): *φαρμακός*, ὁ ἐπὶ καθαρμῷ τῆς πόλεως τελευτῶν, *φαρμακεὺς* δὲ ὁ γόης. For the word *φαρμακεὺς*, however, most scholars substitute *φάρμακος*. *Φάρμακος* is a suspicious personality although referred to by Istros in Et. M. 787<sub>55</sub>. The above quoted statements are all that can be adduced in support of *φάρμακος*<sup>1</sup>, other ancient testimony (e.g. Et. M. 802<sub>5</sub>, Schol. Ven. A on Ω 566) making for *φαρμακός*. With the interrelation between *φαρμακός* and this supposed *Φάρμακος* cf. that between *φυλακός* Ω 566 and *Φύλακος* Z 35, ο 231. *φυλακός* was thus accented by Aristarchos and Herodian (Eust. 1365<sub>45</sub>, Et. M. 802<sub>3</sub>, Ark. 51<sub>8</sub>), *φύλακος* Hdt. II 121 (γ), schol. Apoll. Rh. I 132, Philem. Lex. § 269, schol. Theokr. 8<sub>3</sub> and so Chandler § 261.

3. It is not impossible that an Ionic *ὄστειον* (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Ω 793, Doric *ὄστιον*) could acquire the perispomenon accent upon contraction into *ὄστειν*, as did the Attic *ὄστουν*. But instances parallel to the Attic *ἀργυροῦς*, *χαλκοῦς* are wanting in Ionic, since that dialect kept *eo* open in adjectives of material till the latest period of its existence. It is probable that the uncontracted form of Ionic nominative was *ὄστέον*.

*θεός* apparently an Ionic form for *θεός* (Hdn. π. μ. λ. 6, 8) is perispomenon in Eust. 775<sub>48</sub>, Ark. 130<sub>20</sub>.

In cases of variation between *-εος* and *-ος* in adjectival formations, the accent of the longer form is identical with that of the shorter. Thus *δαφωινεός* = *δαφωινός* (Schol. Ven. A on Σ 538, Eust. 1160<sub>52</sub>), *κενεός* = *κενός*, *ἡλεός* = *ἡλός*.

*εὐγηροί* Hippokr. and Aristotle, deserves notice. See Chandler § 546.

4. According to the accentuation of the MSS. Ionic Greek distinguished *ἐξαιρετός* Hdt. II 121 (α) from *ἐξαίρετος*; adopted such ordinary uses as that of the fem. in *νῆσος διαβατός* Hdt. IV 195; and differentiated words of the same form by means of the accent as did Attic. No definite statement to the contrary exists in the grammarians.

5. Accent of some proper names:—

*Καρησός*, name of the Mysian river M 20, was thus accentuated by the inhabitants of Kyzikos, and by Tyrannio (Schol. Ven. A on M 20). Aristarchos wrote *Κάρησος*, others *Κάρησος*.

<sup>1</sup> Bergk's *φάρμακος* in Hipponax is the less defensible, because the custom alluded to by the poet was Attic. See ten Brink in *Philologus* VI 60. A trace of *φαρμακός* with *ā* is thought to exist in Demosth. XXV 80, though *φαρμακφος* can have yielded only *φαρμαῖκός* in that dialect.

Ἄστακός Hdt. V 67, Ἄστακος Thuk. II 30, Steph. Byz.

Τιτακός Hdt. IX 73, whereas trisyllables in -ᾱκος are generally proparoxytone. Steph. Byz. has Τίτακος. For other oxytones in -ακος, see Chandler § 270.

Ἰλλυριοί Hdt. I 196 and elsewhere is not in accordance with the usual accentuation of proper names in -ιος.

Ἀρτισκός Hdt. IV 92, whereas proper names in -ισκος are usually paroxytone.

Why Φαρσαλικός, Δροπικοί in Hdt. should be oxytone, but Ὀρικος proparoxytone, is not clear. See Chandler § 266 for similar inconsistencies.

6. 'Attic' declension:—

On Τυνδάρω (Hdt. II 112) see Eust. 1686<sub>23</sub>, schol. on λ 299; on λαγός Trypho 13.

### Third Declension.

124.] Choroiboskos *Dictata* 353<sub>23</sub> makes the remark that, while the Aiolians form the accusative in -ν (κνῆμιν—read κνᾶμιν—σφράγιν, ἄψιν), the Ionians in the genitive of oxytones in -ις do not cast aside the δ (κνημίδος, ἀσπίδος) as they do in the declensions of Πάρις and Θέτις. For φαινολής Hymn Dem. 51 we should expect the accent of μαινόλις.

Adjectives in -υς, which in the feminine lose their *iota*, do not change their accent as Chandler § 689 opines: ἡμίσεα Hdt. V 111, not ἡμισέα. In the plural perispomenon is correct even when ι has disappeared: ταχε(ι)ῶν, θηλε(ι)ῶν often in the MSS. of Hdt. (cf. II 18, 46, 66) which has been changed to θηλέων. On ταρφύς, ταρφειαί see Nauck, *Odyss.*, p. x.

The gen. plur. of χιλιάς in Hdt. VII 28 is χιλιάδων, not χιλιαδέων; and thus does not support the peculiar later Attic χιλιαδῶν. See Choroib. *Dict.* 458<sub>26</sub>, Ark. 136<sub>3</sub> and § 74. The form in the Common dialect was similar to that in Hdt.

ὀπέων, Ionic for ὀπάων, is noteworthy, since nouns in -εων are oxytone; cf. Theogn. An. Ox. II 28<sub>22</sub>.

Homeric πρόνες (Schol. Ven. Θ 557), despite πρόν; cf. Hesiod's πρῶν. Nouns in -ηων are usually paroxytone (Theogn. An. Ox. II 29<sub>6</sub>, Ark. 11<sub>21</sub>).

Ethnica in -ων are usually oxytone, but Hdt. VII 110 has Βίστορες, Κίκονες, V 15 Παίονες (Παιόνες An. Ox. I 276<sub>9</sub>), Σιριοπαίονες, cf. Καύκωνες, Κύδωνες in Homer. Chandler § 615.

Names in -ᾱς (Βοιβᾱς, Βιττᾱς, Κυρᾱς) are Ionic according to Choroib. *Dict.* 42<sub>29</sub>, Joh. Alex. 8<sub>19</sub>). Why the gen. should be -ᾱδος is not clear, unless we regard -ᾱς as due to 'nominative-lengthening.'

On the accent of *νηὺς* 'resolved' see Chandler § 566.

125.] **Adverbs.** The ancients accentuated *παρέξ* or *πὰρ ἔξ* in Homer, *πάρεξ* in Hdt. (Hdn. π. μ. λ. 25, 20, Schol. Ven. A on IX 7). See La Roche *Hom. Textkritik* p. 333. The *κοινή* adopted the Herodoteian accent.

*πρωῖ* in Homer, *πρωῖ* in Hdt. and Attic (Et. M. 607<sub>21</sub>, 692<sub>12</sub>, Theogn. An. Ox. II 159<sub>26</sub>). Joh. Alex. 32<sub>7</sub> writes *πρώ*, and this form is generally used in our texts.

*κῆγχος* Apollonios *De Adv.* 596<sub>29</sub> thought should be *κηγχός*.

126.] **Verbs.** *φή* Ionic for *φησί* is an enclitic, Anakr. 40. *πιθέσθε*, *λαβέσθε* were written thus by Tyrannio, but belong according to the Schol. Ven. B on *Il.* XVIII 266 only to the later Ionic.

The recessive accent in the contract forms is preserved in *πύθεν* Hdt. III 68<sup>1</sup>, whereas Attic generally has the perispomenon (Aischines *πυθοῦ*). Cf. *ἔλεν* Hsd. *Theog.* 549, *ἀμβάλεν* Theokr. X 22. Does this indicate that the Attic contraction of *εο* to *ου* is of different phonetic quality from that of the Ionic *ευ*?

In the case of syncopated forms, *-εο* for *-εεο*, *-εαι* for *-εεαι* were generally regarded as paroxytone (Eust. 1441<sub>35</sub>) though there is evidence that some of the ancients (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Ω 202, Eust. 1518<sub>54</sub>) admitted the proparoxytone. Thus Herodian in *ἐκλε'* Ω 202. The MSS. of Hdt. have *φοβέο*, &c., in Theog. 1331 we find *αἰδέο*.

The so-called Doric future in Ionic: *ἔσσειται* B 393, Hdt. VII 168 *πεσέεται*.

*ἔξεληλαμένα* Hdt. VII 84 seems to be correct, though *ἐληλάμενος* is enjoined by Apoll. *De Conj.* 500<sub>19</sub>, *De Adv.* 545<sub>5</sub>, cf. 549<sub>7</sub>, Et. M. 46<sub>4</sub>.

## VOWEL SYSTEM.

### *The Short Vowels.*

#### A.

127.] Anaptyctic *a* occurs in conjunction with *ρ* in *βάραγχος* Hipponax 106 = *βράγχος* Attic and in Hippokr. I 616. Cf. Hesychios: *βάραγχια· τὰ βραγχία τῶν ἰχθύων*. The Et. M. 188<sub>9</sub> says that the Attics used *βαραγχιᾶν*, whereas Moiris states merely that *βραγχᾶν*, not *βραγχιᾶν*, was Attic.

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. has *βαλεῦ* VII 51 in *A P*, *βάλειν* *C* corr. *B<sup>2</sup>d*.



**128.] Ionic A in conjunction with P.**

The forms with *ερ* or *ρε* are here morphologically older than those in *αρ* or *ρα*. It is more probable that *κράτος*, *θράσος* are due to the analogy of *κρατός*, *θρασύς* than to a levelling process (within the noun itself) which operated as follows:

κρέτος  
|  
κῤῥτεσός whence κράτος, κρέτεος and κράτος, κράτεος.  
|  
κράτεος

The latter view is current, rather than well-considered. In Skt. and Greek there is no shifting of the accent in the inflection of these stems in *s*.

The Ionic dialect here presents no features sharp enough to separate it from allied dialects except Aiolie.

*κράτος* = Aiolie *κρέτος*. *κράτος* Hdt. VIII 2, with *κάρτος* in *A B d*; cf. *κατερή* VIII 12, with *κατερή* in most MSS.<sup>1</sup> Archil. 26 has *κατερός*, a form that comes to light in Aretaios 9 and upon inscriptions: Halik. *κατερούς* 238<sub>23</sub>, and so in Attic and Kretan (Gortyna); *κράτιστος* appears in *Κρατιστόλεως* Thasos (Louvre) 12 B, but was not used by Hdt.; Epic *κάρτος* and *κράτος*, *κατερός*<sup>2</sup> and *κατερόθυμος*, *κάρτιστος*. The Ionic dialect alone possesses the strong form of the adjective (*κρέσσων*). In the inscriptions names in *κατ-* and *κρατ-* occur: *Φι[φ]ικαρτίδης*, or *Εὐθυκαρτίδης* Naxos, *B. C. H.* XII p. 463 ff.; *Μνησικάρτ(η)ς*, Styra 19<sub>262</sub>; *Καρτίης* 19<sub>317</sub>; *Ἐπικράτης* 19<sub>369</sub>; *Λυσι-* 19<sub>247</sub>; *Λεωκρατίδης* Styra 19<sub>21</sub>; *Κράτιος* Keos 44 A 8.

*θάρσος* Hdt. VII 9 γ (*θράσος* in *R*); Homeric and Attic *θάρσος* and *θράσος*. *θαρσύνων* Chios, Pasp. 42, *θρασ-* e.g. in *Θρασωνίδ[εω]* Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402<sub>22</sub>. Traces of the strong form *θέρσος* (cf. Aiolie) appear in *...θέρσης* upon an Erythraian inscription (no. 200), and in *Θερσίτου* Iasos (*J. H. S.* IX 341, no. 2, late). Names in *-θερσης* occur elsewhere in dialects that show no predilection in favour of the *ερ* forms. See Pape's *Lexicon*. Doubtless the Homeric names in *-θερσ-* did much to popularize this form in such dialects.

The prefix *ἀρι-* seems to be Ionic as contrasted with Aiolie *ἐρι-* (Hinrich, *II. E. V. A.* p. 64). *Ἀρίων* upon a coin of Erythrai, Mionnet *Suppl.* VI 217, cf. *I. E.* I 166. Hence *κἀριπρεπής* Sim. Am. 7<sub>88</sub> from *ἀρι-*. *Ἀρίμνηστος* occurs upon a Keian inscription, no. 44, B 11, but *ἐρίβρομον* in Anakr. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Ionic *κάρτα* Greg. Kor. § 58.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Gr. 241 B.

βάραθρον Hdt. VII 133, as in Attic; Homeric βέρεθρον Θ 14 (called Ionic by Et. M. 188<sub>6</sub>); Arkad. ζέρεθρον.

χάραδρα in Hdt., cf. Delphic χάροδρος (Wescher, *Monum. bilingue de Delphes*, l. 23, 25). Homer has χέραδος, a form that is found as a proper name C. D. I. 1352.

ταρσιή (MS. -ά), Sim. Amorg. 39, from Et. Mag. 764<sub>25</sub>; cf. Hesychios ταρσιήν · τὴν τρασιάν. Et. Gud. 256 quotes from an elegiac poet τρασιῆς; cf. τερσήναι in Homer. τερσιά is a very late formation (Julian). τρασ- is morphologically older than ταρσ-. A variation between αρ and ρα, apparently in order to lighten consonantal weight, is seen in a Karian name, Halik. 240<sub>57</sub>, Ἰμβράσιδος (Ἰμβρασος Head, *H. N.* 518); 240<sub>58</sub> Ἰμβάρσιδος.

The Ionic dialect does not evince the preference of Doric<sup>1</sup> for the weak *a* before or after ρ in verbal forms (from original ρε). Thus, Herodotos adopts τρέχω, τρέψω, στρέψω, agreeing herein with Homer, while he accepts τράπω in the present for Attic-epic τρέπω, if we are to believe Bredow, Stein and Holder, who do not scruple to reject the testimony of all the MSS. I 63, 105, III 21 and in very many other places. In the middle there are few cases of the *a* form. The imperfect or second aorist forms can scarcely be allowed to influence the decision. I regard τρέπω as the correct form<sup>2</sup>. In the future and first aorist the ε-forms hold their ground in Ionic, whereas in Kretan we have ἐπιτραψῶ. On the variation between τρέπω and τράπω, cf. Bredow, p. 145. In employing τρέπω, not τράπω, Lukian follows in the wake of Hdt. (*d. d. S.* 7, 39, *Astr.* 3). Aretaios has but one sure example of τράπω, and Hippokrates inclines in favour of the Ionic-Attic form.

When other dialects, notably Aiolic or those allied to Aiolic, have ρο or ορ, Ionic almost invariably adopts ρα or αρ. See below on βρόταχος, πορδακός § 147. Hdt. III 86 has ἀστραπή, with which may be compared Homeric στεροπή and ἀστεροπή. Kyprian has στροπά (Hesychios στορπά). In verbal inflection whenever ορ occurs it is the *ablaut* of ερ, not=the Aiolic form of αρ.

καρδίη Hdt. III 35, Demokr. *Mor.* 18, Arch. ep. 103, a form not unknown to Homer (B 452, Λ 12), though the poet generally adopts κραδίη<sup>3</sup>. Ionic, Attic, and Aiolic are here on a plane. The Kyprian form is κόρζα (κορζία according to Meister).

Homer has Κράπαθος (B 676), Archil. 152 has Καρπάθιος.

<sup>1</sup> τράπω, τράφω, στράφω, τράχω (Pindar), cf. Et. M. 1114<sub>20</sub> φάρω, τράπω.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. quotes τρέπουσι from Hdt. III 21 (p. 480).

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Gr. 240, 241 B, Greg. Kor. p. 434, Gram. Vat. 696, Birnb. 677<sub>39</sub>, cite this as the Ionic form.

Κάρπαθος occurs in the Hymn to Apoll. 43. Homer has both ἀταρπιτός and ἀτραπιτός, τέτρατος<sup>1</sup> and τέταρτος.

Hipp. 1<sub>3</sub> has σκαπαρδεῦσαι = συμμαχῆσαι, with which compare the game σκαπέρδα and the Hesychian gloss σκαπερδεῦσαι· λοιδορῆσαι.

The variation between αρ and ρα, for which no definite reason can invariably be assigned, is not a mint-mark of dialect differentiation.

**129.] Other forms with A parallel to E :**

τάμνω occurs in Hdt. (Greg. Kor. 67), though not without variation in favour of τέμνω, and is a present formed from the aorist of τέμω (*Iliad*, N 707) (ταμών < τῆμ-οντ-). Whether τάμνω, which occurs as early as Homer (Γ 105) and Hesiod, and is found in Pindar, Kretan, and the Herakleian tablets, is more ancient than τέμνω (which seems to be derived from a τέμω by the infixing of ν), is not certain. τέμνω is in fact no stranger to Homer (γ 175), and is the regular form in Attic. The inscriptions indicate the preference of Ionic and Attic most clearly. In the former we have ἔταμον (Halik. 238<sub>44</sub>; Kyzikos, 108, B 8), in the latter ἔτεμον without exception. τεμεῖν in Delos B. C. H. VI 54 (250) is due to Attic influence; so Arrian, 2<sub>20</sub>. The ε of ἔτεμον is due to that of τέμνω<sup>2</sup>.

Hippokrates (Greg. Kor. 67) and the pseudo-Ionist Aretaios use τάμνω; Lukian has τέμνω S 15, τάμνω S 51, 60; Arrian τέμνω 2<sub>2</sub>, 11<sub>10</sub>, 13<sub>12</sub>; Demokr., *Mor.* 194, has τάμνων.

μέγαθος, ὑπερμεγέθης in Hdt., e.g. IV 52, 191, μέγαθος in Anaxag. 1, and Meliss. 8 (Simpl. μέγεθος). Cf. Greg. Kor. § 59. In Attic μέγεθος the variation between α and ε is due perhaps to the influence of ε in the initial syllable. The statement that the Doric dialect possessed the form μέγαθος is not beyond suspicion, since Philoxenos, who has the form with α in II 19, either contradicts himself, V 21, where he uses ὑπερμέγεθες, or at least shows that both forms were known to Doric. Lukian has μέγαθος<sup>3</sup> d. S 27, 30, according to Jacobitz, though A has the ε form everywhere. In Arrian, μέγεθος is the only reading in seven out of eleven cases, and this is the form used by Abydenos 5. Both Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Attic form.

On the forms ἔπειτα, εἵνεκα, see under *Adverbs*, &c. On -αιᾶ, -ειᾶ, -οιᾶ, see below under H, §§ 174-179.

ψακάς Hdt. III 10, according to Stein, though ψεκάς is

<sup>1</sup> τέτρατος was held to be Ionic, Joh. G. 241 B.

<sup>2</sup> G. Meyer in his review of the *Vowel System of the Ionic Dialect* (A. P. A. XX 5-138) in *Deut. Litt.-Zeit.*, 1890 p. 1335 disposes of the relation of τάμνω and τέμνω as follows: τάμνω is from ἔταμον, the aor. of τέμω; its ν is due to the influence of δάκνω (ἔδακον : ἔταμον). τέμνω, again, is a contamination of τέμω and τάμνω. τάμνω is called Doric by Et. M. 114<sub>21</sub>, 745<sub>23</sub>.



supported by MS. authority and by Eustathios. Moiris, p. 419, held that ψεκάς was Attic, but not so acceptable a form. Cf. ψῶχος < ψᾱκ.

Ἀγβάτανα is the form used by Hdt., Ktesias (and Aischylos) for Ἐκβάτανα. The MSS. of Hdt. show constant fluctuation between these two forms, though Steph. Byz. distinctly states that Ἀγβάτανα is Herodoteian.

ἀπαλλάζειν (*sic*) Hesych. = ἐκκλησιάζειν. Ἴωνες recalls the Lakonian ἀπέλλαι, ἀπελλάζειν, but is of doubtful explanation.

The ancients adduce other forms in support of a τροπή of ε to α. These examples are either based upon incorrect etymologies or deal with pan-Hellenic by-forms.

### 130.] Ionic ᾶ = Attic H.

μεσαμβρίη Hdt. and Arrian, 3, 25, 39 (elsewhere the Attic form). Cf. Eustathios on the Odyssey 1714<sub>55</sub>, Greg. Kor. p. 444, 654, Schmidt, *Voc.* I 119.

ἀμφισβατέω Zeleia 113<sub>18</sub> (after 334 B. C.) and in Hdt. IV 14<sup>1</sup>, IX 74<sup>2</sup>. This form is not confined to Ionic unless the α of Rhodian ἀμφισβασίας C. I. G. 2905 B 6, ἀμφεσβάτει C. I. G. 2905 A 3, Aiolic ἀμφισβατημένων C. D. I. 214<sub>25</sub>, can be shown to be long. Herakleitos 9 has ἀγχιβασίην, cf. Suidas ἀμφισβατεῖν, ἔνιοι τὸ ἀμφισβητεῖν. Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ ἀγχιβατεῖν καὶ ἀγχιβασίην (see also *s.v.* ἀγχιβατεῖν). Hesychios' gloss is on ἀμφισβητεῖν, not on ἀμφισβατεῖν. In Diog. Apoll. 1 the MSS. have the Attic ἀναμφισβήτητον, cf. -βητήσεος Latyschev, II 53. Hellanikos 177 has ἀμφίσβατα (see Hesychios *s.v.*).

If the non-Ionic forms have ā, weight might, at first glance, be attached to Brugmann's suggestion that an Ionic ἀμφισβᾶτέω is due to the ignorance of scribes who connected the latter part with βαίνω, βάσις, βατός; *Morph. Unter.* I 22. But there is at least no proof that the α of the Aiolic and Rhodian forms is not short; and, even if it is long, the inscriptional form from Zeleia proves conclusively that an Herodoteian ἀμφισβᾶτέω is not due to blundering ignorance. Perhaps the forms in η stood in an ablaut relation to those in ᾶ<sup>3</sup>.

λάξεσθαι Hdt. VII 144, λάξιν IV 21 (cf. Greg. Kor. 139, Ἱεροδ. λέξεις Stein II 467), have their ᾶ from the present stem as

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. here agree as to the penultimate α of ἀμφισβασίας (cf. VIII 81), but R and the rest have in the same chapter ἀμφισβητ-.

<sup>2</sup> P R have ἀμφισβητέων.

<sup>3</sup> Osthoff, *Perfect* p. 331, thought to set matters straight by deriving ἀμφισβατέω from an unheard-of participle βᾶτός, the kinsman of the regular βᾶτός. These two forms he opined would yield -βᾶτέω (-βητέω) and -βᾶτέω. Brugmann's derivation from √σβη ignores ἀγχιβατεῖν, which however may have been formed by analogy.

λάψεται Miletos, 100<sub>4</sub>. The converse procedure appears in the New Test. λήψομαι, a form found on Lykian inscript. C. I. G. 4244<sub>6</sub>, 4247<sub>20</sub>, 4253<sub>15</sub>, and in the *Papyr. du Louvre*, 14, 17<sup>1</sup>. It is due to a confusion between λήψομαι and λάμψομαι. Cf. Attic ἤνειγκα by contamination of the regular Attic ἤνεγκα and Ionic ἤνεικα.

Forms without a nasal come to light upon Attic vases (Λά(μ)πων, Λά(μ)πος in Kretschmer's collection, *K. Z.* XXIX, p. 436), though here the comparison of λάψεται is not so pertinent as Kretschmer supposes. It is better to class Λά(μ)πων, &c., with Νύ(μ)φη (§ 336), than to regard λάψεται as derived from λά(μ)ψεται, despite the Herodoteian λάμψομαι, ἐλάμφθην, λαμπτέος. We have κατελάφθη Zeleia, 113<sub>7</sub>, and λελάβηκα, καταλελαβήκει in Hdt. (IV 79, III 42), λέλαμμαι in Hdt. and Hippokr., ἀναλελάφθαι in Hippokr. III 308, according to Littré, with ample MS. support<sup>2</sup>. I cannot follow Bechtel in branding as spurious the Herodoteian λάμψεαι I 191, λάμψεσθαι IX 108, λαμφθεῖσαι VI 92, merely on the ground that λάψεται is a well attested Milesian form, and that Herodotos may have made use of the Milesian dialect, as is claimed *e.g.* by Wilamowitz, *Zeitschr. für Gymn.-wes.* XXXI 645. The parallelism between the Herodoteian forms and the inscriptional λάψεται from Miletos proves nothing as to the original character of the historian's dialect. The Chian ἀποδεκνύντες 174 B 14 would lead, on this reasoning, to a different conclusion as to the nature of the Herodoteian diction. If λήψομαι and λήμψομαι could be formed, why not λάμψομαι? λάμψεσθαι in fact occurs upon the great inscription from Andania, Ditt. *Syll.* 388<sub>07</sub>, though the genuine Doric was λαψοῦμαι Epicharmos 18, Theokr. I 4. Cf. also the late aorist ἐξέλαμψα Diog. Laert. I 85. λάμψομαι is now generally banished from Hdt.'s text, and παραλήψηται in Hippokrates VI 326 rests upon conjecture.

Proper names in 'Αγε- or 'Αγε-, which run parallel to those in 'Ηγε-, are from ἄγω, the *asper* being borrowed from ἡγέομαι (> sāg). Cf. Lokrian ἄγειν. The Doric 'Αγησίλαος (Perinthos, 234 B 5) has the *lenis* from ἄγω.

Ionic ᾱ from η in the grammarians (*e.g.* Et. Gud. 106<sub>45</sub>, 121<sub>7</sub>, 48, An. Par. III 295<sub>1</sub>) is based upon a misconception of the interrelation of the first and second perfect. In μεμακνῖα, λελασμένος &c. the ancients discovered an Ionic change of η to α (Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 444, Meerm. 654, Aug. 668, Vat. 699, Birnb. 678<sub>28</sub>, Et. Mag. 501<sub>5</sub>, Eust. 1714<sub>49</sub>, 52, 55 cf. 1700<sub>18</sub>, An. Ox. I 282<sub>26</sub>, An. Par. III 478<sub>28</sub>).

<sup>1</sup> λήμψη is a probable conjecture of Sterrett's, *Papers of the Am. School*, II 56, VI; cf. 58, XIX.

<sup>2</sup> Veitch, however, supports ἀναλελάμφθαι. Cf. Schmidt, *Voc.* I 118.



In the view that all epic forms are Ionic we find in Eust. 393<sub>29</sub> (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Γ 130) *νύμφα* called Ionic by a *τροπή* of η to α. *κᾶρός* also is said to be Ionic for *κηρός*, Schol. Ven. A on I 378.

### 131.] Interrelation of A and O.

In a few instances *a* and *o* seem to be interrelated sounds, though the law governing their interrelation has not been formulated in all cases (cf. § 147). So far as Ionic is concerned, we have the following form where Ionic *a* = *o* of other dialects: *ἄρρωδέω* Hdt. I 9, 111, 156, III 119, &c., *ἄρρωδίη* IV 140, &c., and attested by the Et. Mag. p. 632<sub>43</sub> (cf. Bek. An. I 446<sub>16</sub>). Lukian has the Attic *ὄρρωδέω* (Hesychios *ὄρρωδία*, *ὄρρωδέως*, &c.) and so too Hippokrates and Aretaios. Probably assimilation of *a* to *o* has here been caused by the influence of the *ω* of the following syllable (Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 112). Etymologists are generally silent as to the derivation of this word. *Horrere* is probably related to *φρίσσω*, and cannot be connected with *ὄρρωδέω* as *L. S.* think. The Ionic form deserves special note, since it is only very rarely that Ionic differs from Attic in its use of *a* and *o*.

The question as to the interrelation of *a* and *o* assumes a different form in the case of proper names. In the MSS. of Hdt. there is a constant fluctuation between the readings *Ἀρταξέρξης* and *Ἀπροξέρξης*, the latter obtaining in Ktesias and Plutarch, though Plutarch, in the *de malign. Herod.*, ascribes the form in *a* to the historian. Cf. also Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ἀρταῖα*. *Ἀρταξέρξης* occurs upon the inscription from Mylasa, 248, ABC, and would seem to be a closer reproduction of Arta-khshathra than *Ἀπροξέρξης*, which Stein adopts, VI 98<sup>1</sup>, VII 106, 151, 152, though the form in *a* is not unsupported. In other names Stein does not hesitate to read *Ἀπρο-*, *e.g.* *Ἀπροβαζάνης* VII 2, *Ἀπροζώστη* VI 43, though in the case of the former name Thom. Mag. 299<sub>16</sub>, testifies to the form in *Ἀρτα-*. Nor is Stein consistent, since we find *Ἀράβανος* IV 83, VII 10, 11, 17, 47; *Ἀράβαζος* VII 66, &c.; *Ἀρταβάτης* VII 65; *Ἀρταφρένης* V 25, and other names in *Ἀρτα-*. He adopts *Ἀστροβάκου* VI 69, where *R* has *Ἀστρα-*.

In any event no Ionic change of *a* to *o* may be deduced from the uncertainty attendant upon the MS. fluctuations. The Persian names in *Ἀρτυ-* (*Ἀρτύβιος*, *Ἀρτύφιος*, *Ἀρτυστώνη*) are not to be held to be instances of the final effort of a phonetic movement which began with *Ἀρτα-* and reached *Ἀρτυ-* through *Ἀπρο-*, as has been held to be the case with *κατά*, *κατό*, and *καρύ* (§ 132). The forms in *Ἀπρο-* are due, not to an interchange of *a* and *o* (§ 147), but to the fondness for *o-* stems in composition.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his note on this passage in his annotated edition, Fick, *Spracheinheit*, p. 406, and Schmidt, *Urheimath d. Indogermanen*, p. 5.



## 132.] A in relation to Υ.

ἐκαλινδέετο Hdt. III 52, compared with κυλίνδεται Sim. Amorg. VII 4, κατακυλισθῆναι Hdt. V 16, must not be regarded as an instance of the interchange of *a* and *υ*<sup>1</sup>, and much less as a proof of the greater age of καλινδέω (Curtius, *Etym.*<sup>5</sup>, p. 715). With κυψέλη, κάμψα, capsula, and κύλιξ, calix, are to be classed καλινδέω, κυλινδέω, Germ. *quellen*. Both καλ- and κυλ- are weak forms of √κελ = *qel*.

The non-Ionic (Arkadian) form κατύ does not invalidate the above explanation, since it is derived from \*κατό (κατόπερ Halikarn. 238<sub>43</sub> is from ὄπερ), which in turn is an analogue of ὑπό; \*κατό becomes κατύ, as ὑπό becomes ὑπύ (Kyme, 3 A). This is better than to assume, on the strength of Lettic-Lith. *sa* and Lith. *su*, Lith. *ga*, *gu*, that the forms in *a* and *υ* are proethnic.

## 133.] A and ΑΙ.

ἔταρος, ἐτάρη, &c., the variant forms of ἔταιρ- < ἔταρχ-, occur in the epos only. Archil., Sim. Am., Theog., Hdt. have ἔταιρ-.

## E.

On the *ε* of ἐκεῖ, ἐκείνος, ἐχθές see § 564, on that of ἐορτή § 287. 1, note, on ἐθέλω § 588; on hyper-Ionic *ε* in pronouns, §§ 562, 563.

## 134.] Ionic EP for AP of other dialects.

The Ionic dialect in a few cases has made use of the strong forms in *ερ*, though not to the same extent as Aiolic.

ἔρσην: ἔρσενος Hdt. I 109, ἔρσενες I 193, ἐρσένων I 192, ἔρσενας I 193. The MSS., notably *R*, have the Attic form, which must have been Ionic also, since it comes to light upon the very old Thasian inscription (Bechtel, no. 68, ἄρσεν). Herakl. 43 ἄρρενος (Attic). Homer has ἄρσην Θ 7, which is doubtless Ionic, since ἔρσην is Aiolic (C. D. I. 293<sub>6</sub>). That both the strong and the weak form should co-exist in one and the same dialect need not surprise us. Thessalian and Boiotian (perhaps even Ionic, see on θάρσος, above § 128) have both θερσ- and θαρσ-, two forms living together. The only other dialects which have ἔρσην are, I believe, Kretan (Gortyna Tables, X 52 ἔρσενες, X 49 ἐρσένων) and Epidaurian (Baumack's *Studien* 80<sub>132</sub>). In the other dialects ἄρσην: Attic ἄρρ[ε]νος C. I. A. II 678, B 55-378 B.C., Eleian *Fάρρενορ* = ἄρρενος C. D. I. 1152, Lakon. ἄρσης C. I. G.

<sup>1</sup> The change of *υ* to *a* in κυλινδοῦμαι, καλινδοῦμαι was held to be Aiolic by Et. Mag. 486<sub>9</sub>.

1464<sub>9</sub> (first cent. B.C.). See Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 117; Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 23. Hippokrates, Lukian (*Astr.* 11 ἄρρενα, ἄρρενες), and Arrian 8<sub>6</sub> (ἄρσενας) have the α form.

τέσσερες: τέσσερες, τεσσereσκαῖδεκα, τεσσereσκαῖδεκάτη, τεσσereσκάκοντα, τεσσeraκοντόργγιος, are found in Hdt. with occasional lapses in favour of the Attic forms, as Herodas, 7<sub>102</sub>. Lukian, *V. A.* 4 has τέσσερα, Arrian § 9<sub>5</sub>, 22<sub>9</sub> τεσσαράκοντα, 13<sub>2</sub>, 21<sub>13</sub> τέσσαρες. Upon inscriptions we meet with τέσσερες 148<sub>91</sub>, a comparatively late document from Ephesos, τεσσέρων 104, B 66, Thasos, middle of the fourth century, with τεσσάρων on the same inscription, lines 62 and 63; τεσσάρων occurs also in no. 114, F (Zeleia), which dates shortly after the battle of Granikos; τέσσερα Teos, 157<sub>18</sub> (the stone has TEZEPA); τέσ(σ)αρες 159<sub>9</sub>, Teos, with but one Σ upon the stone. τεσσereσκάκοντα 104<sub>52</sub>, Thasos, 111<sub>11</sub>, Kyzikos;<sup>1</sup> τεσσ[ερα]κ[ό]ντων 174, C 16, Chios, and τεσσ[ερα]καῖεβδο[μ]ηροντούτης 58, Paros. Only Arkadian and Ionic have ερ: Arkad. τεσσereσκάκοντα Foucart, 352 n. (late). Cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 44.

Ἄρταφρένης is adopted as the genuine reading by Stein in every instance, though the MSS. of Hdt. constantly vary between the form in -φρένης and that in -φέρνης (V 25, 30, 31, 32, 35, 73, &c.). Aischylos, *Persai*, 21, 776, has Ἄρταφρένης. In like manner Stein reads Ἰνταφρένης III 70, 78, 118, 119. Upon an Attic inscription, C. I. A. I 64, B 14 (410-405 B.C.), we find Τισ[σα]φρένην, which ensures the correctness of the form in -φρένης (cf. Old Persian -*franā*), and stamps that in -φέρνης, so popular in later Greek, as a folk-etymology in the direction of φέρω; e.g. Ὀροφέρνης Priene, Anc. Gr. Inscr. 3, no. 424, 6<sub>4</sub>. G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 175, note 1. The above quoted Attic inscription is important evidence that the form used in the treaty, Thukydides, VIII 27, is incorrect. See Kirchhoff in *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad.*, 1884, p. 399.

On θερσ-, see above § 128, under θάρσος. On κρέσσων, cf. below § 142.

χλιερός is said to be Ionic for χλιαρός in *Liddell and Scott*, but in Hdt. and Hippokr. we find only the latter form. χλιερός in fact occurs in Kratinos 143 K, in Athen. *A.* The ε form does not occur in Nikander, *Al.* 360, as *L. S.* state.

The grammarians held to an Ionic change of α to ε in διερός (Et. Gud. 144<sub>34</sub>, Orion 48<sub>1</sub>). So the κοινή form μιερός (Phryn. 363 R) was once regarded as Ionic. So too ψίεθος.

ἱαρός does not occur in Ionic. On ἱερός and ἱρός see § 300.

ἔτερος = ἄτερος in Doric, Boiotian, Attic (in θᾶτερον, ἄτερος),

<sup>1</sup> τέσσερα held its ground till late. Upon an Egyptian papyrus (189 A.D.) we find it still preserved. Cf. *Trans. Berlin Acad.* 1883, pp. 916, 919.



though Attic has generally ἕτερος<sup>1</sup>. In Aiolic we have conflicting testimony; ἕτερος Sappho, 106, and C. D. I. 279<sub>9</sub>, but Herodian, I 507<sub>6</sub>, opines that ἀτέρυι is Aiolic. ἕτερος is, morphologically considered, the later form, its initial ε being due to the influence of the ε of the following syllable. ἔρσην and τέσσερες might be explained after the same fashion. See Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 92 note. Cf. ὀβολός ὀβελός, and ἡμυσν ἡμυσν (but ἡμύσεος) upon Attic inscriptions after 378, and in the modern language of Amorgos (and Kalymna) ὅτοιμος, and ὅξω in modern Kretan. Cf. also ἀττέλεβος Hdt. IV 172, for ἀττέλαβος. Herodas, 7<sub>51</sub> has ἕτερον χάτερον.

Roberts, I no. 167, contains τῆτέρηι (TETEPEI). Cf. Roberts, I pp. 196, 200, 374, Cauer, 557. The inscription cannot be Eleian, as Wilamowitz thinks, since that dialect loves *ā* in preference to η. Does not the absence of the *asper* indicate an Asiatic-Ionic origin? We find τῆτέρη in Phoinix in Athen. 495 E. Cf. η + ε, § 264.

### 135.] Interrelation of ΕΛ and ΑΛ.

Forms in -ελος in the κοινή were once held to be Ionic, perhaps because of Hom. πύελος μυελός, later πύαλος μυαλός. Thus ὕελος was thought by Bredow to have been adopted from Ionic by Theophrastos, whereas in Hdt. III 24, Stein's ὕελου is not above doubt. The pseudo-Phrynichos (R. p. 363) enjoins ὕαλος as Attic. There is no reason why φιέλη, for Attic φιάλη, should belong to Ionic. In Hippokr. σίελος often occurs as a variant for σίαλος (VI 160, 196, 214, 370 in θ). In many of these forms Attic too had ε: πύελος, μυελός, σίελος (Phryn. 364).

### 136.] Other examples of Ionic E = A of other dialects.

ὄτε, πότε, ἄλλοτε, Ionic-Attic = Dor. ὄκα, πόκα, ἄλλοκα, = Aiolic ὄτα, πότα, ἄλλοτα. Both the Ionic and Doric forms are equally original, an I. E. palatal sound becoming *tau* before ε, *kappa* before α. The Aiolic forms are contaminations.

On εἵνεκεν, εἵτεν, ἔπειτεν, see under Adverbs. -θεν, -θε, not -θα, are the Ionic forms. γέ Ionic-Attic = Doric γά, Epeirōt. γέν<sup>2</sup>.

γέμμα was the Ionic form used especially by Demokritos<sup>3</sup> according to the unsupported testimony of Eustathios, 370<sub>15</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle's 'Αθ. πολ. has even οὐτέρᾱ = οἱ ἑτ-. Attic inscriptions have always ἕτερος. Attic θάτερον *sic*, and not θάτερον, except when the article precedes as in Menander 846 Koch. θάτερα θατέρων Hippokr. IX 30. It is impossible that τὸ ἕτερον should become θάτερον, as is commonly stated.

<sup>2</sup> γέ may be the Old Slav. *že*, Old Lith. *ge*; γά (Skt. *ha*) must be dissociated from Skt. *hi* which is almost always orthotone. *hi* is = Gr. -χι in οὐχί, Skt. *nahī*. V. Henry, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* VI 378 ff. The Epeirōtic γέν can scarcely be regarded as a survival of an original γέν. Baunack, K. Z. XXV 243 thinks that the ν is the movable letter. Is it perhaps γε + ν(ε)? Cf. Thessal. νε.

<sup>3</sup> Demokritos' position in respect of the names of the letters was peculiar. In Bekk. Anecd. II 781<sub>23</sub> the gen. δέλτατος and θήτατος are cited from him, and in Eust. 370<sub>15</sub> he is said to have called μῦ, μῶ.



For other variations between  $\epsilon$  and  $a$ ,  $a$  and  $\epsilon$ , occurring in various dialects, and of which no satisfactory explanation has as yet been reached, compare G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 24.

In the inflection of neuters with stems in  $-a\sigma-$  we encounter in Ionic, in Attic tragedy and comedy (rarely), an  $\epsilon$  in place of the thematic  $a$ . Thus in Homer οὐδεῖ, κώεσι; in Hdt. γέρεα (κρέεσσιν oracl. I 47), κέρεος, κέρεϊ, κέρεια, κερέων, perhaps τέρεος, τέρεα, cf. Τειρεσίας; γήρους Hippokr. VII 182 (Hdt. γήραος); in inscriptions γέρεα Miletos 100, cf. § 544. Whether the peculiar nature of this change requires that it be regarded as a survival of a pre-Hellenic stage, or whether it ensued upon Greek soil, is not yet clear. Schmidt, *Neutra* p. 335, holding that  $ao$  became  $eo$  in primitive Greek save where analogy revived the old form, suggests that the original inflection in Greek was  $-as$ ,  $-\epsilon os$ ,  $-a\acute{\iota}$ ,  $-aa$ ,  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ ,  $-a\sigma\sigma\iota$ , and that in course of time by a levelling process there arose  $-as$ ,  $-\epsilon os$ ,  $-\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ , &c., and  $-as$ ,  $-a\sigma s$ ,  $-a\acute{\iota}$ , &c. The literary monuments of Aiolic and Doric<sup>1</sup> are unacquainted with this interrelation of  $a$  and  $\epsilon$  in substantives.

$\epsilon$  apparently takes the place of  $a$  in certain verbs in  $-\epsilon\omega$  (ὀρέω, πολμέω, οἰδέω, ἐχρέοντο<sup>2</sup>, &c.) and before  $o$ ,  $\omega$ ,  $ou$  in inflection. An explanation of the interrelation of the forms is attempted in § 688. On τράπω in Hdt. see § 128.

Before the termination  $-(\sigma)ai$ ,  $a$  becomes  $\epsilon$  in Ionic by dissimilation; e.g. ἐπίσται, δύνει. In Attic Ποτειδεᾶται we have a somewhat similar case of dissimilation.

New Ionic ῥέφανος, ῥεφανίς for ῥαφ-, Ammon. 122 (Valek., cf. also 203 on the difference in signification). Hippokr. VIII 250 ῥεφάνου in  $C$  and  $\theta$ ; 308 ῥεφανίδος  $C$  &c., but  $\theta$  &c. have ῥαφ-; VI 558 all MSS. ῥαφ-. Thomas Mag. (323 R) says that ῥεπανος was Ionic for ῥαφανίς. Aretaios 301 has ῥαφ-.

πιέζω Ionic, Attic and Aiolic = Doric πιάζω (Hdn. II 949<sub>21</sub>, An. Ox. I 291<sub>5</sub>, I 367<sub>8</sub>).

### 137.] Ionic E = O of other dialects.

A singular substitution of  $\epsilon$  for  $o$  is found in Διενύσω(ι), Bechtel No. 31, from Amorgos, an inscription of the fifth century; whereas the other Ionic inscriptions have either Διονύσιος or Δεονῦς. See below § 138. G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 26, is inclined to regard this  $\epsilon$  as parallel to that of Ἰππεδάμου (Rhodes) or of ἀνδρεφόρος, called Doric by Herodian,—forms of common speech with an  $\epsilon$  comparable to the toneless  $e$  of Modern Greek. Bechtel's suggestion is preferable: Διένυσος: Διόνυσος = αἰέλουρος<sup>3</sup>: αἰόλος, or as Lak. ὠμέσθαι (*R. M.* XL 8):

<sup>1</sup> The  $o$  forms δέρος, κῶος (see Schmidt, p. 341) were regarded as either Ionic or Doric, Et. M. 257<sub>9</sub>, An. Par. IV 167<sub>20</sub>, Anecd. Bachm. I 191<sub>17</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. 15.

<sup>3</sup> αἰέλουρος for αἰλουρος in Hdt. and comic poets. Cf. Et. M. 31<sub>41</sub>.

ὁμόσαι, or as Herakl. ἐρρηγείας, &c. : nom. in -ως. Cf. *G. G. A.* 1881, p. 1447, Baunack's *Stud.* I 71, and *K. Z.* XXVI 354. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 89, has no other means of disposing of Διενύσαι than assuming that it is an error of the stone-cutter.

Of the various names taking their rise from the two chief ablaut forms of Apollo (Ἀπόλλων, Ἀπέλλων), there are a few examples upon Ionic soil of the latter, so common among Doric peoples. Ἀπελλίωνος 1535, Smyrna (names in Ἀπολλ-, lines 3, 15, 24, 37, 40, 41), Ἀπ]ελλῆς 177 Chios, and in Erythraian inscriptions: Ἀπελλίου 206 A 4 (cf. Ἀπόλλωνος 206 A 20), Ἀπελλίου 206 B 17 (in the same line, Ἀπολλών[ιος]), Ἀπελλικῶν *Bull. de Corr. Hel.* III 388. Also in Naukratis (Gardner's *Naukr.* I, pl. XXXII 104), Ἀπολ- names are very frequent. In no case does the god bear the name Ἀπέλλων among Ionic peoples, though it is a form of as great antiquity as that in vogue in Attic-Ionic. It may be noticed that the form Ἀπελ- occurs in Ionic only when the following sound is not ο or ω. See my paper *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* XVIII 97, and especially Prellwitz, *B. B.* IX 327 ff. Baunack in the *Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 54, in his *Studien*, p. 155, Meister *G. D.* II 90, and Jordan, *Krit. Beitr. zur lat. Forment.* 7-23, may also be consulted.

ὀβελός the Homeric, and hence according to Orion 118<sup>19</sup> the Ionic, form. This form occurs on an Attic inscription, C. I. A. IV 3 C, 5, and διωβελία, ὀβελίσκος, &c., are common in Attic. ὀβελός is also Boiotian; ὀδελός Delphic, Tarantine and Megarian. See Meister II 205. Hippokrates VIII 220, 224, 228 ἡμιωβέλιον and ὀβολός in θ.

Ἰν ἑξαπέδου Hdt. (II 149) has preserved the older form of the termination; cf. Ψ 164 ἐκατόμπεδον (*Gen. A*), where the *vulgata* has -ποδον. In Attic (Thuk. and Xen.) the stem ποδ- has supplanted its rival πεδ-.

Τερῶναον Terone 7 (before 420), cf. Τορωναῖοι on Attic tribute-lists in the first volume of C. I. A., and Τορωναῖος on an Attic mortuary stèle, *Mith.* X 367 ff. Τορων- is due to assimilation, cf. § 134, end.

The MSS. of Hdt. have ε for ο in -κόντερος, &c. Examples: πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκοντέροισι. In III 41, 124, VI 138, the MSS. vary; but in each case Stein has adopted the -κοντερος form. The Ionic form contains the simple form of the root ἐρ- (ἐρέσσω, ἐρέτης), whereas the Attic πεντηκόντορος, τριακόντορος have the ablaut ὀρ-. Both forms, τριακόντορος and τριακόντερος, occur in Attic inser., and in the fourth century only; but the former is the more frequent. The ablaut form in ορ is the one to be expected from the composition of the word, but the ε form often makes its way into the second part of a compound. Cf. § 295 on δημοεργός.



## 138.] E in Ionic = I of other dialects.

Names derived from, or connected with, Διόνυσος exhibit a greater elasticity of vowel relations in Ionic than elsewhere.

We have above, § 137, met with the *sui generis* Διένυσος; besides this form we have Δεονῦς, in No. 196, Maroneia, and Δεονῦδος in 198, Erythrai. The ε vowel we have also in Δεουνῦς upon a coin of Imhoof-Blumer's collection (below § 246), in Δένυσος Anakreon, 211, 11, (but Διόνυσος 54, 55, 131), and in the abbreviated ΔEO on coin legends of Abdera, Bechtel, 1631. Is the ε here due to a confusion with that of θεο-, with which διο- is often interchangeable in proper names? See THESSALIAN, § 28.

In sharp opposition to this ε are the forms with ι, which are very common. Examples are: Διόνυσος Iasos, 104<sub>16</sub>, Eryth. 206 B 24, and often elsewhere; Διονύσιος Smyrna 153<sub>3</sub>, 5, Thasos (L) 15 C 4, Thasos (L) 19 B<sub>4</sub>, 20 B 11, Kyzik. 111<sub>5</sub>, Olbia 131<sub>14</sub>, 261 (of uncertain locality), Halik. 241; Διονυσᾶδος Abdera, 163, 15, *Coins of Brit. Mus.*, Thrace 66, nos. 62, 68, 85, and in almost every other Ionic quarter. Ionic also is Διώνυσος. On the probable connection with Ζεύς by folk-etymology, see Baunack (*Gortyn*, p. 67, note 1), and Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 89. Cf. also *Frogs* 215, *Apoll. Argon.* II 905, IV 1132.

## 139.] E for H.

μέν<sup>1</sup> for μήν in the formulae ἦ μὲν Hdt. I 196; μὴ μὲν I 68, III 66, V 106; γε μὲν VI 129, VII 152, 234; ἀλλὰ-μὲν II 20, 32, IV 77, VII 103; καὶ-μὲν IV 45, VI 98. Cf. Greg. Kor. 62. Hdt. here adopts a usage common to Homer, and not unknown in Attic. Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* 365, is an advocate of the view, with which Kirchhoff agrees, that Homer has only ἦ μὲν, μὴ μὲν, not ἦ μήν, μὴ μήν. Bekker would recognize only μάν, and μέν when called for by the metre. Cf. Monro, *Hom. Gram.* § 342 ff. With μέν are connected the Thessalian, Homeric and Attic μά, as κέν is connected with κά. Homeric μάν and μήν are probably not directly related.

ἄπλετος is said by Bredow, p. 143, to be used by Hdt. for ἄπλητος=ἄπλᾱτος (πελάω). This ἄπλητος occurs first in Hesiod, then in the Hymn to Demeter, and also in Sim. Am. 7<sub>34</sub>. ἄπλετος is, however, to be classed with πλη, πλε (πίμπλημι), and not with any derivative of πελάω. Both ἄπλητος and ἄπλᾱτος are restricted to poetry, while ἄπλετος occurs in poetry and prose. Cf. Siegmund in Curtius *Stud.* V 201. ἄπλᾱτον, *Trach.* 1093 (dialogue) cannot well be Attic.

έσσοῦμαι in Hdt., cf. Attic ἡττάομαι, out of which ἡττα was formed, Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXX 299. Hdt. has έσσοῦντο I 67; -μένους I 82; έσσωθείς I 207; έσσοῦσθαι III 22, &c. chiefly in

<sup>1</sup> Ἰακῶς Hdn. II 144<sub>19</sub> on II. V 478.



*d.* Brugmann conjectures unnecessarily (*Berichte d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1883, p. 193, cf. Osthoff *Perfect.* 449) that ἔσσομαι is from ἔσσων, whose ε represents a mechanical change of η (cf. ἦκα, Attic ἦττων) to ε, in order to bring the comparative into line with κρέσσων, Ionic for κρείσσων. But cf. *sēvus* and *sēcīnus* for a like ablaut variation. Stein edits ἦσσων (cf. ἦσσαν I 98; ἦσσονες V 86, VIII 113; ἦσσόνων VII 18; ἦσσοσι VIII 83) and is here supported in part by the unanimous voice of the MSS. Elsewhere the MSS. are in a terrible state of confusion. The other prosaists have η, e. g. Demokr., 15, Hippokr. III 190. The superlative has always η. Krüger holds to ἔσσων, *Formenlehre*, § 23, 4, 3.

ε is shortened from η in νέες, νέας (cf. Greg. Kor. 19).

Θαργελέο[s] for Θαργη- Chios, 174 C 18?

μεδέων Archil. 138, ablaut form of μηδέων; cf. μέζα Hsd. *W. D.* 512, called Ionic by Greg. Kor. p. 535.

Some of the grammarians of antiquity, chiefly Tzetzes, assumed an Ionic συστολή in such words as ξερόν in Homer = Messenian and Herakleian ξηρόν (Tzetz. Ex. II. 61<sub>16</sub>, 90<sub>16</sub>), γεραιός (*ibid.* 90<sub>11</sub>), where we have in reality ablaut forms.

ἴλεος appears to be the Herodoteian form, IV 94, VI 91. The interrelation of this form, which is also Kretan, with ἴληφος and ἴλλαος is a much-vexed question. ἴλεος represents the mutation ἴλη-, ἴλε-, the forms with α an old ablaut form ἴλᾱ-. Archilochos, 75<sub>2</sub>, has ἴλαος (-υ) according to Bergk, for which Fick proposed without justification to read ἴλεως. Cf. ἴλᾱος in Theognis 782. ἴλᾱος is Ionic as well as Attic (which has also ἴλᾱος). See Pischel, *B. B.* VII 332 and Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 351. The Hesychian εἰλῆς εἰ • ἴλεως εἰ, has been read εἴλῆς εἰ, and explained as an Asiatic-Ionic perfect.

Whether the form of the adjective is ἴλεως or ἴλεος in Ionic, is still a matter of contention, since the ground-form of the word has not been cleared up by the Lakonian ΒΙΑΦΦΟ (Roehl 75 = Rob. I No. 261). It is even a matter of dispute what is the genuine Homeric form. Nauck has called for ἴληος and ἴλεος in place of ἴλᾱος and ἴλᾱος. Stein's claim that ἴλεος is the Herodoteian form is supported by the arguments of Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII, p. 264.

140.] Ionic E = Â of non-Ionic dialects (Aeolic, Doric, &c.).

(1) In this category falls first Ionic -εων = -ᾱων < -ᾱφων or -ᾱῖων.

ὀπάων Hom. = ὀπέων Hdt. IX 50.

Ποτειδάφων Korinth., Ποσειδάων Hom. (Aiol.) = Ποσειδέων in Hdt.<sup>1</sup>, Ποσειδῶν Arch. ep. 114, for which we may read Ποσειδέων.

Ποσειδάων in the Ionic elegy is due to the pressure exercised upon the elegy by the epic. Cf. Theog. 692. In Archil. 10 Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος, as given

<sup>1</sup> Ionic Ποσειδέων Hdn. I 38<sub>26</sub>, II 91<sub>713</sub>, cf. An. Ox. III 241<sub>16</sub>.

by Bergk, is not supported by MS. evidence, though corresponding to Ποσειδάωνα ἄνακτα Iliad XV 8. The objection that if Archil. may adopt -οιο from Homer, he has an equal right to -ᾶωνος is not cogent, since -οιο is an ancient Ionic termination and not obsolete in old Ionic poetry, while -ᾶων cannot be shown to be the property of any historical period of the Ionic dialect. Fick's substitution, Ποσειδήωνος, is based upon Ποσιδηῖών Anacr. 6, Ποσειδέων Archil. 114, νηός 4, πατήονα 76 tetr. (on the peculiar position of πατήων in Homer, see Fick, *Odyssee*, p. 17), and ἀλλήων, Naxos, 23, where ἥων seems to be an intermediate stage between -ᾶων and -ῶν.

Ἀμυθᾶων Hom. = Ἀμυθέων Hdt. Ἀλκμάων, Ἀλκμαίων Hom. = Hdt. and Attic Ἀλκμέων = Doric Ἀλκμάν from Ἀλκμάφων. (Cf. Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 39, Johansson, *B. B.* XV 183, below § 141, Merzdorf, Curtius' *Stud.* IX 238.) With Φιλέων in Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος Thasos, 73, cf. Φιλάων in Hdt. VIII 11, which is, however, the name of a Kyprian. Μαχέων Thas. (Louvre) 10<sub>11</sub> = Hom. Μαχάων, a form retained by Hrd. 49.

(2) Ionic genitives in -εω = ᾱ(σι)ο, Ἀτρείδεω, &c., see § 425 ff. When *metathesis quantitatis* is involved, as in the genitive, an ε is always the result.

(3) Genitive pl. in -εων = -ᾶων (Boiot., Thessal. (-αουν), Hom.). Homer's gen. in -εων (H 1, φ 191) and -ῶν, -ῶν are Ionic. Menrad, *De Contract. et Syniz.* p. 41, calls for the restoration of -εων and -εω wherever possible in the text of Homer, despite the fact that -εων is always diphthongal in the Ionic lyric.

(4) λεώς = λαός (cf. § 160), and in proper names: Hdt., Ἀρκεσίλεως, Χαρίλεως, Μενέλεως (Μενέλαος Hdt. IV 169, of a λιμήν), and Ἀναξίλεως, as in Miletos 93, not long after 600 B. C. So in λεωφόρον Anakreon, 157, Chios, 175 (cf. λαοφόρος, of a road, Il. XV 682), Λεωκράτης, Λεωμέδων (Hrd. 47), and many other forms on inscriptions. The MSS. of Hdt. are not consistent (cf. II 124, V 42). Even in the case of Doric names he occasionally uses the Ionic forms; e.g. Λεωπρέπης VI 85, but Λαοδάμας, Λαοδίκη, &c. (§ 158). The latter form is a contamination of Doric Λαοδίκᾱ and Ionic Λεωδίκη. Examples of η thus conjoined with Doric ᾱ are rare. Variation in proper names must be expected even upon inscriptions: thus we have, Chios, 177, Λεωσέβεο[s] l. 3, but -τόλαος l. 14. Hekat. had λεώς according to An. Ox. I 265<sub>10</sub>, cf. Zeleia 114 C 6.

With these compounds of λεώς, and Ἀμφιάρεως<sup>1</sup> in Hdt., cf.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Greg. Korinth., p. 42. Ἀμφιαράου Oropos, 182, a non-Ionic form. Ἀμφιάρηος ο 244 (Zen., -ᾱρ- Aristar.), and Ἀμφιάρεως upon vases led Kretschmer (*K. Z.* XXIX 415) to call Ἀμφιάρεος New Ionic. The same scholar, in common with Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXVII 265, regards Ἀμφιάρεος, which is frequent upon Attic vases, as due to a folk-etymology which saw ἀράσμαι in the verbal part. Pan-Hellenic ηο generally, but not necessarily, becomes εο in later Ionic (§ 287, 288). Ἀμφιάρεος in v. l. Hdt. VIII 134.



the Homeric Ἀγέλεως, Βριάρεως, &c. On the declension of λεώς, see § 477.

(5) Furthermore, in Ionic ἔως, τέως<sup>1</sup> (ῥᾱfo-s, τᾱfo-s), μετέωρος, γεωπεδίον, &c., § 289, cf. δῖμνεως (from διμνᾱίος?, see § 141) = Attic δῖμνωσ, and in verbal forms, χρέωμαι, ἐξαναστέωμεν, ἐπιβέωμεν, μέμνεο Hdt. V 105, τεθνεός I 112, &c.

On θέωμαι = Attic θεᾱόμαι, see § 685.

In almost every instance when primitive *ā* preceded a spirant and a vowel, Ionic attests the presence of *ε* in place of *ā*. The instances where this is not the case deserve to be brought out into clear light. λῆός, in Hipponax, has already been referred to. In Hdt. we do not find νεώς, as might be expected from the analogy of λεώς < λῆός, but νηός, the epic form = Aiolic ναῦος<sup>2</sup>. Herodotos' preservation of νηός is artificial and not in consonance with the genius of the Ionic dialect, which would call for νεώς; a form which in fact appears in composition: νεωποιήσαντες Samos 222. νεω- is the Hellenistic form, and as such is also not foreign to Aiolic monuments; but it may be safely claimed as genuine Ionic, even though the Samian inscription is not old.

#### 141.] Ionic E = AI of other dialects.

Ionic γέη, γῆ and epic γαῖα may be regarded as forms phonetically interdependent, though the parallelism of Ἀθηναία, adduced by Bechtel (*Ionische Inschr.* No. 62), is faulty, since there is no \*Ἀθηνέη. We have here to do with strong and weak case forms, as is shown on γῆ, under *Declension*.

A further example adduced as cogent is ἀγεόμενοι Hdt. VIII 69, though in Homer, *v* 16, Hesiod, *W. D.* 333, and Archilochos, 25, the original *αι* cannot be impeached; nor does an \*ἀγέομαι for ἀγαίομαι win our sympathies when ἀγάσσεσθαι, &c., are compared. Fritsch (*F. H. D.* p. 39) is inclined to the view that ἀγεόμενοι can have originated only in a period when *αι* was written *ε* (150 A. D. according to Meisterhans, p. 27). Cf. παρακέεταί II 130 (*C. P. d.*) for παρακαίεταί. If recourse to this means of accounting for the form ἀγε- be deemed too bold, we may be compelled to dissociate ἀγέομαι from ἀγαίομαι, and to class the former with such verbs as ἀρέομαι. Cf. Hesychios, ἄγη· παρ' Ἡροδότῳ βασκανία. We must withdraw beyond the realm of probability any suggestion that ἀγαίομαι was the ground form which, through *ι* passing into the glide and by an Ionic weakening of *a* to *ε*, became ἀγέομαι. Curtius, *Verbum*, I 176, does not mention ἀγέομαι.

<sup>1</sup> Bredow, p. 50. τέως was adopted by Attic prose and poetry.

<sup>2</sup> νηός is derived from a stem νᾱf-, ναῦος from a stem νᾱf-, both stems combining to form the declension. Cf. the intermixture of strong and weak stems in the case of ναῦς, νηῦς, 'ship.' The stem νᾱf- arose from the locative \*νᾱfεί.



'Αλκμέων Hdt., Samos in Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* 401, δῖμνεως, Hdt., are not to be derived directly from the *αι* of 'Αλκμαίων or of μναῖος (Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 267), but from the *ā* of 'Αλκμάων or of \*μνᾱῖα (Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 416; Johansson, *B. B.* XV 183 and § 421). 'Αλκμαίων contains a suffix different from that in 'Αλκμάων. In Alkm. 71 the *a* is probably short.

On κύπερος = κύπαιρος, see § 142.

142.] Ionic E=EI of other dialects.

On antevocalic *ε* from *ει*, see § 219.

μέζων in Herakl. and Hdt. < μεζων, a more original form than μείζων<sup>1</sup>. μείζων is the poetical form (Theog. 338, 517, with no case of μέζων), though μέζων appears upon a metrical inscription from Attika, *B. C. H.* VIII 470<sup>2</sup>. In Anaxag. 6, 16, Simplicius has μείζων, which Mullach has changed to μέζων. So too in all cases where μείζων appears in Ionic writers quoted by Stobaios, e.g. Demokr. 15. The form with *ει* has not been cleared up despite the efforts of Brugmann (*Ber. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1883, p. 193, *Grundriss*, I § 639) and of Osthoff (*Jenaer Literaturzeit.* 1878, Art. 476, *Zur Gesch. des Perf.* 449) to refer it to the analogy of χείρων, ἀμείνων. Brugmann adopts the same explanation for κρείσσων = κρέσσων. Cf. also *K. Z.* XXIX 140. The analogy of πλείων, μείων is more obvious, and is less open to objection. μέζων has been imitated by Lukian, *Syr.* 12, 19, 22 (despite μεῖζον 10 in all MSS., as in *V. A.* 6) and in the *Astr.* 5, 6. In Arrian μεζ- is well attested, but it is absent from the text of Euseb. Mynd. Eusebios 3 has μέζον. Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Ionic form in a large majority of instances. Herodas has μέζων 12 times, μείζων once (336).

κρέσσων<sup>3</sup>, formed from the strong base κρετ-, which does not elsewhere appear in Ionic, though well attested in the case of Arkado-Kyprian, and perhaps not foreign to Aiolic. κρέσσων occurs in Hdt., Demokr. *Mor.* 94, 191, 193, 218, Hipponax 79, Anan. 33, Phokyl. 52, though in these poets the reading κρέσσων is disputed by some MSS. Theognis, 218, 618, 631 (*Ο κρείσσων*), 996, has κρέσσων; which is sufficient authority to justify Renner's displacement of κρείσσων, 1074, 1173. The Herakleiteian form is doubtful (47, 109). I hold fast to my assertion (*Diphthong EI*, p. 58) despite the objections urged against it, *A. J. P.* VIII 98, that it is impossible for *god* with *tau* to have become *σσ*, and at the same time to have changed *ε* to *ει* in the preceding syllable. Hippokrates and Aretaios have κρέσσων, a form which recurs in

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. 54; in An. Ox. II 392<sup>18</sup> μέζων is called Aiolic.

<sup>2</sup> μέζων appears upon a Tegeatic inscription, *B. C. H.* XIII 281. It is also found in Epicharmos 32, Pindar and Theokritos.

<sup>3</sup> Greg. Kor. 54. κρέσσων occurs also in Pindar and Theokritos.

Euseb. Mynd. 10, 62, though the MSS. of the Neo-Platonist have *μείζων*. In the letters of Hippokrates the Ionic form has been carefully imitated (17<sub>22</sub>, 57, 27<sub>54</sub>). In Protagoras we read *κρείσσω*. *κρέσσον* occurs upon an Attic epigram of the fifth century A. D. in Kaibel 170, and upon one from Thebes of the third century B. C. (K. 498).

*εἰς*, *ἐς* < *ἐνς*, see under *Prepositions*. The usual Ionic form appears to be *ἐς*, though *εἰς* is not unknown. *εἰς* in Ionic contains a spurious, in Aiolic a genuine, diphthong.

*κύπερος*, an aromatic plant used by the Skythians for embalming, Hdt. IV 71, Hesych. *s. v.* *κύπερα*. Whether this is connected with the marsh plant, *κύπειρον* II. XXI 351 (Hesych. *s. v.*), is doubtful. Eustath. 1239<sub>61</sub> mentions also *κύπαιρον*, which is Doric (969<sub>7</sub>, 1648<sub>7</sub>), cf. *αἴγερος*, *αἴγειρος* Hdn. II 411<sub>31</sub>. The forms with *ει* are from *-ερι-*, those in *-ερ-* are devoid of the suffix *-ιο-*.

*δέκνυμι* (*ἀποδεκνύντες* Chios, 174 B 14, also upon a document from Kos in Newton's *Ancient Greek Inscript. in the Brit. Mus.* No. 260 (third cent.); *δέξαι*, *δέξασθαι*, *δεχθῆναι*, *δεδέχθαι*, *ἀπόδεξις*<sup>1</sup>, in Hdt.; Hippokrates has *ἀπόδειξις*, and Hdt. himself often has the *ει* in verbal forms, *e. g.* II 30, IV 79, VI 61, IX 82, which editors remove. In Herodas we find no trace of the form *δεκ-*. *δέδεκται* is read by Gomperz in pseudo-Hippokr. *περὶ τέχνης* § 10; *ἀπόδεξις* Euseb. Mynd. 25, but *ἀναδειξάμενοι* 31. *δέκνυμι* is to be separated from *δείκνυμι* and compared with *doceo*<sup>2</sup>. The poets offer no example of *δέκνυμι* (*δείξει* Solon, 10, *ἔδειξε* Theog. 500), nor does Herakl. (cf. 44), or Arrian. G. Meyer's suggestion (*Gramm.* § 115, note) that *δειδέχεται* is connected with *doceo* and *δέξαι*, &c., is scarcely to be accepted. Cf. Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1890, No. 1, p. 31.

*ἔργω* = *εἶργω* (the distinction between *εἶργω* and *ἔργω* is late and fanciful). Hdt. uses *ἔργω* (*ἀπεργμένον*, *ἀπέρξαι*, *κατέργοντες*, &c., Bredow, p. 153), and not *εἶργω*<sup>3</sup> or *έέργω*. *ἐξεἶργον* V 22, is due apparently to the variable augment of *ἔργω*, and need not therefore be classed with *κατεργνῶσι* IV 69, *ἀπείργουσα* IX 68, where the MSS. agree in demanding a form stamped as un-Herodoteian by all other passages. Since in Homer both *εἶργω* and *έέργω*<sup>4</sup> are well established, a change of *τῆλέ με εἶργουσι*

<sup>1</sup> *δέξω* &c. Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 36, Meerm. 652, Aug. 668, Par. 680, Vat. 698, An. Ox. II 176<sub>12</sub> (Choirob.), II 195<sub>10</sub> (Choirob.), cf. An. Par. III 57<sub>17</sub>, An. Bachm. II 369<sub>2</sub>. *δελός* = *δειλός* is a fictitious form, Meerm. 652, Vat. 698.

<sup>2</sup> So far as I am aware no scholar has accepted the conclusions of Möller in regard to *δείκνυμι*, *K. Z.* XXIV 462.

<sup>3</sup> Anan. 3, has *καθείργαι*, a doubtful form. Theognis, 686, 710, 1180, has *εἶργω*, which I would not change with Renner.

<sup>4</sup> *Ἰωνικῶς*, An. Ox. IV 186<sub>26</sub>, Choirob. 561<sub>29</sub>.



to τῆλέ μ' ἐέργουσι is not advisable. No prose document contains ἐέργω. See Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 235.

### 143.] *Varia.*

The *ε* in ἐξαιθραπεύοντος Mylasa, 248<sub>2</sub>, is a prefix to help out ξ as representative of the Old Persian χš. Wiese, *B. B.* V 90, suggests that ἐξ- is due to a popular etymology which connected the word with the preposition. Cf. ἐξαστραπεύοντος C. I. G. 2919, Tralles; ἐξαστραπῆς Theopompos, Lobeck, *Ell.* I 144. A parallel example from Attic is Ἐξυπεταιῶν C. I. A. III 1119, for Ξυπεταιῶν C. I. A. I 243. Cf. Benfey, *Kl. Schr.* IV 26 ff.

γέρινος is said to be an Ionic form of γυρίνος, Eust. 1864<sub>6</sub>.

### *The vowel I (short ι).*

### 144.] *Ionic I = E.*

1. E + σ + consonant + *ι* becomes *ι*<sup>1</sup> in ἰστίη in the Ionic of Homer and of Hdt., as in other dialects. Cf. *Ἰστίαν* Arkad., Ἰστιαίε[ι]ος Thessal., Ἰστιαίδας Boiot. and Doric (Lokrian, Kretan, Syrakusan, Herakleian), Aiolic and Attic alone having preserved the *ε* vowel here. In Kretan we find also the *ε* form (Cauer, 116<sub>11</sub>), and ἀνέστιος occurs in Hom. IX 63. In Hdt. we find ἰστίαι I 176, Ἰστίης II 50, ἰστιητορίου IV 35, ἐπίστιος I 35, ἰστιῆσθαι V 20 (cf. the *v. l.*), ἰστίη VI 86 (δ) for the ἐστίη of all MSS., Ἰστιαίη, Ἰστιαῖος, Ἰστιαιωτίς (§ 194), &c. Greg. Korinth. p. 500, quotes ἐπίστιος. The editors of Hdt. have now removed all cases of εστ- from the text, even Ἰστιαιεύς having been substituted for Ἔστ-, though attested by Plutarch. Cf. the variation between Homeric Ἰστίαιαν Hdn. I 272<sub>13</sub>, II 512<sub>15</sub>, and Apollodoros' Ἐστιάαν (III 7, 3). Hrd. has ἐστίη 410, 7120.

In συνεστίη VI 128, the MSS. have -εστ-. For various conjectures, see Stein, *ad loc.* Bechtel *Thas.* (L), 18 B 10, writes [E]στιάου. Hesychios has ἐστιᾶχος . . . Ζεὺς παρ' Ἰωσιν.

Hekataios' ἔσθι = Attic ἴσθι (Hdn. II 355<sub>5</sub>), so far from being an original formation whose *ε* had not yet become *ι*, is a new coinage due to the analogy of forms with *ε*-. I. E. \**z-dhi*, imperat. of *√es*, became ἱ-σθι in the proto-Hellenic period.

*ε* before σ + cons., when the latter is not followed by *ι*, does not become *ι*; e.g. εὐεσταῖ Hdt. I 85, ἀπεστοῖ IX 85.

2. Μυδαίων on late coins of Mende for older Μενδαίων, Kirchhoff, *Alph.*<sup>4</sup> 119.

3. The corruption of antevocalic *ε* to *ι*, so frequent in Thessalian,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Collitz, *A. J. P.* VIII 216, who suggests that the change is late. It is certainly confined to certain dialects. On ἰστίη see Eust. 280<sub>17</sub>, 1561<sub>60</sub>, 1562<sub>33</sub>, 1579<sub>47</sub>, Et. M. 382<sub>41</sub>, Ἰστίαια Eust. 280<sub>15</sub>.



Boiotian, Doric, Kyprian, &c., is rare in Ionic, if indeed it can be shown to exist at all. *Καλλιμένιος* 36 (Amorgos) is doubtless a mere slip on the part of the engraver. *μανισκάρχην* is a late spelling in Tanais, Latyshev II 447<sub>88</sub>, 448<sub>8</sub>; cf. 451<sub>9</sub>, 454<sub>7</sub>, 455<sub>8</sub>. The nearest approach to *ι* is the pronunciation of *ε* as a semivowel in the synizesis *εο*. This semivocalic *ε* may disappear in contract verbs, as in Arkad. *ἐλλαν]οδικόντουιν* 1257<sub>11</sub>. Cf. *νενοσσευμένα* Hdt. I 159. Before *ο*, *ε* not unfrequently disappears in prose: *Θόκλος* Styra, 19<sub>206</sub>, *Θοδίων* 19<sub>378</sub>, *Κλόδεινος* 19<sub>221</sub>, *Ἐτοκλέ[ης]* 19<sub>15</sub>. Cf. Megarian *Θοκλείδα*, *Θοκλής* *Mitht.* VIII 189, 190. Fritsch's paper in Curtius *Stud.* VI (cf. pp. 125-132), is at present scarcely trustworthy as regards Ionic. A reverse process has given us *Θε-* in Boiot. *Θέσζοτος* and *Θέδωρος*, perhaps from *Θεύδωρος*.

4. *ἔριγμα*, Hippokr. from *ἐρείκω*; *ἔρεγμα* Theophr.

A nominative *ἰρής* = *ἐρής* (Thessal.) is assumed by Baunack, *K. Z.* XXVII 565; and for *ἰρένες*, *ἰρέες* is substituted by the same scholar in Hdt. IX 85.

#### 145.] Ionic *ἱ* = *ΕΙ*.

See under *ἱ*, § 197, for supposed cases of itacism in Ionic.

*ἱκελος* varies with *εἵκελος* in the MSS. of Hdt. as in those of Homer. I have shown in *A. J. P.* VI, p. 439, that the *ι* of the form *ἱκελος* is not descended from the *ει* of *εἵκελος* by the merging of *ε* + *ι* into *ῑ*, and by the weakening of this *ῑ* to *ι̇*. *ἱκελος* is = *\*(ε)ἱκελός*, and is morphologically the older form, *εἱκ-* having lost its *ε* upon the accent originally shifting to the final syllable in *ἱκελος*. Adjectives in *-λος* are usually oxytone. With this interrelation of *εἱκ-* and *ικ-*, cf. *ἄφενος*, *γῆρας* (strong forms) and *ἄφ(ε)νειός*, *γεραιός* (weak forms). *εἵκελος* owes its *ει* to the influence of *-εικής*, *εἰκών*, &c. Stein reads *εἵκελος* III 81, *εἵκελα* VIII 9, *προσεῖκελα* III 110, *προσεῖκέλους* IV 61, *προσεῖκελος* IV 177. Dem. *Mor.* 21 has *ικέλη*. The Et. Mag. 297<sub>23</sub>, states that *εἵκελος* is the correct form, though *ἱκελος* often occurs; and that in composition only the form with *ι* is admissible. This testimony is of course not authoritative for the fifth century. In Homer *ἑῖκελος* occurs 17 times, while *φείκελος* has the *v.l.* *ἱκελος* (itacistic) 16 times. Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Uranios prefer the *ι* form, which is doubtless to be adopted in the *Dea Syria*, 25, 33, 40 (cf. *Astr.* 10, 20), though from the MSS. of Lukian we cannot learn which form the satirist used.

The existence of parallel forms in *ει* and *ι* in the name of Poseidon, and in names derived therefrom, does not substantiate the presence of itacism in this word. Hdt. VII 115 has *Ποσιδηίου*, III 91 *Ποσιδηίου* with *Ποσειδηίου* as *v.l.* The Ionic name of the god in Hdt. is *Ποσειδέων* (12 times)<sup>1</sup>. Cf. also

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 917<sub>13</sub>.

Ποσειδωνιήτης I 167, and Ποσειδώνιος IX 71, 85. On the Archilocheian Ποσειδάων, see above, under E, § 140. Archilochos has Ποσειδῶν, or perhaps Ποσειδέων ep. 114.

As regards the inscriptions, which speak with greatest authority in cases similar to this, their testimony is as follows:—

With ει.	With ι.
Ποσειδεωνί(ο) Pantikap., Laty- sch. II 291, 139 <sup>1</sup> .	Ποσιδεῖος 234 B 34, Perinthos.
Ποσειδώνιος Ephesos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 277.	Ποσιδεῖον <i>Jahrb. für Phil.</i> , Suppl. Vol. V, 487, No. 47, and Vol. X, 29, No. 21.
Ποσειδωνί(ο)[υ] 153 <sub>37</sub> , Smyrna.	Ποσιδέον 153 <sub>32</sub> , Smyrna.
Ποσειδώνιος 131 <sub>16, 17, 18</sub> , Olbia.	„ 177 <sub>17</sub> , Chios.
Ποσειδώνιος 240 <sub>28, 47</sub> , Halik.	Ποσιδηίου 196 <sub>5</sub> , Maroneia. Cf. the form in Hdt.
Ποσειδεῖος Thasos (Louvre), 10 <sub>10</sub> .	Ποσιδηίων C.I.A. I 283 <sub>17</sub> (Ionic?).
Ποσειδεῖον Maroneia, Head, <i>H.</i> N. 216.	Ποσιδῶναξ Ephesos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 279 A.
Ποσειδῶνος 206 B 31, Eryth.	Ποσιδεῶνος 206 A 46, Erythrai.
Ποσειδέππου Thasos (Louvre), 2 <sub>11</sub> , Maroneia, Head, <i>H.N.</i> 216.	

The Attic month Ποσιδεῶν appears in Anakreon 6 as Ποσιδηῖον. On Ποσιδέης (Ποσιδήης), the basis of Ποσιδήιος, &c., see Hdn. II 917<sub>6</sub>.

As regards the age of the inscriptions, the only inscription with ι, dating certainly before 400, is that from Maroneia, 196<sub>5</sub>, the others with ι being later; while those with ει are not older than the bulk of those with ι. Chronological considerations do not therefore make in favour of the origin of the forms with ι from those with ει. Despite the obscurity which attends this word (cf. Prellwitz, *B. B.* IX 331), it is evident that the variation between ει and ι, which is confined to no single dialect, must depend upon stem-gradation. On this view the ει and ι stand in no immediate relation to each other.

The ι of Πισίστρατος Samos, 225, though of uncertain quantity, does not necessitate the assumption of itacism, when compared with Πεισωνεί(ον) Teos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 369. Cf. Πισίθεος in Delphic, Πισίας, Πισιδῶρα, &c.

To the forms terminating in -ειη from -ες stems, quoted below, § 215, there exist in the MSS. of Herodotos sporadic variants in -ιη, none of which deserves recognition as a genuine Ionism; and much less may they be adduced in evidence for the reduction of ει to ι. There is, however, a small list of forms with no trace of -ειη, where Hdt. has -ιη, Attic -ια. These are derived from κράτος, -ωδης, and τύχη: δημοκρατή, ἰσοκρατή: εὐωδίη: εὐτυχίη, συντυχίη: and λιπαρή.

Comparable with these forms is -ια in Attic substantives from



sigmatic stems. This *-iā*, like the Ionic termination *-ιη*, represents a transference of the *-ιη* (*-iā*), which is in place in O stems, to the *-εσ-* declension. Forms in *-iā* are claimed as the property of the *νεωτέρα Ἰάς* by a scholiast on *Elektra*, 996, quoted by Bredow, p. 189, but without foundation. Where the Attic poets have *-iā* (*αἰκία*, &c.), this termination should be classed with the Homeric and Hesiodic *-ιη* (11 occurrences in *thesi*, 3 in *arsi*), the explanation of which is still involved in obscurity, despite recent attempts to clear up the nature of the *ī*. Cf. Jebb on Sophokles' *Elektra*, 486 (small edition), Smyth, *A. J. P.* VI 435, Danielsson, *Gramm. Ann.* I 42, Johansson, *K. Z.* XXX 401, *B. B.* XV 176, Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II 1, p. 313. Most of the epic words in question are so formed that *-ιη* would not permit their insertion into the verse. Whether Ionic *ὠφελίη* = Attic *ὠφελία* has *ī* is very doubtful.

#### 146.] *Varia.*

1. *Iota* and *alpha* are not phonetically related; hence *Σινώπη* and *Σανάπη* (Schol. Ap. Rh. II 946) are not connected.

2. *χλάνδιον* Samos, 220<sub>30</sub>, Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292<sub>13</sub>, 16, by syncope from *χλανίδιον*, cf. Euboian *Ἰππώνδης* (Styra, 193<sub>73</sub>, cf. 193<sub>20</sub>) and Boiotian names in *-ωνδας*; Angermann in Curtius' *Stud.* I 1, 20.

### *The Vowel O.*

#### 147.] *Ionic O=A of other dialects.*

1. On *a=o* in forms in *Ἄρτο-*, *ἄρρωδέω*, &c., see above § 131; on *ζόω*, § 200. Prosthetic *o* in *ὄτρογηφάγος* Arch. 97, according to Et. M. 167<sub>25</sub>, and Photios. Hesychios has *ἀτρυνγ-*.

2. Examples of *op*, *po* = *ap*, *pa*, are very rare: *Βροτάχον* 117 Pantikapaion, and Ephesos (Wood's *Discoveries*, App. 2, No. 2). *βρόταχος* is further supported by the Hesychian gloss (*s. v.*) and by Hdn. II 384<sub>13</sub> = Et. Mag. 214<sub>44</sub>, where the form is quoted from Xenophanes<sup>1</sup> and Aristophanes. Hippokrates used *βότραχος* for *βρόταχος*, according to Galen. The dialects of Lesbos, Boiotia, and Thessaly are generally held to evince a strong predilection in favour of the weak *op*, *po*, though Brugmann (*Grundriss*, I § 292) makes mention only of Lesbian and Boiotian forms. I have, however, shown *A. P. A.* XVIII 104, 159, that it is inadvisable, if not futile, to attempt to set up such a restriction. *Βρόταχος* was the name of a Gortynian worthy of an epigram by the great Simonides (127), though the substitution of *po* for *pa* is not

<sup>1</sup> *Βρόταχον τὸν Βάτραχον Ἴωνες καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ παρὰ Ξενοφάνει.* For this differentiation between Ionians and Xenophanes, cf. above, p. 31, note. Bergk<sup>1</sup> does not register the word.



elsewhere attested as a peculiarity of Kretan speech. But at best βρόταχος can have been but partially adopted by Ionic<sup>1</sup>. According to the express testimony of the scholiast on *Iliad*, Δ 243, Eustath. II. 468<sub>32</sub>, and Greg. Korinthios, p. 414 (cf. An. Par. III 57<sub>11</sub>), the Herodoteian form was βάθρακος, a form not adopted by Stein (IV 131, 132). Cf. Roscher in Curtius' *Studien*, IV 189, whose etymological combinations are somewhat out of date, German *kröte* being the phonetic equivalent. Hesychios reports also βύρθακος, βόρταχος, βράταχος, βρύτιχος.

βρόγχος is Hippokratic; cf. Et. M. 215<sub>29</sub> (211<sub>19</sub>): ἡ μὲν συνήθεια βρόγχον καλεῖ, οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι βράγχον. Cf. Hdn. II 284<sub>5</sub>, 483<sub>29</sub>, § 127.

πορδακός Sim. Amorg. 21 = Attic παρδακός. Archilochos 140 has, however, παρδακός. Sim. Am. 14 has πάρδαλις, not the o form which was once thought to be Ionic. πόρδαλις in Ven. A, N 103 (cf. Spitzner), P 20, Φ 573 though Aristarchos read παρδ-. Some of the ancient grammarians attempted to set up a distinction between an Ionic πόρδαλις and Attic πάρδαλις (Et. M. 652<sub>29</sub>, Phot. 383, Apoll. Lex. 133<sub>34</sub>, Eust. 787<sub>39</sub>, 890<sub>10</sub>, 922<sub>53</sub>, &c.). πόρδαλις is Aiolic. This form occurs Arist. *Lysistrata*, 1015 Rav. and frag. 478 K.

The form Καλλίστροτο[s] has been adduced from one of the Styrian lead tablets as proof of the influence of Boiotian vocalism upon the dialect of Styra. In Bechtel, No. 19<sub>210</sub>, we read -στρΑτ clearly enough, Vischer's -στρΟ being incorrect. All other examples of the supposed interdependence of Boiotian and Styrian have in like manner been deprived of their validity upon more careful examination of the evidence, cf. § 157. In Styra we have Στράτων 19<sub>416</sub>.

In διέφθορα Hipp. VIII 246 (cf. II. XV 128), ἔφθορα Galen, ορ is the ablaut of ερ, as in Ark. ἐφθορκώς C. D. I. 1222<sub>10-11</sub>.

3. Hippokr. VII 356, VIII 156 has μολόχης in θ, *vulg.* μαλάχης as θ in VIII 380. μολόχης in Antiphanes (158 K), μολόχα Epicharmos (104); μολόχη in a late Kretan inscription, *Mus. It.* III 723.

4. The inscriptions offer several instances of a preference for the o sound:—

Ὕστακος Delos, 55 I<sub>7</sub> and B. C. H. VII 11, l. 57, has been identified by Bechtel with ἄστακος, *lobster*. The form ὄστακος comes to light in Aristomenes, Γοητ. 2, and is quoted by Hesychios. It occurs also in Athenaios. Cf. Sturz, *De dialecto Mac. et Alexandr.* p. 70, who held that ὄστακος was Alexandrian.

With Κο]μοσαρύη Phanagoreia, 167, cf. Καμασαρύη, a queen of Bithynia, C. I. G. 2855. See Dittenberger, *Syll.* 104<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Greek βροθάκα (Pontos), βορθακός (Crete) are not necessarily survivals of the ancient forms.

Ἑρμώνροσσα Chios, 174 A<sub>2</sub>, 4, a locality in Chios, suggests a comparison with Ἑρμώνασσα, name of a woman and also of several cities.

5. On Ionic (Attic) -κόσιοι = Doric and Boiot. -κάτιοι, Arkadian -κάσιοι, see under Numerals, and cf. Brugmann, *M. U.* V 7 ff.

### 148.]

A variation between *ā* and *o* exists in the case of χαμᾶθεν Hdt. II 125, where *dz* have χαμόθεν, a form attacked by Cobet (*Var. Lect.* 89) and expelled by him from Kratinos, Xen. (*Hellen.* VII 2, 7), and Aristotle.

### 149.] O in Ionic = E.

Κναροσιών, name of the month in Samos, Kyzikos (Reinach, *Traité*, p. 489), also Attic (*Berichte der Berl. Akad.* 1859, p. 739). Cf. Πναρσιών in inscriptions after Christ. See Schmidt's *Chronologie*, p. 458, Brugmann's *Gr. Gr.* p. 32 note.

The old ablaut of *Fery* (*Fory*) occurs in Ἀθηνάης Ὀργάνης Delos, 54. Cf. Hesychios, *s. v.* Ὀργάνη: ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, ἥν καὶ Ἑργάνην ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων λέγουσιν. The same form of the name has come to light in Athens, *Bull. dell. instit. di Corr. Arch.* 1874, 107. Cf. ὄργανον and later ἔργανον with its *ε* from ἔργον. See § 295.

On ὀβολ-, see § 137.

### 150.] O in Ionic = OΥ.

The Samian inscription, No. 220, has the new forms ἀλοργοῦς l. 23, ἀλοργοῦν 22, 30, ἀλοργήν 15, 16, ἀλοργά 36, ἀλοργάς 28, and παραλοργές 21; with which compare the Attic ἀλουργής and παναλουργέα Xenophanes 33. ἀλοργός is from ἀλο(ε)ργός, Bechtel, *ad loc.* Cf. §§ 295, 314.

### 151.] O in Ionic = OI.

From δεσπότησιν in Kyzikos, I. G. A. 501, Rob. I 148, = δεσποίναις according to the commentators, we might conclude that Ionic *o* was here = Attic *οι*. No such interrelation of *o* and *οι* is known. It is possible that the *o* is due to that of δεσπότης, but Osthoff's attempt to connect -ποινα and πότνια (\*potniā, \*-ποτνια, \*-πονιγία, \*-πονιγία, -ποινα), does not provide us with the fitting key to explain the appearance of *o* in a δεσπότης. On the dative termination, see § 450, 3.

On anaptyctic *ι* in Τροιζήνιος, see under OI, § 228.

### 152.] Varia.

The assumption of hyphaeresis of *o* in Hdt. βοηθός is rendered easier if we recall the Homeric ὄγδοον § 287. With βοηθός cf. δορυξός, Πειριθός, &c. No dialectal dividing line can here be established. See G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 152.

On the change of *o* to *υ* in Euboian Ionic, see under Υ. On the substitution of *o* for the *υ* of *av*, *ev*, see under these diphthongs.



*The Vowel Υ (υ).*

## 153.]

The weak ablaut form of ρεϋ, ροϋ appears in ῥυτίσκειται Archil.  
142.

## 154.] Ionic Υ=Ο.

The change of Ο to Υ is attested to a limited extent in Ionic :—  
Upon a Kymaian inscription (Bechtel, 3 A=Roberts, I 177 A) we find ΗΥΠΥ (ύπύ) twice; from which it is clear that of the Ionians, the Chalkidians<sup>1</sup> at least had not adopted the later ü. Other instances from Euboian Ionic of a similar retention of the I.E. phonetic value of υ as oo do not stand on so sure a footing. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.* p. 228, claims that the modern names *Kuma* and *Stura* are living witnesses to a pronunciation which held its ground throughout the Ionic period of the epos, and in fact to the dawn of Attic supremacy in Greece proper; while in Asia Minor υ had become ü before the year 500<sup>2</sup>. The Styrian Μέτυκος 19<sub>70</sub>, may stand for Μέτοικος; but it is at best a doubtful form which has been illegitimately used to show the connection between Boiotian and Euboian Ionic<sup>3</sup>. Cf. §§ 147, 2, 157. No interrelation of ο and υ need be assumed on the score of Κεφαλότης Styra, 19<sub>217</sub>, 218 (Κέφαλος 19<sub>213-217</sub>), or of Φιλύτης 19<sub>333</sub>, since names in -ύτη, &c., are primitive. Cf. Φιλύτα Kyrene, C. I. G. 5143, Φιλυτῷ Delos, C. I. G. 2310. "Ολομπος, occurring on a vase, C. I. G. 8412, perhaps of Chalkidian workmanship, is of doubtful validity, as the inscription is not free from errors.

As regards the Ionic of the mainland, we have but slender support for the assumption that the old pronunciation of υ was retained. ῥυφεῖν in Hipponax<sup>4</sup>, 132, cf. ῥυφήματος (θ), Hippokr. VI 198<sup>5</sup>, ὑπέατι Hdt. IV 70, ὅλονθος Hdt. I 193 (ABC and Athen. XIV 651 C), ὀλόνθων Hippokr. VIII 116 (θ C), VII 366, VIII 192, ὀλόνθους (θ), ὅλονθοι VIII 200 (θ), are the only examples from literature of the change of ο to υ<sup>6</sup>. In Phokaia υ was pronounced as oo, if we may judge from Ὑελητῶν 172<sub>2</sub>, about

<sup>1</sup> Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ, Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως Thuk. VI 4.

<sup>2</sup> Kirchhoff is inclined to believe that the Ionians adopted the ü pronunciation upon the reception of their alphabet by the other Greeks.

<sup>3</sup> Kyprian Στασίνικος Meister (*G. D.* II. p. 191) is not above suspicion. Hdn. II 368<sub>21</sub> = Choir. 832<sub>25</sub>: Ἴωνες τὸ τετυφυῖα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια λέγουσι διὰ τῆς οἰ διφθόγγου καὶ οὐ διὰ τῆς υἱ. Lobeck, *El.* II 25, note 5, endeavours to parallel this remarkable statement with Theognos. 103<sub>11</sub> τρίττοια ἡ θυσία = τριπτία.

<sup>4</sup> Eust. 1430<sub>39</sub> states that ῥυφεῖν is Doric and Ionic κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, and, to judge from what precedes, also Aiolic.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *v. l.* VII 20, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Hipponax has also κροκῦδειλος (Eust. 855<sub>52</sub>) or κροκόδειλος (Et. Gud. 348<sub>17</sub>). μυθῖται or better μυθιῖται, in Anakr. 16, is connected by *L. S.* with μόθος and classed as one of the Aiolisms of the Teian bard.



350 B. C. Hyele = Velia, the Oscan name being spelled with V, which the colonists reproduced by their Υ (Hdt. I 167).

Other forms from Hippokr. are  $\delta\xi\acute{o}\beta\alpha\phi\omicron\nu$  VIII 184 (θ), and so VII 366, 368, 372, and perhaps  $\Sigma\tau\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\epsilon\omega$  V 84 (cf.  $\sigma\acute{\tau}\upsilon\mu\alpha$  Theokr. XXIX 25).

That *o* became *v* in  $\alpha\iota\sigma\nu[\mu]\nu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\iota$  Teos, 156 B 4, is not proven. Cf. Megarian  $\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\nu}\alpha\tau\alpha[s]$  C. D. I. 3016. Cases of *ι* arising from an *v*, which is itself from *o*, are rare.

There is no change of *o* to *v* in  $\omicron\nu\nu\mu\alpha$ , found in  $\text{Κλεώννυμος}$  Smyrna, 153<sub>19</sub>,  $\text{Ἐκατώννυμος}$  Eryth. 206 A 15, Chios, Pasp. 2,  $\text{Κλειτώννυμος}$  Thasos (L.), 8<sub>9</sub>,  $\text{Πυθώννυμος}$  Thas. (L.), 10 B 12. *v* occurs in this word in Pindar, Aiolic, Boiot., Thessal., Phokian, Delphic, Aitolian, Megarian, Korinthian, Rhodian, in Aigina and Selinus, and is pan-Hellenic in  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu\nu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\nu\nu\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (Ephesos 145), and  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\omicron\nu\nu\mu\omicron\varsigma$  (Hippon. 14). The extensive geographical reach of the forms with *v*, and the undeviating writing  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu\nu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , &c., render the assumption not improbable that the forms in *v* are original, those in *o* later. If the *o* forms are original, there can be no doubt that the vowel interposed between the nasals was in a pre-historic period a closed vowel, the first *o* remaining open.

On the substitution of *o* for the *v* of *av*, *ev*, see under the head of these diphthongs.

### 155.] Ionic Υ = Ι.

$\Sigma\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ , on the stelè of Sigeion, Bechtel, 103 = Roberts, I 42 A 10. In the Attic part of the inscription we find  $\Sigma\iota\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota$ . The *v* is doubtless older since it is found on the epichoric document. The two forms are then interrelated as  $\beta\upsilon\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$   $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ ,  $\text{Τυνδαριδᾶν}$   $\text{Τινδαριδᾶν}$  I. G. A., 62 A, and  $\text{Κυνδυῆς}$  and  $\text{Κινδυῆς}$  on the Attic tribute lists. Iota does not pass into *v* in any Greek word.

Hdt. has  $\beta\acute{\upsilon}\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\acute{\upsilon}\beta\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\upsilon\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  (Hrd. 390). A mustering of the occurrences of these words in Stein's edition shows that the chief support of the forms with *ι* is derived from MSS. *P. R.*, while in one-seventh of all passages there is no variant. I conclude, therefore, that Bredow's distinction between  $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ ,  $\beta\acute{\iota}\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (*notione chartae scriptoriae, libelli*) and  $\beta\acute{\upsilon}\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (*notione libri, corticis papyri*) must fall to the ground, and that the Ionic of the fifth century preferred, if it did not recognize exclusively, the forms with *v*. The variants in favour of *ι* are due to the scribes rather than to the influence of such actual forms in *ι* as we find as early as 400 B. C. in Attic (C. I. A. II, Add. 1 B 25; *Mitth.* VII 368, concerning the Attic cleruchs in Samos, 346 B. C.). The forms in *ι* continue in Attic inscriptions until the second century B. C., after which  $\beta\upsilon\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  is the normal form. See Birt's *Buchwesen*, p. 12.

$\mu\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$  Hdt. I 186, III 56, has the variation  $\mu\acute{o}\lambda\iota\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$ , a

form that does not find any support in the Attic  $\mu\omicron\lambda\nu\beta[\delta\acute{\omega}\nu]$ , C. I. A. II 476<sub>43</sub>, or in any other inscriptional form<sup>1</sup>. That the  $\iota$  form elsewhere forced an entrance at an early period should not mislead us as regards Ionic. Homer has  $\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\beta\delta\alpha\iota\nu\alpha$  and  $\mu\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\beta\omicron\varsigma$ .

In an Halikarnassian inscription (Bechtel, No. 241) we read HMYΣK, which Bechtel transcribes  $\eta\mu(\iota)\sigma(\nu)$ . This is possible, though the occurrence of  $\eta\mu\nu\sigma\nu$  upon Attic inscriptions (C. I. A. II 17<sub>45</sub>) and elsewhere, *e.g.* Delos (B. C. II. II 580), renders the attempt to rescue this form for Ionic not overbold. Cf. Meisterhans, p. 22, Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, p. 40.  $\eta\mu\iota\sigma\nu$  occurs upon a late Chian coin, Head, *H. N.* 514, on a late inscription from Thasos, 72<sub>16</sub>, upon one from Teos, 158<sub>24</sub>, and in Sterrett, *Papers of the American School*, III 335. The forms in *iota* are primitive, those in *upsilon* being due to an assimilation which could take place only at a period when the inherited tendency to avoid a succession of  $\nu$ 's was no longer felt<sup>2</sup>.

On  $\alpha\iota\sigma\upsilon\mu\nu\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$  see above, § 154. Ionic here preserves the original  $\upsilon$  in the Teian  $\alpha\iota\sigma\upsilon[\mu]\nu\eta\tau\eta\iota$  156 B 4; and it is to the influence of Ionic that is due  $-\alpha\iota\sigma\upsilon\mu\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in Cherson. Taur. C. D. I. 3087<sub>57</sub>, whereas  $\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\varsigma$  is the Megarian orthography (Megara 3016, Selinus 3045 A 5, Chalkadon 3053<sub>1</sub>, Salymbria 3068). Bechtel, C. D. I. 3016, conjectures that the change between the weak vowels  $\upsilon$  and  $\iota$  ensues when  $F$  originally preceded the strong vowel ( $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\tau\mu\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\mu\acute{\eta}$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\theta\omega$ ). But cf.  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\iota\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$  from  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\nu$ , *R. M.* XXXV 358.

The interchange of  $\upsilon$  and  $\iota$  is at best but sporadic, *e.g.*  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ <sup>3</sup>,  $-\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ ;  $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\chi\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\kappa\nu\nu\theta\upsilon\kappa\acute{\omega}\iota$ ,  $\chi\omicron\iota\rho\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  Delos;  $\tau\iota\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\delta\alpha\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\upsilon}\nu\iota\alpha$  Lakonia,  $\iota\alpha\kappa\nu\nu\theta\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\varsigma$  Knidos,  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$  Lakonia.

On a supposed change of  $a$  to  $\upsilon$ , see above, § 132. An. Ox. I 442<sub>2</sub> cites as Chian  $\theta\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma = \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\eta\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omega\varsigma = \eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\nu\upsilon\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma = \nu\epsilon\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ . Cf. Lentz' Herodian I, p. xxv, 19. No such interrelation of  $\epsilon$  and  $\upsilon$  can be admitted.

### *The Long Vowels.*

#### 156.] $\hat{A}$ .

The three subdivisions of Ionic uniformly present H in place of that  $\hat{A}$  which is specifically Attic. No instances of the retention

<sup>1</sup>  $\mu\acute{\omicron}\lambda\nu\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$  Ionic-Attic, Eust. 1340<sub>29</sub>; cf. 841<sub>17</sub>, cf. Hdn. II 551.

<sup>2</sup> In Attic the *iota* held its ground in those forms which show no  $\upsilon$  in the endings.

<sup>3</sup> So Hdt., Attic inscriptions, C. I. A. II 54 A 24, Ditt. *Syll.* 70<sub>2</sub>, cf. 71<sub>19</sub>, &c., Delphic, *l. l.* 186<sub>6</sub>, &c., Boiot., C. D. I. 485<sub>7</sub>, Aitol. C. D. I. 1410<sub>9</sub>.  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  Hdt., Attic, C. I. A. I 449<sub>7</sub>, Delphic, Ditt. 206<sub>4</sub>, Boiot., C. D. I. 502<sub>9</sub>; cf. Hom.  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ . The interrelation of the words has not been cleared up despite Kretschmer (*K. Z.* XXXI 429 ff.), whose  $\sqrt{k\acute{s}u}$  does not exist.



in Ionic of I. E.  $\bar{a}$  are found. Wheresoever  $\bar{a}$  occurs, it is the result of literary tendencies or of special laws operating within the dialect. The following categories of Ionic  $\bar{a}$  may be noticed :

1.  $\bar{a}s < \bar{a}vs$  as in  $\pi\bar{a}\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\tau\bar{a}s$  : § 161.
2.  $\bar{a}v$ ,  $\bar{a}p$ ,  $\bar{a}k < \bar{a}vf$ ,  $\bar{a}pf$ ,  $\bar{a}kf$  as in  $\phi\theta\bar{a}v\omega$ ,  $\bar{a}p\eta$ ,  $\phi\bar{a}p\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  : § 162.
3. By influence of analogous forms ( $\mu\bar{a}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$  :  $\mu\bar{a}\lambda\alpha$ ) : § 163.
4.  $\bar{a}\lambda < \bar{a}\lambda\iota$  when the accent does not fall upon the  $\bar{a}$  : § 164.
5.  $\bar{a}$  from  $ai$  before  $a$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$  : § 208.
6.  $\bar{a}$  by contraction of  $a + a$  ( $\theta\bar{a}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $a + \text{spur. } \epsilon\iota$  ( $\nu\iota\kappa\bar{a}\nu$ ),  $a + \epsilon$  ( $\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\iota\mu\bar{a}\tau\epsilon$ ),  $a + \eta$  ( $\Delta\alpha\nu\bar{a}$ ). See under Contraction.
7. By crasis of  $a + a$  ( $\tau\bar{a}\lambda\lambda\alpha$  § 261); by crasis of  $a + \epsilon$  ( $\tau\bar{a}\mu\bar{a}$  § 272, 4).

Some instances of Ionic  $\bar{a}$ , which still baffle investigators, do not militate against the overwhelming mass of testimony making for the conclusion that Ionic  $\eta$  has been substituted for every I. E.  $\bar{a}$  transmitted to the dialects.

Names in 'Ονησ- do not disprove an Ionic-Attic 'Οναῖσιων C. I. G. 2386 Paros, &c.

In some cases a slight correction of the traditional reading shows that the assumption of Ionic  $\bar{a}$  is baseless. Thus in Hipponax 13, Bergk reads  $\bar{a}\gamma\epsilon\bar{\iota}$  *accursed*, where  $\acute{a}\gamma\epsilon\bar{\iota}$  or, better,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\bar{\iota}$  will remove the apparent difficulty. Cf. § 532. Both  $\acute{a}\gamma\eta\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\gamma\eta\varsigma$  contain the weak ablaut form of Skt. *āgas*.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\bar{a}\gamma\eta\varsigma$  in Parmenides has a different root.

On  $\bar{a}$  in Homer, see AIOIC § 18.

A variation between  $\bar{a}$  and  $\eta$  in the same word, as in Arch.  $\bar{a}p\alpha$ , Herodas  $\eta p\alpha$ , is due to the different origin of the forms in question, cf. on  $\eta + \alpha$ .

157.] The dialect of Styra, it has been alleged, offers instances of an original Hellenic  $\bar{A}$ , due to the influence of the speech of Boiotia<sup>1</sup>. While names of Ionians may assume, it is true, a form inconsistent with the laws of Ionic, this happens solely when a special reason exists. Compare for example the names of the children of Kimon, where political preferences have dictated a nomenclature alien to Attic. So the Makedonians by their Πτολεμαῖος testify to the influence of the Homeric epos. In all other cases it must be denied that Ionic can admit a thoroughgoing contamination of its phonetics from the influence of a neighbouring speech-centre. The examples from the lead tablets are worthy of registration. Cf. Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 125, Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* p. 36, and above §§ 147, 2, 154.

Σκοπάνωρ 19<sub>306</sub>, to be read Σκόπανδρος.

<sup>1</sup> The view that the names in § 157 are instances of the retention of a primitive Ionic  $\bar{a}$ , parallel to Attic  $\bar{a}$ , and not yet changed to  $\eta$ , does not call for refutation. Kirchhoff's view that the  $\bar{a}$  of Γαρυφώνης (Rob. I 191 C) is Chalkidian Ionic is indefensible. See *Alph.*<sup>4</sup> 126.



-αντίδα[s] 19<sub>160</sub>, to be read Ἀντιᾶ[ρης].

Λυσαγόρας 19<sub>244</sub>, an uncertain reading.

Λαοκράτης 19<sub>391</sub>, to be read Λ(ε)ωκράτης, since E and A are not infrequently confused in the tablets.

Χαρίλαος 19<sub>424</sub>, to be read Χαρίλ(ε)ως, unless the man is a Dorian.

Λοχᾶγός 19<sub>126</sub> is based upon the Lakonian λοχᾶγός, which is in Attic, too, a loan form. Hdt. uses λοχηγέω(√ᾶγ).

Ἐσνέας 19<sub>191</sub> is no name at all; which may be said of Lenormant's Εἰνέας. In Roberts, I 189 F, upon a vase from a colony of Chalkis, we read Αἰνέης, and upon a Thasian inscription in the Louvre (35), Αἰνησίης. Bechtel, 12, has Αἰνεητῶν, from Ainea.

Δᾶμάρετος, cited by Karsten, p. 18, is in reality Δημάριτος, and is so read by Bechtel, 19<sub>180</sub>.

Ηγημονεύς 19<sub>200</sub> is read by Bechtel Ηγεμονεύς. This and Δαμάρετος are due to Lenormant.

158.] The retention of *ā* in Hdt. occurs in the names of non-Ionic personages and places which are of Doric source. So the Athenians retained Πριήνη, &c., § 73. Gramm. Meerm. (649): τὰ εἰς *ās* λήγοντα ὀνόματα, ἐὰν μὴ ᾧσι Δωρικά, εἰς *ῆς* τρέπονσιν (Ἴωνες). The following are instances of proper names with *ā* in Hdt.:—

Ἄγυς VI 65, the Spartan, the clip-name of Ἠγησίλεως, which occurs VII 204. It is noteworthy that Hdt. uses the Ionic form of the adj. Σπαρτιήτης.

Ἀέροπος VIII 137, an Argive, VIII 139, a Makedonian; but Ἠέροπος IX 26, a Tegeate.

Ἀκαρνάν I 62; Ἀκαρνανίη II 10.

Ἀπιδανός, the Thessalian river, VII 129; but Ἠπιδανός VII 196.

Ἀρίσβα I 151, a city in the Troad = Ἀρίσβη B 836. The proper form may, however, be Ἀρισβα: so Strabo, XIV 635. Eustathios distinguishes between two cities, Ἀρίσβη and Ἀρίσβα: Hdn. I 308<sub>15</sub> says that Hdt. used Ἀρίσβαν (ἰάζων).

Ἀριστέας VII 137, a Korinthian. Cf. Ἀριστέης IV 13, the Prokonnesian epic poet.

Γυγάδας (χρυσός) I 14. This apparently irregular form (Γύγης elsewhere) is explained by the statement of the historian: ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

Δυμανᾶται V 68, a Doric tribe.

Κράθις I 145, a river in Achaia and also a river near Sybaris, V 45.

Names in -λαος. Μενέλαος of a λιμήν IV 169, and Μενελάου VII 169; Ἀρχέλαοι V 68; Λαοδάμας, a Phokaian, IV 138, an Aiginetan, IV 152. Hdt., however, is not consistent in writing

Νικόλεως VII 134, and Νικόλας VII 137, though a Spartan is referred to. Furthermore, we have Λακρίνης, a Lakedaimonian, I 152; Λαφάνης, an Arkadian, VI 127; Λαδίκη, a woman of Kyrene, II 181.

Cf. the forms of λαός §§ 140, 160. A perfect dichotomy of the dialects as regards names in -λαος is clearly impossible, in view of the fact that even Attic citizens before the year 500 B.C. have names formed from this form of the word, the right to use Λεώς having been confined to the tribe *Leontis*. That -λαος was also in use among the Ionians is clear from its occurrence upon a Chian inscription, 177, -τόλαος l. 14 (Λεωσέβεο[s] in l. 3).

Ὀρνεᾶται VII 73.

Παρωρεᾶται IV 148, but VIII 73 Παρωρεῆται.

Προναίη I 92. Cf. also Προνηίη.

Τιθορέα VIII 32, a peak of Parnassos.

Ῥᾶται V 68, from Sikyon.

Φιλάονα VIII 11, though -αων generally becomes -εων in Hdt. Cf. Μαχάων in Homer = Μαχέων, Thasos (Louvre), 10<sub>11</sub>. Cf. Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος Thasos, 73. Hdt. has ὀπάων V 111.

Χαράδρα, in Phokis, VIII 33. So Stein, Bredow Χαράδρην. So also χαράδραν IX 102. Cf. § 128.

Χοιρεᾶται V 68, from Sikyon.

Besides these names we have several which show -ās in the nominative case preceded by a consonant (Ἀριάντας, Σίκας, Αὔρας, Δύρας) which are inflected -α, -α, -αν. Proper names in -εης and -ιης are the rule, with but few exceptions (Ἀριστέας VII 117).

Herodotos' treatment of the names of non-Ionic persons and places is tolerably elective. In a considerable number of instances where we might expect a thoroughgoing Dorization he surprises us by such Ionisms as:—

Λεωνίδης, Λεωβάτης, Λευτυχίδης (a form that occurs in Timokreon, 1). Μενέλεως he occasionally uses despite Μενελάου VII 169, Ληρισαῖος IX 1, whereas Homer has Λάρισα B 841, P 301. By a reverse process we have Ἀριστολαΐδew I 59, an Athenian.

Again, the island is called Θήρη, its founder, Θήρας. The leader of the colony never occurs in any writer in the form Θήρης. Ἀζήν VI 127, is the inhabitant of the Arkadian Ἀζανία; Ἐνίηres VII 132, &c., despite the frequent names in -ᾶνες; Τεγέη, Σικελίην, Σικανίην VII 170. Μηλίδα VII 198 (η also in the lyric parts of tragedy).

ναύκραροι V 71, is the Attic form, because the ναύκραροι were peculiar to Attika.

159.] Retention of ā in proper names occurring outside of Herodotos. In poetry, see on Ποσειδάων under the vowel E, § 140.



Upon an Halikarnassian inscription ἈλικαρναΤ[έω]ν 238<sub>2</sub>, and in 240<sub>23</sub> we read Ἰάσονος: Ἀετίωνος Iasos, 104<sub>16</sub>, Ποιᾷσσίων Keos, 47<sub>2</sub>, Ποιᾷσσαν 47<sub>11</sub>. Cf. Ποιήσσιοι Ditt. *Syll.* 63<sub>82</sub>, time of the second maritime league; Δημαινέτης Amorg. 29, but Εὐθύδαμος Klazom. Le Bas, *Voy. Archéol.* III 1, No. 186. Naῖς Roberts, I 190, II F, Χώρα 190, I K, Γαρυφώνης 191, on Chalkidian vases. See *K. Z.* XXIX 390.

The usage of Attic prose inscriptions may here be noted. In the fifth century we find both the epichoric and the Attic names of tributary states (*Hermes*, V 52). In the fourth century the tendency to permit the adoption of the epichoric name seems to be stronger.

160.]  $\hat{A} < \bar{a}F$ .

$\lambda\bar{a}\acute{o}s < * \lambda\bar{a}F\acute{o}s$  (cf. § 140, 4).

Homer has  $\lambda\bar{a}\acute{o}s$ <sup>1</sup>,  $\lambda\bar{a}\acute{o}σσός$ , and in proper names,  $\Lambda\bar{a}\acute{o}\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , &c.;  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$  in Ἀγέλεως and perhaps Πηνέλεως<sup>2</sup>; and  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$ , incorrectly transcribed in  $\Lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron>s$  ( $\Lambda\eta\acute{o}\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron>s$ ) and  $\Lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\delta\eta>s$  ( $\Lambda\eta\acute{o}\delta\eta>s < \lambda\bar{a}Fo + Fa\delta\eta>s$ ). Of these, the first form has found an echo in Ionic poetry: Archil.  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\epsilon$  79 (paroemiacus and ithyphallicus). The reading is not perfectly certain, Ailian having  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\nu$ . Cf.  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\eta>s$ , a Thasian name, Bechtel's *Thas. Inschr.* p. 8. Ἰόλαος 119<sub>3</sub> (a hymn of uncertain metrical reconstruction)<sup>3</sup>; Kallinos,  $\lambda\alpha\hat{\omega}$  118; Tyrt.  $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\nu$  111<sub>13</sub>,  $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma$  12<sub>24</sub>; Xenoph.  $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\iota\sigma\iota$  21<sub>5</sub>; Theog.  $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\iota$  53, 776,  $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\phi\theta\acute{o}\rho\omicron\nu$  781. These forms are not Ionic<sup>4</sup>. Genuine Ionic is  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$ , the oldest Ionic form of the word known to us, preserved in Hipponax 88, and in Hdt.  $\lambda\acute{\eta}\iota\tau\omicron\nu$  VII 197 ( $\lambda\acute{\eta}\iota\tau\omicron\nu$  καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήϊον οἱ Ἀχαιοί)<sup>5</sup>. Cf.  $\lambda\acute{\eta}\iota\tau\omicron>s$  in

<sup>1</sup> It is clear that any explanation of the  $\bar{a}$  of Homer must not lose sight of the history of the words in question. Thus  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$  has been claimed to be Archaic Ionic, retained because it had passed out of use in the later language. This explanation, even if true, would not suit in the case of  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$ . The presence of the morphologically later  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$  in passages of Homer, which even Bergk cannot attribute to his diascuasts, shows that the change of pan-Hellenic  $\bar{a}$  to Ionic  $\eta$  must have ensued centuries previous to the final composition of the Homeric poems. A feature of minor importance is that  $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}s$  may have been felt to be more easily disposable in the verse than  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$ .

<sup>2</sup> See *K. Z.* XXVII 266, Monro, *Hom. Gr.* 390.

<sup>3</sup> Fick proposed Ἰόληος. We find however Ἰόλαος, *Acharn.* 867; Eurip. uses both Ἰόλαος and Ἰόλεως. Ἰόλαος on a vase (Klein, *Vasen*,<sup>2</sup> 206, 1), which shows mixed dialect (Ἰόλαος Μανία by the side of Μεγάλη Ἀλκμήνη). Cf. *K. Z.* CXIX 400.

<sup>4</sup> This is not disputed by the Chian, -τολαος 177<sub>14</sub>, as has been shown, 140, 4: cf. Μερέλαος Smyrna, *Imh.-Bl. G. M.* 344; Ἀγησίλαος Perinthos, 234B5;  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha>s$  Miletos, *Imh.-Bl. G. M.* 329. Pherekydes 34 has Ἀρκεσιλάου. Κριτόλαος in a late document from Amorgos (*Mitth.* IX 102, No. 6, l. 10), Νικόλαον, *ibid.* p. 83, l. 11 recall the many names in -λαος and -λας, names of Doric residents of Attika. Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 290 in fact contends that  $\lambda\bar{a}\acute{o}s$  is an importation from Doric in exchange for  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{o}s$  which migrated from Ionic-Attic into Doric countries. It is noteworthy that  $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}s$  does not occur in the ambles of Archilochos.

<sup>5</sup> Et. Mag. 562<sub>53</sub>.



Homer, XIII 91, and Pott, *K. Z.* VII 324. With ληός, cf. νηός in Hdt. (§ 170) and παίηονα Archil. 76.

This ληός became λεώς in later Ionic; in Miletos, at least, shortly after the year 600 B.C. (*Ἀναξίλεως* Becht. No. 93); λεώς is the form in Hdt., though we find ληός V 42 and even λαόν IV 148, which Stein refuses to accept. λαοφόρων is found I 187, despite λεωφόρον Anakr. 157, λεωσφέτερον IX 33 and the other forms in λεω-. The testimony is so strong on the side of λεώς that a fair view will not regard harshly the attempt to make Herodotos uniform in his adoption of this form. Renner, Dindorf and Nauck (*Mélanges gr.-rom.* III 268) claim that the Herodoteian form is ληός, cf. §§ 158, 170.

When *F* disappeared after *ǎ*, its disappearance was not signalized by the lengthening of the vowel (*ἄείναος* Hdt. I 93, 145, Herakl. III, cf. Attic *ναῶν* = Aiolic *ναύω*). Hence, when in Ionic *ā* appears, it is clear that we are dealing with a poetical form such as *ἄείσω* Theog. 4, cf. Od. 17, 519, and that such a prose form as *Ἀίδην* as commonly read in Hdt. II 122, has the *a* short. In Ionic poetry the short *a* appears in *Ἀίδαο* Theog. 244, 427, 906, *Ἀίδεω* 703, 726, 802, 1014, 1124, Solon 248, Anakr. 435; *Ἀίδην* Tyr. 1238 = Mimn. 214. *Ἄϊδος* Theog. 914, has *ā*. In but two iambic passages (Simon. Amorg. 114, 7117) do we find traces of *Ἀίδης*. Homer has *Ἄϊδος* (*Iliad* nine times, *Od.* four times), elsewhere *ǎ* (so *Ἀίδης* V 395, IX 158, &c.). Hesiod always has *ǎ*, and so the Homeric Hymns, except in one passage, IV 348, where *Ἄιδη* is read by Gemoll. Hdt. and Herakl. 127 (but cf. *ἄδην* 38) have *Ἀίδης* according to the MSS., though there is no evidence to support the correctness of the tradition in favour of the open form. In Aiolic and Doric the *a* is invariably short. So, too, in words derived from the same base. See § 275. *Ἀίδης* is rare in tragedy, e.g. Eurip. *El.* 142, *Suppl.* 921, *H. F.* 116, frag. 930.

It is widely held<sup>1</sup> that *Ἀίδης* is derived from *a + Fid-*, and that the passages in Homer where the *a* is long represent *av*, *F* having been vocalized. There is no objection to this explanation, so far as it goes. The difficulty lies in the Attic *Ἄιδης* (i.e. *ǎδης*), which cannot have arisen either from *ǎFid-* or *āFid-*. Since the Attic and Homeric forms cannot be dissociated, it is best to regard each as descended from *aiFid-* (cf. *κάω*, *ἄει*). This necessitates the abandonment of the old-time etymology whereby *Ἀίδης* is the *unseen* god. *aiFid-* may be connected with *aīa* or with *aiei*. See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 276. On this view *Ἄϊδος* is the older, *Ἄιδης* the younger, form; and the apparently isolated cases in Simonides Amorg. are brought into line.

<sup>1</sup> See for example Baunack in his *Studien*, I 294.

161.]  $\bar{a}s < \check{v}s$ .

$\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha < *\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\alpha$  may serve to illustrate the existence of that  $\bar{a}$  in Ionic-Attic which did not suffer the change to  $\eta$  at the time when  $\alpha\nu\tau\iota\alpha$  became  $\alpha\sigma\alpha$ . When there arose the tendency to substitute a lighter form for the disyllabic  $*\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\alpha$ , or to expel  $\nu$  before *sigma* (whether proethnic or from  $\tau\iota$ ), the law according to which  $\bar{a}$  became  $\eta$  in Ionic had ceased to exist, having extended its operations throughout the length and breadth of the dialect. A  $\pi\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha$  or  $\tau\acute{\eta}s$  for  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu s$ , was thus rendered impossible. So, too, with names in  $-\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\bar{a}s$ .

The  $\bar{a}$  of Ionic  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is due to the influence of  $\pi\acute{\alpha}s$ . According to Bekk. Anecd. I 416<sub>11</sub> = Bachm. An. I 111<sub>19</sub> [Drako 24<sub>18</sub>, 29<sub>22</sub>, 85<sub>13</sub>], An. Ox. III 290<sub>7</sub>, Eust. 1434<sub>1</sub>, the Ionians and the poets shortened the  $\alpha$  in  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu$ ,  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu$ .  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$  occurs in  $\pi\alpha\nu\eta\mu\alpha\rho$   $\nu$  31,  $\pi\alpha\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omicron s$  A 472 &c. See on Aiolic Accent.

It is noteworthy that Kallinos, I<sub>16</sub>, has  $\epsilon\mu\pi\bar{a}s$ <sup>1</sup>, whereas Homer has  $\epsilon\mu\pi\eta s$ ; forms not to be derived immediately from  $\pi\acute{\alpha}s$ , despite Boiotian (but *κοινή*)  $\epsilon\nu\pi\alpha\sigma\iota$ , adj., C. I. G. I 1625<sub>50</sub>.  $\epsilon\mu\pi\eta s$  does not occur except in the epic. Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* p. 225, connects  $-\pi\bar{a}-$  with  $\kappa\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  through  $\kappa\upsilon\bar{a}-$ , and thus regards  $\epsilon\mu\pi\bar{a}s$  either as a genitive or as a petrified instrumental with the *sigma* of ablative adverbs. This  $-\pi\bar{a}-$  does not seem to be associated with Kyprian  $\pi\alpha\iota$ . I know of no other case where *sigma* has attached itself to an instrumental.  $\epsilon\mu\pi\eta s$  in Homer should be reflected by  $\epsilon\mu\pi\eta s$  in Kallinos, as I am aware of no reason for expelling the Homeric form in favour of the Aiolo-Doric (or Attic)  $\epsilon\mu\pi\bar{a}s$ .

162.]  $\bar{a}\nu$ ,  $\bar{a}\rho$ ,  $\bar{a}\kappa < \alpha\nu F$ ,  $\alpha\rho F$ ,  $\alpha\kappa F$ .

1.  $\alpha\nu F$ , Ion.  $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  = Attic  $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ , according to the commonly accepted explanation of this form.  $\kappa\iota\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$  Archil. 54<sub>3</sub> (troch. tetr.).

2.  $\alpha\rho F$ , Homeric, Hdt.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\eta}$ , Hom.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , = Attic  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}$ , &c. from  $\acute{\alpha}\rho F\acute{\alpha}$ , Arkad.  $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\rho F\omicron\nu$ .

3.  $\alpha\kappa F$ ,  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa\omicron s$  Hipponax, 5<sub>2</sub>, 6, 7, 8<sub>2</sub>, 9, 37<sub>3</sub>, but  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa\omicron\nu$  43<sub>4</sub> (= Attic  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa\omicron\nu$ ). Ion.  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\bar{a}\kappa\omicron s$  =  $*\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\kappa F\omicron s$  =  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\kappa(\kappa)\omicron s$ . The assimilation of  $\kappa\upsilon$  to  $\kappa\kappa$  is later than that of  $\kappa\upsilon$  to  $\pi\pi$ . On the accent, see § 123. The  $\bar{a}$  has been thought to appear in Demosthenes XXV 80 (where see Blass) despite the fact that in Attic  $F$  usually disappeared without lengthening the preceding vowel.

163.]  $\hat{A}$  in the forms of the Comparative degree.

$\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ , for which one might expect  $*\mu\acute{\eta}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ , if the form with  $\lambda\lambda$  was formed before or during the period in which proethnic  $\hat{A}$

<sup>1</sup> The accentuation  $\epsilon\mu\pi\bar{a}s$  according to Et. M. 63<sub>21</sub> did not gain favour in antiquity;  $\epsilon\mu\pi\eta s$  Apoll. Adv. 564<sub>26</sub>.



became H in Ionic-Attic. The force of analogy has, however, substituted for the old comparative \*μέλλον (cf. *melius*) the form μάλλον, which arose at a period when  $\bar{a}$  no longer became  $\eta$  in Ionic-Attic. The proportions τάχα, τάχιστα : θάσσων and ἐλάχιστα : ἐλάσσων might have given us first μᾶλλον, then μάλλον for μῆλον. The difficulty, which is not recognized by King-Cookson, p. 364<sup>1</sup>, is that θάσσων and ἐλάσσων are themselves associative forms, whose priority to μάλλον is not made out on other grounds than the desirability of using them to account for μάλλον. In Tyr. 12<sub>6</sub>, μᾶλιον, restored by M. Schmidt, is hysterogeneous, due to the parallelism of ἥδιον : ἥδιστα ; so μᾶλιον : μᾶλιστα. Hdn.'s (II 548<sub>9</sub> = An. Ox. II 240<sub>2</sub>) statement that μάλιον is Ionic has been changed by Lentz, so as to make this form the property of the Lakonian dialect. From Choireoboskos we should imagine that the  $a$  is long. Harder, *De alpha vocali apud Homerum producta*, p. 104, would read μάλλον (*sic*) for μάλιον<sup>2</sup>. Cf. § 556.

θάσσων, Attic θάττων, with  $\bar{a}$  according to Herodian, I 524<sub>1</sub>, II 13<sub>13</sub>, 942<sub>17</sub>, from \*θάγχων for \*θέγχων with  $a$  through influence of τάχα, τάχιστος. The nasal before σσ disappears, leaving compensatory lengthening. Blass (Kühner, *Gram.* p. 555) raises the question whether θάσσων and ἐλάσσων are not the proper forms in Homeric, Ionic and Doric.

ἐλάσσων < \*ἐλάγχων for \*ἐλέγχων, cf. ἐλέγχιστος. Cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 156.

\*μέλιων, \*θέγχων, \*ἐλέγχων are displaced forms which existed at a period when I.E.  $\bar{a}$  was changed to Ionic  $\eta$ . Their displacement by the  $\bar{a}$  forms was therefore subsequent to the production of Ionic  $\eta$ .

164.]  $\bar{a}\lambda < a\lambda_i$ .

$k\bar{a}\lambda\acute{o}s < *καλῖος$  = Skt. *kalya-* would become καλός in all dialects, since  $\lambda_i$ , when preceded by the accent, becomes λλ (κάλλιον, κάλλιστος, τὸ κάλλος), when followed by it, λ (Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 47 note)<sup>3</sup>. In Homer we find  $k\bar{a}\lambda\acute{o}s$  without exception, a form that cannot in the epic be regarded as Doric, though so regarded by King-Cookson, p. 184. In Hesiod  $k\bar{a}\lambda\acute{o}s$  prevails; in Theog. 585, *W. D.* 63,  $k\bar{a}\lambda\acute{o}s$ . In the lyric poets we find  $k\bar{a}\lambda\acute{o}s$  in the following passages<sup>4</sup>: Kallinos, 2<sub>2</sub>; Tyrtaios, 47, 10<sub>1</sub>, 10<sub>30</sub>\*; Mimnermos, 53, 11<sub>4</sub>; Archilochos, 21<sub>3</sub>, 29<sub>2</sub>, 77<sub>1</sub>; Simon. Amorg. 75<sub>1</sub>, 78<sub>7</sub>; Theognis, 16, 242, 257\*, 609, 683, 1019, 1047, 1106, 1216, 1251, 1329, 1336, 1350\*, 1369\* *bis*, 1377; Solon, 13<sub>24</sub>, 1340\*; Phokyl. 13<sub>2</sub>; Anakreon, 22, 63<sub>10</sub>, 71; Oracle in Hdt. I

<sup>1</sup> Following Osthoff, *Perfectum*, 450.

<sup>2</sup> The schol. AV II. VIII 353, brings forward a μάλλιον, which Eustathios 164<sub>332</sub> calls Doric.

<sup>3</sup> Attic  $k\bar{a}\lambda\eta$  tumor, is Ionic  $k\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta$ .

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Harder, *De alpha vocali*, p. 22 ff.



66\*; cf. also Sim. Keos, 147<sub>4</sub>. On the other hand *κᾶλός* appears as follows: Mimn. 1<sub>6</sub>; Solon, 13<sub>21</sub>; Theog. 17 *bis*, 282, 652, 696, 960, 994, 1259, 1280, 1282; Ananios, 5<sub>2</sub>; Sim. Am. 7<sub>67</sub>(?); Sim. Keos, 147<sub>4</sub>, 156<sub>1</sub>. In Herodas we find *κᾶλός* 3<sub>18</sub>, 4<sub>58</sub>, 7<sub>24</sub>, 11<sub>5</sub>, *κᾶλός* 4<sub>20</sub>, 3<sub>9</sub>, 6<sub>21</sub>. Passages marked with a \* have the *a* in the arsis.

If we question the Greek dialects<sup>1</sup> other than Attic, we learn that *κᾶλός* is the prevailing form: Terpander, 6<sub>2</sub>; Alkman, 3<sub>5</sub>; Sappho, 1<sub>9</sub>, 3, 11<sub>2</sub>, 14<sub>1</sub>, 19<sub>3</sub>, 28, 58, 79, 101<sub>1, 2</sub>, 104; Praxilla, 5<sub>1</sub>. Alkman has *κᾶλλα* = *καλῶς* 98, Alkaios, *κᾶλιον* 134, Sappho, *κᾶλιστ'* 104<sub>2</sub>, if Bergk's conjecture be admitted. In the 'universal melic' of Simonides of Keos we have *κᾶλός* 5<sub>7</sub>, 37<sub>12</sub>, 40<sub>3</sub>, 70, in Bacchylides, 1<sub>1</sub>, 25. In the Attic drama we find both forms, *κᾶλός* being the rarer form. The lyric poets have *κᾶλός*: Ion, 1<sub>15</sub>; Kritias, 1<sub>14</sub>, 2<sub>19</sub>; and in the Skolia, 19<sub>1, 2</sub>, 20<sub>1, 2</sub>. Plato (?) has *κᾶλός* 8; Aischrion, 1, 4<sub>2</sub>, the same form. *κᾶλός* occurs upon an epigram from Delos, 53.

Those who demur to the form *κᾶλός* in Homer have recourse to the easy expedient of regarding this form as an incorrect transcription of ΚΑΛΟΣ, which they would read *καλλός*. But surely we have no right to assume with G. Meyer (*Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 65) that wherever *κᾶλός* is found in the Ionic iambic and elegiac poets it is an incorrect form.

### 165.] Â in other words.

*φᾶρος* in Pherekydes of Leros, Herodotos, and in Homer, if *φᾶρος* is not to be read with Nauck. So, too, in Xenophanes, 3<sub>3</sub>. In Attic both *ā* and *ǣ*. Cf. Hdn. π. μ. λ. 39, 31, Bergk on Alkman 23<sub>61</sub>. Harder, *De alpha vocali*, p. 92 ff., suggests that the word is non-Hellenic.

*καρᾶδοκέω* in Hdt., who, however, has *τρικάρηνος*, Hom. *κάρηνα* from *καρᾶσν*-; *κάρᾶ* < *καρᾶσα*. Another form of the root yields *κρη* in *κρησφύγετον* Hdt. V 124<sup>2</sup>.

*γᾶσσα* (or *γλάσσα*?) = *γλῶσσα*, nine times in Herodas.

On *Ζανός*, see § 182.

*ἔᾶσα* Hom. Hdt. I 90, from *ἐάω* = Skt. *sāvāyati*, Lat. *desivare*. *ἔᾶω* is originally an aorist formation, pres. *σένω*, aor. *σεῖν* (σῑῖν). *ἔᾶσεις* Anakr. 56, *ἔασον* 57, fragments of doubtful metrical reconstruction.

*ἰθαγένης* Hdt. II 17 (Greg. Kor. § 161) = epic *ἰθαγένης*, a loca-

<sup>1</sup> See Apoll. *περὶ ἐπιρρ.* 565<sub>13</sub>: *Καλά . . ὃ δι' ἐνδὸς μὲν λ γράφεται κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος, παρὰ Δωριεῦσι δὲ δι' ἑτέρου λ, καὶ οὐχ, ὥς ἐνιοὶ ὑπέλαβον, κατ' Αἰολίδα διάλεκτον ἐβαρύνετο γὰρ ἄν, πρὸς οἷς οὐδὲ τὸ καλὸς Αἰολεῖς ἐν διπλασιασμῷ τοῦ λ προφέρονται.* Doric *καλλά* is due to the influence of τὸ κάλλος, &c., Aiolie *κάλιον* (Alk. 134) to that of *κάλος*.

<sup>2</sup> Ionic *κάρη*, Hesych. s. v. *κᾶρα*, An. Par. IV 26<sub>6</sub>, Zenod. *κρητός* A 530 (schol. Ven. A οὐκ ἔστι δὲ Ἰακόν); see Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 372.

tive (Curt. *Stud.* VI 384). Rutherford, *New Phrynicus*, p. 15, classes the *ἰθαγένης* of Aischylos among the old Ionisms of the Attic dialect. See § 75.

*ἀνάλωμα* Thasos, 72<sub>11</sub>, *ἀνάλωσιν* Theog. 903. Cf. *ἀνήλωμα* C. I. G. 2347 c 61, 3137<sub>58</sub> = Ditt. *Syll.* 171<sub>58</sub> (Smyrna), which owes its *η* to verbal influence. Even the perfect indic. and the participle have a loan *η*.

*ἄρω* from *αἶρω*, subj. of *ἦρα*, in *ἐπάρει* Eph. 145 A<sub>2</sub>, *ἄρειεν* Sim. Am. 7<sub>60</sub>, *ἐπάρas* Eph. 145 A<sub>9</sub>, cf. Hdt. I 90. See § 305. Different are *καθάρασθαι* Delos, *B. C. H.* V 468 (third cent.), *καθάραι* *ibid.* V 23, l. 185, 24, l. 194 (second cent.) from *ἐκάθαρα* which is a neologism for *ἐκάθηρα*. Cf. Rutherford, *Phrynicus*, p. 76.

Due to metrical compulsion is the *ā* in *ἄθανάτων* Kall. 11<sub>3</sub>, Tyrt. 12<sub>32</sub>, Sol. 4<sub>2</sub>, 13<sub>64</sub>, 74, Theog. very often. *παῖδ' Ἄρεω* Archil. 48<sup>1</sup>, probably with *ā*; cf. also Tyrt. 11<sub>7</sub>. The lyric poets have *ā*, except Bacchyl. 36<sub>2</sub>. Another poetical form is:—

*ἀνήρ* Xenoph. 6<sub>4</sub>, Phokyl. 15<sub>2</sub>, Demod. 3, Solon, 13<sub>39</sub> (?). Elsewhere *ā*. No form in *η* (cf. *ἡνωρέη* with *η* from *-ηνωρ*) is found. *ἄνωρέαν* C. I. A. I 471, in an old Attic epigram.

On *lāas* in Hom., cf. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 94.

*χαμάθεν* is rejected by Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, p. 116, in favour of *χαμαῖθεν* or *χαμᾶθεν*<sup>2</sup>. The MSS. do not have *χαμάθεν*, II 125, where *χαμάθεν* is found beside *χαμόθεν*; and in IV 172 we have no authority for Stein's *χαμᾶθεν*.

The MSS. often mix Ionic *η* with Attic *ā* after a fashion that gives a false conception of the original dialect preferences of the poets, *e.g.* in Archil. *γραῦς*, in Ananios *ἀνθίας*.

*ἀπεροπός* in Anakr. 73 (Bergk) should be *ἦπ-*. *σκύτα* Arch. 122 cannot be correct.

Names in *-ās* (Conson. Decl.) are not contracted from *-eas*, but represent, originally at least, the lengthening of the short final *a* of the first member of a compound name, *e.g.* *Ἀλκās* from *Ἀλκαμένης*; or the lengthening of the initial *ā* of the second member, *e.g.* *Μολπās* (*Μολπᾶδος* 163<sub>10</sub>, Abdera) from *Μολπ-ἄρης*, Abdera, 163<sub>8</sub>, and the name of a son of Aristagores in Miletos (Hdt. V 30). Later on these forms were created *ad libitum*. See Bechtel on No. 76, p. 60. Ionic and Attic are here parallel: cf. *Ἀλκās* C. I. A. I 433, which cannot have originated from *Ἀλκέας*; Ionic *Μολπās*, *Νοσσικᾶς*, *Ἡρās*, *Θευδᾶς*, &c. See § 281.

## 166.] H. Preliminary Remarks.

*η* in Ionic may be (1) the pan-Hellenic long *e* sound, (2) the equivalent of *ā* of all other dialects, including Attic *ā* after vowels and *ρ*, (3) dialectal arising from compensatory lengthening of *ā*, as in *σελήνη* < \*σελασνᾶ, *τρήρων* < \*τράσρων. Attic and Ionic here agree.

<sup>1</sup> Eustath. 518<sub>22</sub> ὅθεν κατ' ἰάδα διάλεκτον ἐπεκτείνας Ἀρχίλοχος.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Apoll. Adv. 600<sub>5</sub>, Eust. 999<sub>22</sub>, and Osthoff's *Perfect*, p. 597.

*Pronunciation of η.* In the alphabet of Keos, Naxos, and Amorgos, Ionic-Attic  $\eta = \bar{a}$  of Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, North-West-Greek, Arkado-Kyprian, Doric, or  $= \epsilon + a$ , is represented by  $\Theta$  or  $H$  (later); pan-Hellenic  $\eta$  by  $E$ . From this it is clear that the difference in graphical representation reflects a qualitative difference in pronunciation,  $\eta = \bar{a}$  or  $\epsilon + a$  being the open  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\eta =$  I.E.  $\bar{e}$  the closed long vowel. The dialectal  $\eta$  was a broader, more guttural sound than the aboriginal  $\eta$ . This difference doubtless once obtained in all quarters of Ionic.

The existing examples, however, restrict it to Island Ionic (§ 400):

*Keos.*  
 $\theta\nu H$  Rob. I 32 A.

*Amorgos.*  
 $\Delta\Theta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\nu(\tau)\iota$  Kirch. Alph.<sup>4</sup> 32.  
 $\mu\nu H\mu\alpha$  Rob. I 158 D.

*Naxos.*  
 $\Delta\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\Theta\omicron$  Roberts I 25.  
 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\Theta\omicron\nu$  Roberts I 25.  
 $\Nu\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\Theta$  Roberts I 25.  
 $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\Theta\beta\acute{o}\lambda\omega\iota$  Roberts I 25 and I 26 A; cf. also Delos, 24 A.  
[F] $\iota$ [φ $\iota$ ]καρτ $\acute{\iota}$ δ $\Theta$ s B. C. H. XII 463, pl. 13.

*Keos.*  
 $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\beta\lambda\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota$  Rob. I 32 A.

*Amorgos*<sup>1</sup>.  
 $\Pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$  Kirch. Alph.<sup>4</sup> 32.

*Naxos.*  
 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$  B. C. H. XII, p. 463, pl. 13.  
 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$  Rob. I 25, 26 A.  
 $\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\gamma\nu\epsilon\tau\Theta$  Rob. I 25.  
 $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  B. C. H. XII, p. 463, pl. 13.

This accurate distinction<sup>2</sup> is, however, not carried throughout the entire history of the dialect; and in fact, before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet at Athens, we find instances of a confusion between the two E sounds. Thus in Naxos  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}H\sigma\epsilon\nu$  Rob. I 28; in Keos, Rob. I 32 A, l. 17, we have  $\delta\iota\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\theta H\iota$ , l. 23  $\theta\alpha\nu H\iota$ , where we should expect the closed  $\bar{e}$  sound to be represented by  $E$ , not  $H$ <sup>3</sup>. So also in Amorgos  $\Sigma\omega\tau H\rho\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$  Bechtel 229. Cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XV 229, Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, p. 24 ff., Roberts, I § 33, and on 32 A, with the authorities there quoted, Karsten, p. 23, Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 291.

A knowledge of the character of the  $\eta$  sound in Ionic is important, since Merzdorf in Curtius' *Studien*, IX 202 ff., has endeavoured to establish the principle that open  $\bar{e} < \bar{a} + o$  becomes  $\epsilon\omega$  ( $\lambda\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ), whereas closed  $\bar{e}$  ( $=$  I.E.  $\bar{e}$ ) +  $o$  becomes  $\epsilon\omicron$  ( $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ ). Opposed to this doctrine is the Chian  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  (Bechtel 174 A, 13), a form that must be held to be genuine

<sup>1</sup> In Amorgos  $E$  also denoted the sound connected with that  $\eta$  which was specifically Ionic ( $\Delta\alpha\mu\psi\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\epsilon\omega$ , gen. of  $-\gamma\acute{o}\rho\eta\varsigma$ ).

<sup>2</sup> In Keos  $E$  was = pan-Hellenic  $\eta$  and also spurious  $\epsilon\iota$ .

<sup>3</sup> A similar confusion between  $E$  and  $H$  is found on a vase in the Louvre, whose provenance is Keos according to Kretschmer.



Ionic. See § 486. Ἄρεω in Archil. 48, is as cogent an objection to the law of Merzdorf as is πόλεως. And ἡφο from pro-Hellenic *āvo* does not become εω in later Ionic with consistency; as witness Ionic πλέος, χρέος and Hdt. νηός beside λεώς. Cf. Brugmann, *Gr.* § 19.

Cauer in his otherwise excellent preface to the *Iliad* (p. xvii) attempted without success to show that, in his text of Homer, Aristarchos wrote *η* before *ο*, *ω*, *α*, when the *η* = *ā*, and *ει* when = pan-Hellenic *ē*. Cf. § 221.

167.] **Pan-Hellenic *η* appears invariably as *η* in Ionic.** The form *χρᾶσθαι*<sup>1</sup> in Herodotos, and even in Attic (*Mitth.* IX 289, l. 24), is no exception to this law. That the root of this verb is *χρη-* (\**χρηιομαι*) is raised beyond a doubt by the forms of the Kretan, Aitolian, Lokrian and Megarian dialects. In Hrd. 6<sub>55</sub>, we have ἐχρηῆτο. A weaker form of *χρη-* is *χρᾶ-* (cf. *κτη-*, *κτᾶ-ομαι*), and it is this that appears in the Herodoteian *χρᾶσθαι* (§ 272, 3), and perhaps in Attic *χρῶμαι*, *χρώμενος*, and Messenian *χρῶνται*, *χρωμένους*. \**χρᾶιομαι* is thus the base of this form. A second form of *χρη-* is *χρε-*, found in *χρέομαι* (Hdt., Herakleia, Rhodes, Krete, Delphi, &c.). A fourth form is *χρηέομαι*, in Boiot. *χρειεῖσθῃ*, Megarian (Chalkadon) *χρηεῖσθω*, and Eleian *χρηῆσται*, from *χρηῆς* = Attic *χρεώς*. Cf. Ahrens, II 131; Meister, I 70, 226, 297; Brugmann, *M. U.* I 64; Merzdorf, in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 203, 209 ff., IX 230, 236; G. Meyer, § 51; Johansson, *D. I. C.* 155 ff., *B. B.* XV 171, Collitz, *B. B.* XVIII 208. Cf. §§ 264, 2; 272, 3; 288, 3; 687.

*κηρύλος* Archil. 141 (cf. Alkm. 26<sub>2</sub>); *κειρύλος* *Aves* 300, is a pun on the occupation of Sporgilos.

Attention may here be called to that *η* which is produced by the lengthening of *ε*, the initial vowel of a word which stands second in a compound. This initial vowel may or may not be lengthened in the same dialect upon composition taking place. Cf. ἀννρήθευτος Chios 174 C 25, with ἀνερήθευτος (Homeric ἐριθος); also Ξενήρετος Keos 42, not from ἀρετή despite the later Ξενάρετος C. I. G. IV 8518, 108, 109 (Rhodes). Bechtel derives -ηρετος from ἐρέω (cf. Archil. 25, 68). But see Wackernagel's *Dehnungsgesetz*, p. 41, and cf. Νικηράτων Styra 19<sub>268</sub>. Ξεινήρης *B. P. W.*, 1890, p. 1405, no. 44.

168.] **Relation of *η* to *ει*.** The non-diphthongal *Ei* is generally expressed by *E* upon Ionic inscriptions (see § 213). Ionic *η* = (1) pan-Hellenic *η* and (2) *ā* of other dialects, stands in no relation to this non-diphthongal *ει* in Ionic; nor is any change of *η* to diphthongal *ει* to be admitted. The form *Κτεισίωv* Styra 19<sub>139</sub>,

<sup>1</sup> Anecd. Bachm. I 417<sub>19</sub>; *χρᾶ* Ἰωνικῶς, Ἀττικὸν δὲ *χρη* Schol. Ven. A on A 216; Hdn. II 606<sub>29</sub> *χρη* . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ *χρῶ* *χρᾶς* (Hdt. IV 155), *χρᾶ* (Hdt. IV 155 &c.) Ἰωνικῶς καὶ Ἀττικῶς.

was asserted by me (*Diphthong* EI, p. 80) to be an impossible form. The same is now held to be the case by Bechtel, *ad loc.*<sup>1</sup> Vischer in 19<sub>104</sub> read Θείσων, which he held to be the 'Boioto-Aiolic' form for Θήσων. This is incorrect as regards the presence of a Boiotian form upon the Styrian leaden tablets. Nor can it be justified on other grounds. Bechtel suggests 'Αλ]θήσων; cf. 'Αλθημένης, a Thasiote name. γλυκήαν Hrd. 4<sub>2</sub> is not Ionic, cf. 5<sub>53</sub>, 6<sub>53</sub>.

On H resulting from contraction, see §§ 263-265, 280.

**169.] Ionic H=Â of other dialects.** I.E. *ā* is represented in Ionic regularly by η=Aiolic and Doric *ā*. A few noteworthy forms are here mentioned.

παμπήδην Theog. 615, with which cf. Solon's πεπάσθαι (137). Wilamowitz (*Herakl.* 1426) opines that the Athenians borrowed πάσμαι from the Megarians (Theog. 146 πᾶσάμενος) and Dorians. This verb is not in use in Ionic, which has accepted κτάσμαι. Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 411; Collitz, *B. B.* XVIII 211. On Πολυπάμων in Homer, cf. Fick, *Odyss.* p. 17; Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* 70; G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 65; Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 150. A Thessalian has the name Παμε[ν]ός, from \*πάμαι. A Kyprian name is Πασίκυπρος.

ῥήκη Archil. tr. 43, is the only instance in Greek of the long vowel of this root. Cf. Skt. *āçus*, Lat. *ācer*. The weak form occurs in ἀκόννη, ἄκων, &c.

ῥέρος, ῥέρι in Hdt. with the pseudo-Ionic nominative ῥήρ in Hippokr. II 22, 24, 34, 60, 70<sup>2</sup>, Aretaios 260; ῥέρος Hippokr. Lukian, Hippokr. *ep.*, Aret.; ῥέρι Hippokr. Aret.; ῥέρα Hippokr. II 26, 34, 72, Aret., Hdt. I 172, IV 31; ῥερίων Luk., *de Astr.* 23. The Homeric ᾗρ has been regarded as equivalent to αῦρ=ᾗρ (cf. Dor. ἀβήρ and Aiolic αῦρη). ᾗδος, which has been cited as offering a parallel case of the vocalization of *af*, must be classed elsewhere on account of the Attic ᾗδης; see § 160; so, too, αἰσσω cannot be explained as=αῦσσω (Fick), since an ᾗσίσσω would have become αἴττω<sup>3</sup>. ᾗρ in Attic is not a form in accordance with the genius of that dialect. If the *ā* is original we shall have to seek for a root *aif*, or for a strong root with *ā*, whose weak form appears in Aiolic αῦρη (AIOLIC, § 214). The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Κτησίων 19<sub>58-60</sub>, 234-236, 386, Κτήσιμος 19<sub>57</sub>, Κτήσις 19<sub>122</sub>, Κτηρίνος 19<sub>138</sub>, Κτηρίνος 19<sub>232-236</sub>. The *ā* of κτάσμαι is ablaut of κτη-. Boiot. Κτεισίαιο C. D. I. 483=Κτησίον.

<sup>2</sup> Noteworthy is ῥήρ in the genuine work of Hippokrates π. ἀέρων ὑδ. τόπ., but ᾗρ in the spurious περὶ ἱερῆς νούσου (Littre, VI 372, 374, 390 twice; on p. 394 ῥήρ is a conjecture of Littre). In VI 94, v. l. VI 524 we find ᾗρ, in VIII 268 θ has ῥήρ (*vulg.* ᾗρ).

<sup>3</sup> αἰσσω, Attic αἴττω<φαίφικω. Cf. *ā* as representative of *aif* in δᾗρ=δαιρήρ, Skt. devār-, and in ᾗεί=aifei.



assumption of a ground-form  $\tilde{a}f\eta\rho$  would necessitate the hazardous conclusion that a native Attic  $\tilde{a}\eta\rho$  arose by dissimilation from  $\eta\eta\rho$ . Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 276, without advancing an etymology of the puzzling word, ventures the assertion that it is an importation from Homer by the philosophers (*e.g.* Herakl. 25, Anaxag. 1, Meliss. 17) and the poets. At all events it is clear that  $\tilde{a}f$  = Aiolic  $av$  cannot be reflected by Attic  $\tilde{a}$ ; in other words, the supposition that  $f$  upon its disappearance lengthens a preceding vowel must be abandoned as an error. It is not long since scholars have learned that the loss of the palatal spirant  $yod$  is not compensated by the lengthening of a preceding vowel. The momentary appearance of  $\tilde{a}f$  as  $\tilde{a}v$  ( $\tilde{a}$ ) under the ictus in Homer cannot cause  $\tilde{a}$  to be regarded as long in prose. Homeric verse does not shape the form of words for the dialects, which live their own life. We must distinguish between words that have been adopted into literature from Homer in the Homeric form as the result of conscious art, and the phonetics of the dialects which are free from such external influence.

$\eta\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\eta\rho\iota$ , 'early,' are from  $\tilde{a}v\sigma\epsilon\rho\iota$ -.  $\tilde{a}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ , 'breakfast,' Hom. Hdt. <  $\tilde{a}v\sigma\epsilon\rho$ -. These words must be separated from  $\tilde{a}\eta\rho$ , etc. Cf. Collitz, *B. B.* X 62, Brugmann in *Curt. Stud.* IX 392, and *Grundr.* II § 122. Is it possible that the  $\eta$  of  $\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  &c. was introduced through confusion with  $\eta\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\eta\rho\iota$ ?

$\eta\rho\alpha$ , stated to be Ionic for  $\tilde{a}\rho\alpha$  by Gram. Vat. p. 699, and found in Hippokr., is also Doric and Aiolic; <  $\tilde{\eta}$  +  $\tilde{a}\rho\alpha$ , § 282. Cf. *Apoll. Conj.* 227<sub>21</sub> Schn.

170.] H =  $\tilde{A}$  of Doric, E of Attic and of later Ionic by *metathesis quantitatis*.

In the Hipponaktian  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$  we have the oldest Ionic stage of pre-Hellenic  $*\lambda\tilde{a}f\omicron\varsigma$  which can be recognized upon Greek soil.  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$  is found in all MSS. but  $r$ , Hdt. V 42. Were it not for  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  I 22, II 129, VIII 136,  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$  might claim admission to the text of the historian with the same justice as  $\nu\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$ . See §§ 140, 4, 160.

$\nu\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$  <  $*\nu\tilde{a}f\omicron\varsigma$ , in Hdt. and in Lukian, as in Archil. 4<sub>1</sub> (eleg.), with the retention of  $\eta$ , whereas, according to Merzdorf's 'law' the form should not have  $\eta$ . Editors of Hdt. write  $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  despite the fact that  $\nu\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$  is found almost without a variant.  $\nu\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$  occurs not infrequently in tragedy where its presence has been attacked by most editors. In order to avoid the inconsistency arising from the fact that Old Ionic  $\lambda\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$  = Hdt.  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , but Old Ionic  $\nu\eta\acute{o}\varsigma$  = Hdt.  $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  (which is claimed to be the New Ionic form) not  $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , the -os of  $\nu\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  has most improbably been regarded by Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 19, as due to the influence of that of  $\pi\omicron\delta$ - $\acute{o}\varsigma$ . The Doric genitive is  $\nu\tilde{a}\acute{o}\varsigma$ . Theognis has  $\nu\tilde{a}\tilde{u}\varsigma$  84, 856, 1361, in 970  $\tilde{A}$  has  $\nu\eta\tilde{u}\varsigma$ , though Bergk reads  $\nu\tilde{a}\tilde{u}\varsigma$ ;  $\nu\tilde{a}\tilde{u}\nu$  680<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> Renner regarded this form as a Dorism, but wished to substitute  $\nu\eta\tilde{u}\varsigma$  for  $\nu\tilde{a}\tilde{u}\varsigma$ .



$\nu\eta\acute{o}s$  513,  $\nu\eta\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}$  12; Solon  $\nu\eta\acute{\iota}$  193,  $\nu\eta\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$  1344; Mimn.  $\nu\eta\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$  92. The forms in  $\eta$  deserve mention in this connection, because of the superstition that  $\nu\eta\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}$  and  $\nu\alpha\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}$  are identical as regards quantity. The  $a$  of  $\nu\alpha\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}$  is short. Cf.  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}s < -\eta\acute{\upsilon}s$ ,  $\text{Ze}\acute{\upsilon}s < \text{Z}\eta\acute{\upsilon}s$ , &c. In Ionic  $\nu\eta\acute{\upsilon}s$  the  $\eta$  is due to  $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$ ;  $\nu\eta\acute{\iota}$  instead of  $\nu\eta$  is due likewise to the influence of the genitive.

171.] Ionic H =  $\hat{A}$  of other dialects (including Attic  $\hat{A}$  after E, I,  $\Upsilon$ , P).

1. In the endings of the Vowel Declension, and in adverbs representing petrified cases of this declension.

2. In verbal forms of the  $-a\omega$  inflection, and in forms derived therefrom.

3. In radical and thematic syllables (excluding such as may be classed under 1 and 2).

4. In syllables of derivation.

5. In other forms.

$\epsilon\eta$  = Attic  $\epsilon\bar{a}$  is derived from  $\epsilon(\iota)\eta = \epsilon(\iota)\bar{a}$ . Cf. Attic  $\delta\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha} < \delta\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\bar{a}$ , which prevails till 268 B.C.

References for the study of the interrelation of Ionic  $\eta$  and Attic  $\bar{a}$  :—

Ahrens, *Göttinger Philol. Versammlung*, 1852; Bergk, *Gr. Lit. Gesch.* I 73; Kirchhoff, *Hermes*, V 49 ff.; Cauer, in Curtius' *Stud.* VIII 244, 435, and *Wochenschrift für kl. Phil.* 1887, No. 51; Curtius, in his *Studien*, I 248; G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* XXIII; Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 10, *Grundr.* I § 104; Bechtel, *Phil. Anzeiger*, 1886, p. 20; Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 285.

**Preliminary Remarks.**—The dichotomy of the Greek language into  $\hat{A}$  and H dialects assumes that at an extremely early period  $\bar{a}$  had become  $\eta$  in Ionic. But it may be doubted whether this shifting of pronunciation, though anterior to the disappearance of  $\nu$  before final  $s^1$ , was in all quarters of the Ionic world so old as is generally assumed to be the case. We are able to distinguish in the alphabets of Naxos, Keos and Amorgos between the sign for pan-Hellenic  $\eta$  (E) and that for secondary  $\eta = \bar{a}$  (H); a differentiation which makes it certain that the introduction of  $\eta$  for  $\bar{a}$  in Ionic did not happen at the stroke of twelve but was the result of a gradual change. That this change was accomplished in Attika before the departure eastward of the Ionians is not so probable as that it was begun while yet the Ionians dwelt in Attika and completed in the course of time upon the islands and the mainland of Asia Minor. Had all

<sup>1</sup>  $\eta$  from  $\bar{a}$  is later than the disappearance of  $\sigma$  in  $\bar{a}\nu\sigma\omega s$  (§ 290). The law whereby an  $\bar{a}\nu\sigma$ - would become  $\bar{a}\nu\sigma$ - is later than the expulsion of the sibilant.

$\bar{a}$ 's become  $\eta$ 's when the Ionians reached Ionia, Old-Persian *Māda* would have been represented in Ionic by *Mādoi*, not, as is the case, by *Mḥdoi*. Be this as it may, it is clear that the universal displacement of I.E.  $\bar{a}$  by  $\eta$ <sup>1</sup> antedates the earliest distinctly Ionic literature of which we have cognizance. It is futile to maintain that Ionic Homerids substituted the  $\eta$  which had come into vogue in their day for an Ionic  $\bar{a}$  of a still older period of the epos. A much-vexed question is whether in Attic  $\bar{a}$  is original after  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\rho$ , or whether the Ionic  $\eta$  was also Attic at some period of the Attic dialect, and later became  $\bar{a}$ . Certain scholars have ventured to compare the instances of Eleian  $\bar{a}$  = pan-Hellenic  $\eta$ , despite the fact that the cases are not parallel. And the actual appearance of a 'hyper-Doric'  $\bar{a}$  in one dialect is not proof that an Ionic-Attic  $\eta$  became  $\bar{a}$  in Attic.

Even if Attic  $\bar{a}$  after  $\epsilon$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\rho$  is later than  $\eta$ , it is scarcely to be expected that the older  $\eta$  should be sporadically attested, and improbable that Attic  $\bar{a}$  should have been substituted for pan-Hellenic  $\eta$ . The best support for the view that originally all instances of I.E.  $\bar{a}$  became  $\eta$  in Attic is to be sought in the fact  $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\epsilon(\sigma)a$  became  $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\hat{a}$ <sup>2</sup>,  $\sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}(\sigma)a$ ,  $\sigma\alpha\phi\hat{\eta}$ . According to Kretschmer (*K. Z.* XXXI 289) Attic  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\bar{a}$  and  $-\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\bar{a}$  (in *Ἀναξιλέα*) from  $\theta\acute{\alpha}F\bar{a}$  (in the dialect of Tarentum) and  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}F\bar{a}$ , can be explained solely on the view that in Attic all cases of primary  $\bar{a}$  became  $\eta$ . The same scholar adduces Eleian *Ῥάργον*, *ἐλευθάρος* and Lokrian *πατάρα* in proof of the ability of  $\rho$  to change an open  $\epsilon$  sound into  $a$ . These are, however, instances not directly comparable to the case in point. But whatever the date of the change of  $\eta$  to  $\bar{a}$ , it happened long enough before the period of our earliest Attic monuments to preclude the possibility of the survival in them of any of the old  $\eta$ 's.

For a further discussion of the interrelation of Attic  $\bar{a}$  and Ionic  $\eta$ , see above §§ 61, 72 ff.

### 172.] Ending of the Vowel Declension (stems in $\bar{a}$ )<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There is no basis for an Ionic  $\hat{a}\tau\omicron\phi$  (*Et. Gud.* 250<sub>56</sub>).

<sup>2</sup>  $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\hat{\eta}$  in inscriptions of the fourth century is an analogue of  $\sigma\alpha\phi\hat{\eta}$ .

<sup>3</sup> Masc. in  $-\eta\varsigma$ :  $\Sigma\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. 1, Gram. Meerm. 649, Birnb. 677<sub>4</sub>, Vat. 695 (with itacistic  $-\epsilon\eta\varsigma$ ),  $\text{Ἑρμεί}\eta\varsigma$  Joh. Gr. 239 B ( $-\epsilon\eta\varsigma$ ), Greg. Kor. 1, Meerm. 649, Vat. 695, Birnb. 677<sub>4</sub>. Fem. in  $-\eta$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\eta$  Joh. Gr. 241,  $\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\eta$  Eust. 543<sub>4</sub>,  $\tau\rho\acute{o}\tau\eta$  An. Ox. I 408<sub>2</sub> cf. 407<sub>32</sub> and 387<sub>32</sub>,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$  Theogn. II 177<sub>6</sub>,  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Schol. Γ 206,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$  An. Ox. IV 419<sub>27</sub>, Apoll. Conj. 227<sub>27</sub> Schneider,  $\text{Μηδεί}\eta\varsigma$  Hdn. II 751<sub>32</sub> = Choir. 324<sub>5</sub>,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$  Aug. 668, Vat. 699,  $\acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  Leid. 628 ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  Hdn. II 16<sub>34</sub> = 357<sub>35</sub>, An. Ox. III 296<sub>21</sub> Drako 79<sub>3</sub>,  $\Sigma\delta\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\eta\theta\epsilon\nu$  Hdn. II 349<sub>3</sub> = An. Ox. I 387<sub>31</sub>). Fem. in  $-\epsilon\eta$ :  $\kappa\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  An. Ox. I 239<sub>31</sub>,  $\nu\eta\pi\acute{\iota}\eta$  Hdn. II 353<sub>1</sub> = An. Ox. I 289<sub>17</sub>, An. Par. III 69<sub>19</sub>,  $\zeta\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  Et. Gud. 227<sub>45</sub>,  $\text{Ἑκτορέ}\eta$  Apoll. Conj. 233<sub>9</sub> Sehn. Fem. in  $-\omega\eta$ :  $\tau\rho\omega\acute{\eta}$  An. Ox. I 407<sub>12</sub>. Fem. in  $-\rho\eta$ :  $\text{Ἥρ}\eta$  Joh. Gr. 240, 241, Greg. Kor. 10, Aug. 668, Meerm. 650, Vat. 693, 696;  $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\eta$  Joh. Gr. 240, 241, Meerm. 650, Vat. 696,  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta$  Joh. Gr. 235, 240, Leid. 628, An. Ox. I 387<sub>32</sub>;



1. *Masculines* in *-εης, -ιης*, are retained upon all early Ionic inscriptions. 'Εσνέας and Λυσαγόρας, forms assumed to exist upon the lead tablets of Styra (19<sup>191</sup> and 244) have been shown, § 157. to lack foundation. Cf. 19<sup>56</sup>, 19<sup>173</sup> in Bechtel, Αλνέης in Rob. I 189 F, 'Αντίης Rob. I 190, No. I, E. Πυθαγόρας occurs Samos 215 = Roberts, I 156, in an artist's signature to an Ionic epigram. Since the giver of the εἰκόν was an Epizephyrian Lokrian, Pythagorês may have adopted for his name a form in harmony with the dialect of the dedicator Euthymos<sup>1</sup>. The dialect of Rhegion was mixed Doric and Ionic (Thuk. VI 5). Whatever be the true explanation of this form, it deserves notice that this is the earliest example of *-αγόρας* upon an Ionic inscription. In Rob. I 157, we read [Πυ]θαγόρ[as], restored on the lines of 156. A coin of Samos (400-350) gives the true Ionic form Πυθαγόρης, Bechtel, 226 I. On Πυθαγόρης, from Salymbria, see Bechtel on No. 261.

*-ias* appears in Thasos at the end of the third century (Κριτίας 82 A 7); 'Ηγέας in Keos, 44 B 4; 'Ελπέας *ibid.* 44 B 16, an early document perhaps of the fifth century; 'Αρισταγόρας Thasos, 82 A 5 (225-200). See § 415.

2. In *feminine* nouns the termination *-ιη* appears sporadically till after Christ in the inscriptional monuments of the Ionic dialect (cf. below, § 173). The ingression of the Attic forms in the *Â* declension dates from the middle of the fourth century B.C. Κλευπάτρα Delos 55, III 34 (cf. VII 27) dates from the third century B.C.; ἀρᾱι Teos, 158<sup>26</sup>, Δημητρία Chios, 192, ὑγείας Olbia, 129<sup>14</sup>, are all inscriptions of late date. Upon an archaic vase (Roberts, I 190) we find Χώρα, whose *ā* perhaps makes for Attic provenance (see Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 398).

Δωροφεία Roberts, I 29, upon a stone in Naxos, is certainly not an Ionian woman, not only on account of the *ā*, but also on account of the *φ* for *θ*, which is not a substitution known elsewhere as Ionic (*φ* = *θ* in Aiolic, Boiotian, Epeirotic, Thessalian).

Ἥρας Samos, 220<sup>36</sup>, and 221<sup>37</sup> (about 350), whereas in 226 we find Ἥρης. The *η* form is retained upon inscriptions till a late period, though doubtless no longer spoken. Cf. § 430. The

ἀρούρη, γεφύρη An. Par. IV 118<sup>12</sup>, ἀγορή Apoll. Adv. p. 191<sup>21</sup> Schn.; γοργύρη Eust. 1688<sup>53</sup>, ἡμέρη Diog. Laert. VII 56; ἡμετέρη Leid. 628; ἰθύρη Theog. II 79<sup>17</sup>; Ἰρή An. Ox. IV 412<sup>12</sup>, Choir. 515<sup>23</sup>; Ἐφύρη An. Ox. I 159<sup>13</sup> (also in Thukyd. II 117<sup>8</sup> called Attic, as also Κύρη; ληϊβοτείρη An. Ox. I 263<sup>22</sup>; πάτηρη Tzetz. Ex. II. 85<sup>12</sup>; χήρη Eust. 589<sup>18</sup>, 1093<sup>47</sup>; ὤρη Vat. 696; Ἀσκηρ, Ὀλύκηρ, Ἀντισάρη Hdn. II 348<sup>26</sup> = Arkad. 113<sup>18</sup>, cf. An. Ox. IV 412<sup>9</sup>, and Choir. 515<sup>6</sup> ff., who has also Κάτηρ, Ἄγηρ, Κύρη, Τερψιχόρη. Even in μοίρη An. Ox. I 275<sup>6</sup>, σπείρη Meerm. 650, Vat. 696, σφαίρη An. Par. IV 118<sup>12</sup>, Στείρη Joh. Gr. 240 B, cf.

<sup>419</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dedicators generally have the dedicatory inscription engraved in their native alphabet; but cf. Roberts, I 230, *bis*, for an exception.



conservative style of the inscriptions has retained Πυθαγόρης on coins of the empire (P. Gardner, *Num. Chron.* 1882, 280).

On -ā in the poets, see below, § 187 ff. The occurrences of ā in proper names in Hdt., where η might have been expected, have been enumerated under Â (§ 158).

**173.] Note on the chronology of η after ε, ι, and ρ in Ionic inscriptions.**

It is to be noted that upon inscriptions as late as the third century after Christ, Ionic η held its ground sporadically; *e.g.* Keos, 52 Ἰουλιητῶν (in Attic even in the fourth century B. C.); Paros, 66 Εἰλειθυίη; Istros, 135 Ἰστρίη (as late as Gordianus Pius); Priene, Πριηνέων, on a coin in Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, 296, No. 127 (time of Hadrian), Head, *H. N.* 508. Coins of Olbia retain -ιη till the period of Caracalla and Alexander Severus<sup>1</sup>. ΙΗΤΩΝ occurs on coins of Ios from Trajan to Faustina Jun. and Lucilla, Head, *H. N.* 414. A unique form is Ἄ[π]ατούρηι Latysch. II 28.

The inscriptions before 350 B.C. generally have the Ionic η.

This retention of η, the inflection of adjectives of material in -εος, &c., and the inflection of the *Iota* declension (gen. -ιος), are the last heirlooms of the Ionic dialect that were displaced by the Attic κοινή.

**174.]** In the following paragraphs we will attempt to discover to what extent the Ionic dialect has preserved the long vowel of the suffix -ιη (-iā), which in Attic and occasionally in Ionic has been displaced by -ιᾶ. An immediate connection, temporal or local, between Ionic and Attic cannot be shown on the ground of this tendency, which obtains in both dialects. Thus, the usual Attic form is ἀλήθεια, a form younger than the 'Old-Attic' ἀληθειᾶ and the Ionic (Homeric) ἀληθείη, since it is the result of a transferring of an abstract noun with the suffix -iā into the category of the adjectival flexion, which had -iā as original feminine ending<sup>2</sup>. The feminine adjective was formed from a consonantal stem by the addition of the suffix -ιᾶ (Skt. -ī) as in ἡδεῖα *svādvi*, ἀλήθεια. Feminine nouns from the same stems added, not -ιᾶ,

<sup>1</sup> Ionic forms occasionally appear in the MSS. of the New and of the Old Testament. That σπείρης existed in the archetypal MS., is evident from Acts XXI 31 (general reading), XXVII 1 (every uncial and many cursives). In Acts X 1, σπείρης is not so well supported (ACEL, -as in BP); μαχαίρης Luke XXI 24 (B<sup>1</sup>Δ), μαχαίρη Luke XXII 49 (B<sup>1</sup>DLT<sup>s</sup>); πλημυρίας Luke VI 48 (B<sup>1</sup>L<sup>2</sup>Es 33), Σαπφείρη Acts V 1 (Tischendorf. -ρα BD), συνειδυίας Acts V 2 (AB Es, -as DP); ἐπιβεβηκυίας 1 Sam. XXV 20, κυνομυίας Exod. VIII 21, 24, (but -μυιαν) read by Tischend. In Acts XXVII 30 πρόρης in N<sup>e</sup>l<sup>c</sup>A 13 d; in XXVII 41, is the *v. l.* πρώτη for πρόρη?

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 45 call ἀληθείη a later-form than that in -ειᾶ. Joh. Gr. 235 merely cites ὠφελείη.

but *-iā* as in *ἀληθείᾱ*. Perhaps the presence of the latter form caused the fem. adj. *ἀλήθεια* to die out. At any rate the confusion between *-iā* and *-iā* in abstract nouns may be dated from the period of the disappearance of the fem. adj. of *ἀληθής*. Cf. also *-ηη* and *-εια* from *-ην* stems, *-ηη* being the substantival, *-iā* the adjectival, ending<sup>1</sup>.

The question of the interrelation of *-ειη*, *-ηη*, *-ηη* is touched on, §§ 145, 215, 232 ff. On Attic *-εια* and *-ια*, see Schanz' *Plato* II 2, p. vii ff., Moiris, 199<sub>15</sub>.

### 175.] Abstract feminines in *-ειη* in Ionic.

See Choirob. Bekk. Anecd. III 13<sub>14</sub>, Hdn. II 454<sub>20</sub>, Fritsch, *Zum Vokalismus des herod. Dial.* p. 19, Bredow, 127, 188. Figures without authors refer to Hdt.

*ἀδείη* IX 42, but *ἄδειαν* II 121 (ζ), in all MSS. *ἀληθείη*, not *ἀληθηή*, in Hdt.; *ἀληθείη* occurs in Euseb. Mynd. 19, 21, Luk. Astr. 1, Hipp. ep. 10<sub>6</sub>, 12<sub>4</sub>, 17<sub>57</sub>, Mimnermos 8, Iliad, Ψ 361, Ω 407, and often in the Odyssey. Cf. Gram. Aug. 668, Vat. 699. *ἀναιδείη* VI 129, VII 210, &c., Archil. 78<sub>5</sub> (Athen. *-είην*, or *-ειαν*); Theog. 291, 648 (*Ο-ίη*); Hipp. ep. 17<sub>42</sub>. Cf. Choirob. 655<sub>24</sub>, An. Ox. IV 419<sub>27</sub>, Apoll. *Conj.* 227<sub>27</sub> Schn. *ἀτελείη* I 54, III 67, IX 73; *ἀτε[λ]είην* Kyzikos, 108 B 3. This form has been attributed by Karsten (*De titulorum Ionic. dialecto*, p. 18), to that species of Ionic which he calls Karian<sup>2</sup>. No other example of *ἀτελείη* occurs upon Ionic inscriptions, though it is the regular Ionic form and that which has been supplanted upon other inscriptions by the Attic *ἀτέλεια*, Eryth. 199<sub>6</sub> (394 B.C. one of the earliest cases of the ingression of Atticisms<sup>3</sup>), 202<sub>9</sub> (350 B.C.); Zeleia, 114 (334 B.C.); Ephesos, 147<sub>13</sub> (300 B.C.); Iasos, 105<sub>9</sub> (end of fourth century); Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292 (early Hellenistic period). *ἀτρεκείη* IV 152, Hipp. ep. 16<sub>8</sub>, 17<sub>56</sub>. *ἐπιπειθείη* Sim. Amorg. 16. *εὐηθείη* III 140; in VII 16 γ, R has *εὐηθείας*, not adopted by the editors. *εὐμαρείη* IV 113; Greg. Korinth. § 119, *εὐμαρέην δὲ τὴν ἀπόπατον*. Suidas has both *εὐμαρέη* and *εὐμάρεια*. *εὐπετείη* V 20, Demokr. 134. *εὐτελείη* II 92, &c. *κακοηθείη* Demokr. *Mor.* 22 (Stob.). *μεγαλοπρεπείη* III 125. *πολυμαθείη* was the reading of Diog. Laert. in Herakl. 16 (Byw. *-ηη*). Cobet's *πολυμαθηή* is wide of the mark. *πολυτελείη* II 87. *πρεσβυγενείη* VI 51. *προμηθείη* is correctly handed down in Xenoph. 12<sub>4</sub>. Hdt. has *προμηθείη* I 88, III 36 (*CPd*, *-είη*). A schol., quoted by Bredow, p. 188, says *τῆς νεωτέρας Ἰάδος ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν τὴν προμήθειαν προμηθίαν*. *σιτοδείη* I 22, 94. *ξυμπαθείη* Aret. 153. *ύγιείη* II 77, Demokr. *Mor.* 46,

<sup>1</sup> Ionic and Attic *Εὔβοια* is older than *Εὐβοίᾱ*, Hesiod, *W. D.* 651. Cf. *εἰδυῖαν*.

<sup>2</sup> On *βησιλέως*, a supposed example of 'Karian' Ionic, see § 11.

<sup>3</sup> *προεδρίην* in the same inscription.



Hippokr. II 14, 26, 32, 634 Litt. (*vulgo* ὑγείην), ep. 2<sub>5</sub>, 10<sub>9</sub>, 17<sub>2</sub>, (*vulgo*, -εἰαν in χ), 26<sub>...</sub> ὑγείη Hippokr. II 244 Litt. (ὑγίην 2165, 2276, &c.), II 282 Litt. (ὑγιείην 2253, &c., ὑγίην 2276). Midway between ὑγιείη and ὑγείη stands the itacistic ὑγίῃ in Herodas 4<sub>86</sub>, a form not yet contracted into ὑγίη (cf. Ὑγία C. I. A. III 183<sub>2</sub>). The gen. is ὑγίης Hrd. 4<sub>20</sub>, 91; the nom. Ὑγία 4<sub>5</sub> may be retained at the cost of the omission of τε. The evidence of inscriptions is against the primitive character of the form ὑγείᾱ (Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 181), though it appears as early as Eubulos III 248, Philemon IV 22 (l. 11)—in both passages rejected by Meineke. Whether Ὑγεία Paros 67 (cf. Olbia, 129<sub>14</sub>, also a late inscription) is ὑγείᾱ for Ionic ὑγείη, or ὑγείᾱ < ὑγεία is uncertain, but both forms are clearly itacistic. On ὑγείᾱ for ὑγεία, see Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, p. 60, who compares late Boiotian Θεισπέων for Θεισπιείων, C. D. I. 816. ὑγεία is a conjecture in Herakl. 104 (ὑγείαν *vulgo*), and often occurs as a *v. l.* in Hippokr. ὑπωρείη II 158 *R*, ὑπώρεα IV 23, for ὑπώρεια from ὄρος, Hipponax ὀρείας 35<sub>5</sub>, Hdt. ὀρεινός. φιλομαθείη Euseb. Mynd. 1. φρενοβλαβείη Luk. *Syr.* 18.

#### 176.] Forms in -εἰᾱ < -εσια.

In the following cases there is good MS. evidence for -εἰα, which must however be regarded as an Attic intruder. ἄδειαν, Hdt. II 121 (ζ) in all MSS. ἀκράτεια Hippokr. V 620 (166). ἀλήθεια Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>14</sub>, 57, where Hercher adopts the form with η as in all the other cases cited below from this pseudo-Ionic source. ἀμέλεια Hippokr. II 60 (Litt. ὀμιλήν). ἀνδρογένεια Hippokr. ep. 27<sub>23</sub>. ἀσθένεια Hippokr. III 224 *vulgo* (Lit. -είην), Aret. 321. ἀσφάλεια Hippokr. II 140, 244 (Lit. -είην), 634 (Lit. -ίην), III 234 (Lit. -είην). ἐγκράτεια Euseb. Mynd. 26. ἐμμέλειαν in all MSS. except *l*, Hdt. VI 129; Stein and Holder read -εἰην. ἐπιμέλειαν in all MSS., Hdt. VI 105; Hippokr. ep. 27<sub>55</sub>. εὐγένεια occurs in Dem. 127, a fragment otherwise in Ionic form in Stob.; cf. Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>12</sub>. εὐλάβεια Hippokr. ep. 27<sub>23</sub>. εὐμενίη II 45, is written by Holder against the authority of the MSS., which have -εἰα or -εα. ἡδυνάθεια Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>53</sub>. Ἡρακλείη Hdt. V 43 (-κλειαν *ABCd*). κακοπάθεια Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>42</sub>. περιφανείη Stein, -εἰα, Holder with all MSS. In II 55, both Stein and Holder write Προμένεια, the name of a Dodonian priestess. ξυγγένεια Hippokr. ep. 26<sub>3</sub>. ξυμπάθεια Hippokr. ep. 13<sub>2</sub>. ξυνάφεια Aret. 147, 334.

πανώλεα and ἐξώλεα, Bechtel, 263, found in Lykia, belong to the same class as ὑπώρε(ι)α, but it is not certain that these forms are not Attic.

#### 177.] Feminines in -είη or -εἰᾱ derived from -ην- stems.

ιρείη in Hdt. V 72; ιέρειαι II 53 ABC, II 55 *id.*, the reading



adopted by Holder. *ἰέρεια* is Homeric (Z 300) and original, is found upon a Keian inscription of the fourth century (No. 48), and is the *κοινή* form. Contracted form *ἰερῇ* < *ἰερέῃ*<sup>1</sup> or *ἰέρεια*, Pantikap. 123<sub>1</sub>, Ephesos, 150 (late). Cf. *βασίλη, πρέσβη* Hdn. I 275<sub>3</sub>, 322<sub>21</sub>. If *ἰέρεια* is correct, as we should expect, we have in Hdt. the older and the younger form co-existing. *ἰερέα* is attested by Hdn. I 531<sub>2</sub>, II 708<sub>19</sub>, Moiris 191 as Attic, and occurs in *Bacch.* 1114. *ἰερε(ι)ᾶ*, too, is Attic (Meisterhans,<sup>2</sup> p. 32). See § 300.

*βασίλεια* appears in numerous passages in Hdt. without a variant, and is the Homeric and original form. The *v. l.* *βασιληῖς* I 211, in *R* is an hyper-Ionism.

On the nom. *ᾶ* = *η*, see § 420.

### 178.] Feminines in -οιη, -υιη, -οιᾶ, -υιᾶ.

Hdt. usually has -οιη in fem. abstracts as *προνοίη, συννοίη, εὐνοίη, ὁμοχροίη, ἀπλοίη, παλλιρροίη*. The Attic -οιᾶ appears in *εὐνοίαν* III 36 (-οίην Stein), *διάνοια* II 169, *διάνοιαν* I 46, 90, II 162, IX 45. -υιη in *μητρυιή*; *Ωρειθυιή* is not certain in VII 189 (*ὠρειθύην* in *d*, *ὠρείθυιαν* in *R*). The Ionic prose form of Attic *ὄργυιᾶ* is not attested in the nominative. Homer has *ὄργυιᾶ* (as *μυῖα*), Hdt. only oblique cases, and so Nikand. *Ther.* 169 *ὄργυιῇ*, but Aratos, *Phain.* 196 *ὄργυιήν*. See under *Accent*, § 119.

### 179.] Proper names in -αιᾶ, -αιη; -ειᾶ, -ειη; -οιᾶ, -οιη.

*Νίσαια, Ἰστιάια* in Hom., but *Ἰστιαίη* in Hdt. VIII 23-25, a variation that recurs in the case of *Φώκαια* Hymn Apoll. 35, Hdt. I 142, 152, II 106, 178, VI 17, but *Φωκαίη* I 80, 164, 165; *Μηδείην* I 2. For a full list of these names, see Bredow, 129 ff.

180.] Adverbs representing petrified case-forms of the *Ā* declension have throughout the Ionic *η*, *e.g.* *λίην* Hippon. 20, Anakr. 93 (cf. Greg. Korinth. § 58), *λάβρη, πέρην* (Arrian 3, cf. Hdn. I 508<sub>4</sub>), *πέρηθε, πρωίην* Hdn. I 490<sub>6</sub>, Theogn. II 154<sub>34</sub>.

181.] In verbal forms of the -*aw* inflection, and in derived forms.

*καταρήσασθαι, πειρήσομαι* (cf. Theog. 126) *θείσασθαι*, *Ἄδρηστος*, Tyr. 12<sub>8</sub>, in Hdt. and on a vase, Roberts, I 194. *Ἄδραστος* Smyrna, 153<sub>17</sub>, an inscription of Attic inclinations. Cf. also *ἡγόρασεν* Eryth. 206 B 48, C 44, *Νικασίωνος* Thasos (Louv.), 20 C 9. *Πολυάρητος* Thasos, 72<sub>3</sub>, *Ἀρήτη* Hippon. 14, but *Ἄρατος* Eryth. 206 B 44; *ἀρητήρ* An. Ox. I 21<sub>10</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Kallim. Epigr. 41 has *Ἰερέη*, Schn. *Ἰρείη*.

Of all the supposed cases of Ionic  $\eta$  in the modern Pontic dialect, only two ( $\piέρνησον$  and  $\alpha\piέρνηστον = \piέρασον$  and  $\alpha\piέραστον$ ) are regarded as genuine survivals by Hatzidakis, *Neugr. Gramm.* p. 163.

182.] Words containing H=I. E.  $\hat{A}$  in radical and thematic syllables. A few examples of each class will suffice.

The admission of 'hyper-dialectal'  $\bar{a}$  into an Ionic word is out of the question. The Hipponaktian (2)  $\piανδάλητος$ , if connected with  $\deltaηλέομαι$ , must yield to some one of the various conjectures made to bring sense into the fragment. This  $\bar{a}$  is out of place save in Theokr., by whose time the hyper-Doric  $\bar{a}$  may have gained a footing. Cf.  $\zetaάδηλον$  Alkaios, 187.  $\text{Ζανός}$ ,  $\text{Ζανί}$  Bergk, *P. L. G.* III 710 (82) cannot be vernacular Ionic.  $\text{Ζήs}$  was used by Pherekydes (Eust. 1387<sub>28</sub>), not  $\text{Ζάς}$  as Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI 741 reports. Cf. Collitz, *B. B.* X 51.

$\eta$  = extra-Ionic  $\bar{a}$ , after  $\rho$ .

$\gamma\rho\eta\upsilon\varsigma$ ; for which Bergk reads  $\gamma\rho\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$ , Archil. 31, though Schneide-  
win long ago corrected the MS. to  $\gamma\rho\eta\upsilon\varsigma$ . There is no warrant for supposing that the inflection of  $\gamma\rho\eta\upsilon\varsigma$  differed from that of  $\nu\eta\upsilon\varsigma$  in the nom.; and on Archil. 168 Bergk reads  $\gamma\rho\eta\upsilon\varsigma$ .  $\gamma\rho\eta\upsilon\varsigma$  should not be derived from  $\gamma\rho\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$  (Curtius, *Et.*<sup>5</sup>, 176, cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 375), but is probably an immovable feminine adjective like  $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$  in  $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\eta$ ,  $\eta\delta\upsilon\varsigma$  in  $\eta\delta\upsilon\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\mu\acute{\eta}$ ; and of this,  $\gamma\rho\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$  and  $\gamma\rho\alpha\iota\alpha$  are the movable feminine forms.  $\gamma\rho\alpha\iota\alpha$  appears to be a solitary example of a  $v$ -stem which has not taken on the  $-εια$  inflection.  $\gamma\rho\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$  is of Aiolic source.  $\gamma\rho\eta\upsilon\varsigma$  in Homer is scarcely an analogue to  $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\upsilon\varsigma$ , as Brugmann, *M. U.* III 25, suggests.

$\kappa\epsilon\kappa\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Hdt. III 106, against the authority of all the MSS., cf. Hippokr.  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\eta\mu\alpha\iota$ . The base  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha$  has the form  $\kappa\rho\bar{a}$  = Ionic  $\kappa\rho\eta$ .  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\eta\tau\omicron\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ,  $-\pi\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta$  Hdt.,  $\kappa\rho\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ <sup>1</sup> Anakr. 94<sub>1</sub>, cf. Eust. 1403<sub>3</sub>,  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  Hesych. Even Pollux, X 108, has  $\eta\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\rho\eta\text{-}\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , cf. Bechtel 103.

$\pi\iota\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\kappa\omega$  (cf. Kallimachos 85),  $\pi\rho\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon$  Eryth. 204<sub>6</sub>; Hdt.  $\pi\rho\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota$ . Solon, however, has  $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  4<sub>15</sub> eleg., 36<sub>7</sub> trim.

$\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\sigma\omega$ <sup>2</sup>:  $\text{Πρηξάσπης}$ ,  $\text{Πρηξίλεως}$ ,  $\text{Πρηξίνος}$  in Hdt.  $\text{Πρηξί-}\text{πολις}$  Thas. (L.), 8 B 6, 10<sub>4</sub>, 11 B 3, 13<sub>11</sub>, 21<sub>2</sub>.  $\text{Πρηξίλεως}$  Thas. (L.), 3 B 8, cf. Thasos, 75 A 7.  $\text{Πρηξ\acute{a}s}$  Eryth. 206 A 11.  $\text{Πρηξαγόρης}$  Thas. (L.), 10<sub>2</sub>, 6.  $\text{Πρηξ\acute{o}}$  Kyme, 20;  $\text{Πρηξίον}$  Delos, 57;  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\rho\eta\tau\acute{\tau}\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$ , 22<sub>6</sub> near Eretria with non-Ionic  $\tau\tau$ ;  $\text{Πρηξάντων}$  Teos, 158<sub>17</sub>, Chios, 174 A 15, 20;  $\text{Πρηχμα}$  Chios, 174 B 18, 174 C 7 (also Attic, C. I. A. III 3822). In Hdt. and other writers the Attic forms have crept into some MSS. Cf. I 8, V 12, VII 147 (Arrian, 9<sub>10</sub>, 43<sub>10</sub>), Protag. *ap.* Plut. *De Consol.* Theognis has  $\eta$  forms, 70, 80, 73, 1026, 1027, 553, 661, 953, 461, 1031, 1075, but the  $\bar{a}$  forms in  $A$  or in other MSS. 204, 659, 256, 644, 642, 1051. Some Ionic inscriptions, too, have admitted the

<sup>1</sup>  $\kappa\rho\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$  An. Ox. I 238<sub>18</sub>, Et. M. 538<sub>27</sub>, Et. Gud. 346<sub>14</sub>.

<sup>2</sup>  $\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\gamma\mu\alpha$  An. Ox. I 238<sub>19</sub>, Et. M. 538<sub>28</sub>, Et. Gud. 346<sub>15</sub>.



Attic forms, Mylasa, 248 A 10 (367-6 B.C.), 248 C 10 (355-4), Ephesos, 147<sub>18</sub>, about 300 B.C. In literature *πρη-* in all early monuments: Hdt., Dem. *Mor.* 20<sub>21</sub>, Herodas, V 3, &c.

*πρηῦς*, *πρηῦνεσθαι* in Hdt., Hippokr., *Πρηύλος*, name of a Thasiote, *Πρηῦχος* of a Styrian, 19<sub>347</sub> (cf. *Πρε-άνθης* Keos, 50, IV 65). *πρηέα* Luk. *Astr.* 29. *πρευμενής* in Attic poets is an Ionism.

*ρήδιός* (*ρήϊδιος* Apoll. *Adv.* 567 = Schn. 157<sub>4</sub>), *ρήστῶνη* in Hdt. and Luk. *Syr.* 20, *Astr.* 21, Hippokr. *ῥαθυμείτω* VI 648, 656, *ῥαστῶναι* III 438, *ῥάων* VIII 268 but very often *ρήϊδιος*, *ρήϊτερος*, (Aret. 332), *ρήίζω* VIII 38. Blass thinks the *a* is short in the forms (cf. also §§ 208, 274) which are not followed by two short syllables. Cf. Aiolic *βράδιος* = *φράδιος*, Theokr. XXX 27, *βραιδίως*. Osthoff, *Perfect.* 446 ff., explains *ῥάων* = *ῥᾱσίων* = Lat. *rārior* (\**vrāsos*). Cf. § 233.

*ρήχιν*, *flood-tide*, in Hdt., can have nothing to do with *ρήγνυμι* as *L.* & *S.* state, since the latter has pan-Hellenic *η*<sup>1</sup>. Connect rather *ῥάχis*, *spine*, Hdt. III 54. For the use of names of parts of the body to express natural objects, cf. *arm of the sea*, *shoulder of the mountain*, *πολυδεירὰς* \**Ολυμπος*, &c.

*τρηχύς*. The relation of *τῤᾶ* to *ταρα* in *ταραχή*, *τάραξις* is not perfectly clear, though it is probable that there is a correspondence of types, *κερα* : *κῤᾶ* : : *ταρα* : *τῤᾶ*. *τρηχέα* in Hdt. VII 33, is due to Abicht, the MSS. having the Attic form, which comes to light in Solon, 4<sub>35</sub>. The genuine Ionic form is found in Tyrtaios, 12<sub>22</sub>, Hipponax, 47<sub>2</sub>.

The pseudo-Ionists generally adopt the Ionic forms.

In some of the later portions of the Hippocratic corpus Attic *ā* is freely used, as in *κέκραγα*, *κεκράκτης* VI 388.

183.] *Νικήνορος* Thasos (L), 12 C 11, may serve as an example of *η* = *ā* lengthened from *ǎ* upon the formation of a compound word. See § 165, note, and § 167. On *Λοχᾶγός* in Styra, see above, § 157. *κρήνη* Ion.-Attic, from *κρανᾶ* (Thessal. *Κραννούν*), Doric *κράνᾶ*, perhaps from \**κῤᾶσνᾶ*. The Attic *η* is to be explained as that of *εἰρήνη* § 217.

184.] Ionic *η* = extra-Ionic *ā*, after vowels.

*Ἰήσων* in Hdt., but *Ἰάσων* Halik. 240<sub>23</sub>; *Ἰητῶν* Head, *H. N.* 414; TPIH *ibid.* 222.

*Ἰστρίη* Istros, 135; *ιητρός* Pantik. 119; cf. Luk. π. δ. ι. σ. § 16; often in late epigrams, and even in such as are otherwise Doric. Wagner, *Quaest. de epigr.* 27. *ιητήρ* C. I. It. et Sic., Add. 2310 A.

*νεηνίης* Hdt., *νεηνίσκος* Hippokr., *νεηνιέων* Protag., cf. *Νεή-*

<sup>1</sup> *νανηγή*, *shipwreck* = Attic *νανᾶγή* contains the lengthened form of *fāγ*, ablaut of *fāγ* (*κατεγήγοτα* in Hdt. and Hippokr.).



πολις, Bechtel, 41. The stem νεᾱ- varies with νεο-; Νεοπολιτέων 42, cf. 43 and 44. Cf. Φαίηλος Thasos (L.), 7 B 6, from φαιο-, as Κυδρηλος from κυδρο-. Cf. Ἑρμάφίλος Th. (L.), 20 C 8, and Ἑρμόφίλος.

παιών, the Homeric form, is still preserved in Archilochos 76. Hdt. has παιωνίζω.

Πριηνέων, Imhoof-Blumer, *Monu. Graec.*, 296, No. 127, period of Hadrian; ΠΡΙΗ, Bechtel, No. 143.

Upon the Attic tribute lists from 456 to 424 B.C. some names of Ionic peoples appear, now in the Ionic, now in the Attic form (Ἀλλιῆται, Ἴηται, Κερδιῆται, Ναξιῆται, Πριηνῆς). In other cases η always (Βαργυλιῆται, Θραυιῆται). Even the inhabitants of Ἰάλυσος appear as Ἰηλύσιοι, whereas upon their own documents we find Ἰαλυσίοι[s], Cauer, 177. The name seems to have come to the Athenians through Ionic sources. Cf. Cauer in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 247. In the fourth century the epichoric names are more tenacious of their hold in the Attic inscriptions. Cf. Meisterhans, 13.

τήρη Hdt. VIII 120, but τιάρᾱ I 132, III 12, retained by Stein and Holder. Cf. *Persai*, 662 τήρας (Dind. τια-).

τριήκοντα and other forms of τριη- in composition. τριήκοντα Hippon. 203, Eryth. 202<sup>17</sup>, cf. Mylasa, 248 A 1, Keos, 43<sup>20</sup>, Chios, 174 B 23, D 15, Thasos (L.), 96, has an η=ᾱ that is probably not original, though the ᾱ of the I.E. neuter pl. triā took its ᾱ from the o decl. when the plural of the o stems ended in ᾱ. See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 39.

διη- in διηκοσίων Zeleia 114 D 5, Chios, 174 D 18. The long vowel is due to the influence cf. that of τριηκόσιοι. See Spitzer, *Lautehre des Arkad.* p. 19.

#### 185.] Syllables of Derivation containing H.

For example, in Herodotos, Σαρδίνηος, Κρηστωνιήτης, Σπαρτιήτης, Ἀλγυνῆται. Τεγέη, Τεγεήτης (Τεγέη is from Τεγείη as δωρεά from δωρεία in Attic, unless the latter, as Dittenberger thinks, is the younger form), Βαργυλιητῶν Bechtel, 252. Ὀρνεᾶται Hdt. VIII 73 in *ABCl*, for which Stein has the Ionic form; cf. in the same chapter Παρωρεῆται. On other names in -ᾶται in Hdt., see above, § 158. Arrian 5<sup>11</sup> has Τιτήνος.

Ionic θώρηξ, θωρηκοφόροι in Hdt. and Arrian. ἱρηξ=Attic ἰέρῡξ, &c. στύρᾱξ is the Herodoteian form (in III 107 one MS. has στύρηκα).

Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος Archil. 10, is not in the MSS., but corresponds to Ποσειδάωνα ἄνακτα Iliad, XV 8. Cf. § 140, 1.

#### 186.] In other Forms.

In the aorist of liquid verbs, e.g. ἔγημεν Anakr. 86, τετρήνας Hippon. 56. Is τετρήνεται Hippokr. VII 498 formed from the aorist?

In the forms<sup>1</sup> ἐμίηνα, ἐλίηνα (as also in ἐθέρμηνα, ἐκάθηρα) Hdn. II 798<sub>18</sub> = Choir. 607<sub>35</sub>, 655<sub>22</sub>, Et. M. 483<sub>14</sub>, 626<sub>29</sub>, 791<sub>30</sub> (μιήναι), An. Ox. IV 193<sub>29</sub>, 419<sub>26</sub>; ἔκρηνα An. Ox. I 242<sub>3</sub>, An. Par. III 318<sub>21</sub> (κρηήνον Hdn. II 232<sub>13</sub> = Theogn. II 91<sub>21</sub>, An. Ox. I 242<sub>3</sub>, An. Par. III 318<sub>21</sub>, cf. Tzetz. Ex. II. 98<sub>14</sub>).

### 187.] Ionic H in Tyrtaios and Solon.

Since Attic metrical inscriptions (§ 72) pronounce in favour of the adoption of the Attic *a* for *η* in forms which might (on the view that the influence of the epic, and not that of the native dialect was paramount) have been Ionic, the question arises whether in the non-Ionic elegists there may not be preserved instances of the *ā* of the native speech. Though Ionic was the dialect of the Greek literary world prior to the advent of Attic (as Attic was the medium of literary expression until the advent of the κοινή), nevertheless it may have not possessed the power to absolutely repress all ingressions of a non-Ionic idiom. We may ask: How far does the dialect of poets born in Ionia differ, if it differs at all, from the dialect of poets whose birthplace or place of residence was in a canton whose speech had never admitted *η* after *ε*, *ι*, *υ*, and *ρ*? In other words, are the *ā*'s of Tyrtaios due to his Spartan home, and are the *ā*'s of Solon the result of his Athenian citizenship? Furthermore, we can here but call attention to the fact that the MSS. of the Ionic poets may have suffered, either from the hands of ignorant scribes who knew only the common dialect of their time, or from preconceived notions as to the character of early iambic, trochaic and elegiac poetry. In the case of poets of Ionic birth, whose art is Ionic, the restoration of the genuine Ionic forms in *η* offers but little difficulty. Thus we have an Attic ἀνθίας in Ananios 5 (θείην 1<sub>2</sub>), Ἀναξαγόρας in Anakreon 105, and other cases of like character. § 416. Cases of *ā* in Herodas are very rare (3<sub>24</sub>, 5<sub>5</sub>, 37, 98). These are Attic rather than Doric.

188.] Tyrtaios: The absence of any contemporaneous elegiac poems upon inscriptions, such as guide us in the examination of the Soloneian dialect, renders extremely difficult the question whether or not Tyrtaios admitted any cases of Doric *ā* in his elegies. In the elegies, where, on any view, we should expect to find fewer cases of *ā* than in the *embateria*, we notice αἰσχρᾶς δὲ φυγῆς 12<sub>17</sub>, ἀτιμία 10<sub>10</sub>, ἐχθρὰν-ψυχὴν 11<sub>5</sub> and ἀνιάρωτον 10<sub>4</sub> in MSS. ἡ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ 31, is supposed to represent the response of the Delphic oracle to Lykurgos, though

<sup>1</sup> The grammarians often call an aoristic form Ionic on account of an *η* which is, however, also Attic: ἐτέκτηνα An. Ox. I 138<sub>24</sub>, 411<sub>1</sub> (cf. Attic ἐτεκτηνάμην), ἔφρηνα An. Ox. IV 198<sub>23</sub>, 419<sub>26</sub>, I 350<sub>17</sub>, 410<sub>32</sub>; ἐσήμηνα IV 198<sub>23</sub>, Choir. 608<sub>6</sub>, καθήρατε An. Par. III 508<sub>17</sub>, ἔγημα An. Ox. IV 193<sub>30</sub>, &c.



the Pythia used the epic idiom from the earliest period. The  $\Sigma\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha\varsigma$  of Plutarch seems more probable than  $\Sigma\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$  in 4<sub>1</sub> (accord. to Diod. Sik.).

Elsewhere the Ionic forms prevail:  $\sigma\tau\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\ \pi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\eta$  10<sub>8</sub>,  $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  11<sub>24</sub>,  $\delta\epsilon\chi\iota\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\ \iota\iota$  25,  $\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  12<sub>3</sub>,  $\tau\rho\eta\chi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\varsigma$ , accus., 12<sub>22</sub>,  $\text{'}\Lambda\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$  12<sub>8</sub>. Since in a few Lakonian elegies of early date (though posterior to Tyrtaios) we find only the Doric forms, I regard  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\chi\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$  as native to the original dialect of Tyrtaios and the  $\eta$ 's as due to the same cause as produced those in Solon.

In the case of the *embateria*, we shall, I think, have to accept as certain an admixture of Lakonian forms. Thus we find  $\Sigma\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha\varsigma$  15<sub>1</sub>,  $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$  15<sub>2</sub> (cf. Pindar, *Isthm.* I 51),  $\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha$  15<sub>3</sub>,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\zeta\omega\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  15<sub>7</sub>,  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\Sigma\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha$  15<sub>6</sub>. Bergk's reading,  $\text{'}\Lambda\gamma\epsilon\tau\text{'}$ ,  $\omega$   $\Sigma\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\pi\lambda\omicron\iota$   $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\rho\omicron\iota$ ,  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\text{'}\Lambda\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$   $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ , in fragment 16, presents a hopeless mixture of Doric and Ionic, to which no Spartan youth would have listened.  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$  is an hyper-Dorism, unattested for the period of the early Messenian wars, which occurs in the pseudo-Timaios  $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$   $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ; and  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\rho\omicron\iota$  should be  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\iota$ , if Doric. Hephaistion has  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\sigma\iota\nu$  correctly enough.

189.] Solon: In his trimeters we find  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$  36<sub>5</sub>,  $\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  36<sub>14</sub> (Plut.  $\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$ ),  $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$  36<sub>7</sub>.  $\eta$  in  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  36<sub>8</sub>,  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  36<sub>11</sub>.

In the tetrameters:  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\alpha\nu$  33<sub>3</sub>,  $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$   $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  33<sub>6</sub>,  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\alpha\varsigma$  32<sub>3</sub>.  $\eta$  in  $\beta\acute{\acute{\iota}}\eta\varsigma$  32<sub>2</sub>.

In the elegies, where the greatest dependence upon epic forms might be anticipated:  $\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$  4<sub>1</sub>,  $\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha$  4<sub>26</sub>,  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  4<sub>32</sub>,  $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  4<sub>33</sub>,  $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  9<sub>2</sub> (*sic* Diod. Sik., Plut.;  $-\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  Diog. L.),  $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$  11<sub>1</sub> (*sic* Diod. Sik.;  $-\eta\nu$  Plut., Diog. L.); also in  $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  4<sub>25</sub>,  $\tau\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  4<sub>35</sub>,  $\pi\rho\alpha\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\iota$  4<sub>38</sub>,  $\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  9<sub>5</sub>. Elsewhere  $\eta$ .

$\eta$  might possibly be defended even in the trimeters and tetrameters on the view that the background, especially of the iambic trimeter, is Ionic, and that the dialogue portions of Attic tragedy in their use of occasional Ionisms (§ 77) followed the norm established by the earliest cultivator of the iambus upon Attic soil. This view must be rejected because the senarii of tragedy adopt the Ionic  $\eta$  only under certain conditions which are foreign to Soloneian art. Solon made use of  $\acute{\alpha}$ , and the Ionic  $\eta$  must have been introduced by scribes prepossessed by the belief that he was entirely dependent upon the Ionic dialect in matters of vocalism. In regard to his use of  $\sigma\sigma$  for Attic  $\tau\tau$ , he is clearly under the influence of Ionic models.

In the elegiac poems there is no positive proof that Solon adopted Attic forms where they differed from Ionic, nor, on the other hand, have we criteria sufficient to establish the uniform appearance of the Ionic forms. The evidence of the contemporary



elegy speaks, however, strongly in favour of the rejection of all cases of the specifically Ionic η. Cf. § 61.

### 190.] Xenophanes, Theognis and the Later Elegy.

Xenophanes preserves the Ionic η everywhere except in κρατήρ 14, for which we should read κρη-. On ἔμπᾱς, see above, § 161.

The Theognideian collection offers so much that is adventitious that the question as to how far Theognis coloured his Ionic elegies with slight masses of local matter is rendered well-nigh insurmountable. The cases of *ā* in the chief MSS. are as follows:—

πράγμα 256, 642, 644, 1051 (cf. § 182); ῥᾶδιον and connected words, 120, 429, 1220; μικρά 607; Τιμαγόρα 1059 (by conj.); ἐχθρά 270 (in some MSS.); παιδείας 1305, cf. 1348; πατρώας 1210, 888; σμικρᾶ 323; μιᾶ 664 (some MSS. μιῇ); λείαν 1327; δυστυχίαν 1188 (*A* has -η, as frequently where the MSS. divide on this question). Renner wishes to read νηῦς 84, 856, and 970 (*A* has νηυς)<sup>1</sup>. The genitive sing. and dat. plur. are νηός 513 and νηυσί 12. In the second book η seems better supported.

In the later elegy we find *ā* in the MSS. in Aischylos (but κυανέη 31), Sophokles, Euenos (but μανίης 22, βλαβερή 42), Kritias (but εὐσεβίης 222, ἡμετέρης 43). All these η forms should be changed to *ā*. Forms in η occur in Pigres, Empedokles, Agathon, Plato and Aristotle, though in the last three *ā* should be expected. Plato 24 has πέτρας, [25] τάνδε, though it is surprising to find Dorisms. The genuine Plato no doubt used Attic forms. η is in place in Ion, cf. 22, 41, 3, though the *ā*'s elsewhere occur (e.g. 31, 4). Dionysios Chalkos has εἰρεσίη 43, 51. A mixture of η and *ā* so early as the fifth century is improbable. Even in the case of Ion, his elegies must be either Attic or Ionic.

### 191.] Ionic Η=Attic Ā.

διπλήσιος Apoll. Conj. 227<sub>23</sub>, 233<sub>23</sub>, Schn., πεντα-, ἑξαπλήσιον, πολλαπλήσια Hdt. The latter form, III 135, where *ABR* have the Attic form; which comes to light in διπλάσιον Teos, 158<sub>22</sub>, an almost completely Atticized inscription. Cf. Gothic *ain-falps*.

The genuine Herodoteian πεντακόσιοι is amply attested (III 90, IX 29), and occurs in the Chian inscription, 174 D 7 (π[ε]ντακοσίων). πεντᾱκοσιοι has its πεντᾱ- on the lines of τετρά-, ἐπτᾱ-. The form πεντη- in certain MSS. of Hdt. (III 13, VII 186) is doubtless to be explained on the view that the scribe had in his mind's eye the Homeric πεντηκόσιοι (γ 7), whose η is due at once to the influence of πεντήκοντα and at the same time to the ictus. Aristarchos and Herodian wrote πεντᾱκόσιοι in the Homeric passage.

Instances of -η=ᾱ in suffix syllables are adduced, § 419. Such

<sup>1</sup> νᾱῦς occurs 84, 856, 970, 1361, νᾱῦν 680. Whether this is *ā* or *ᾱ* is uncertain.

forms as *μοίρη*, *σπείρη* (Greg. Korinth. p. 390), *γεφύρη*, occurring occasionally in the MSS. of Hdt., are hyper-Ionisms.

*πείλη*, *πέξι* (§ 419) are genuine Ionisms.

Ionic *νηῦς*, *νηυσί* (= *νᾶῦς*, *νᾶῦσι*) are due to case-levelling, the *η* forms being strictly in place only in such cases as the genitive singular where the case termination begins with a vowel.

*ἀναπλήσσουσι* Hippokr. II 58 cannot be correct Ionic for Attic *ἀναπλάττουσι*.

Kallinos' *Ἡσιονῆας* (5) has been regarded by Fick, *Olysee*, p. 24, as an instance of ictus lengthening, Steph. Byzant. connecting *Ἡσιονία* with *Ἀσία*. *ἦκην*, cited as a parallel instance from Archilochos by Fick, has been differently explained, § 169; and *Ἡσιονῆας* may rest ultimately upon similar ablaut gradations. At least it is premature to assume lengthening *per ictum* in so hazy a word.

*τήγανον* is called Ionic, Hdn. II 388<sub>5</sub> = Et. M. 743<sub>50</sub> (cf. 756<sub>27</sub>). Both *τάγγηνον* and *τήγανον* occur in Old Comedy. Athenaios cites a form *ἦγανον* (= *τήγανον*?) from Anakreon 26 (§ 326).

Fick's contention that *ἥμωρος* is a living Ionic form for *ἄμωρος*, still awaits proof. Evidence in favour of his view may be found in the gloss of Hesychios: *ἥμορίς· κενή, ἐστερημένη· Αἴσχυλος Νιόβη*. *ἄμωρος* is a strange form in Hipponax 2, a poet whose intellectual character and whose use of language is alien to the retention of such Homeric forms as are Aiolic in colouring. See § 339.

*ἡλασκάω* Il. XVIII 281, for *ἄλυσκάω*, Ionic according to Orion 70<sub>4</sub>.

### 192.] H = E.

See § 139. On *θῆέομαι* = *θεάομαι*, see on the verb, § 685; on the interrelation of *ει* and *ηι*, see § 232–239.

*ἀνηρίθεντος* Chios, 174 B 26, of which the usual form is *ἀνερ-*. See § 167.

### 193.] Ionic H = I.

No interchange of *η* and *ι* can be maintained on the score of *ψημύθιον* = *ψιμύθιον*, Et. Mag. 103<sub>25</sub>, nor in view of the name *Σημωνίδης*, attested as that of the iambographic poet by Et. Mag., and adopted by Christ in his *History of Greek Literature*, and by Hiller in the new edition of Bergk's *Anthologia Lyrica*. Elsewhere no trace of this form of the name appears; while *Σιμωνίδης* is genuine Ionic from the evidence of a lead tablet from Styra (19<sub>139</sub>); and it is under this name that the author of the *Mirror of Women* is usually cited by ancient authorities.

### 194.] Ionic H = Ω.

*Μαιῆτις*, often in Hdt. with different suffix<sup>1</sup> than in *Μαιῶτις*, the later name. Cf. *Μαιῆται* (= *Μαιῶται*) Hdt. IV 123. We find *Μαιῶτιν* IV 3 in all

<sup>1</sup> A curious variation in suffix formation is presented by *χοληγαγός* for *-ηγός* which is found in *A* in Hippokr. VI 322. In the fifth century *-αγωγός* was just coming into vogue (Hippokr. *ἀναγωγός*).



MSS., and so Hippokr. Hdt. generally used -ωτις, -ωτης (Πελασγιώτιδες, Φθιώτις, Θεσσαλιώτις, Ἰταλιώτης). Ἰστιαῖωτις is the form in Hdt. as in Strabo, though VIII 23, R has Ἰστιαῖτιδος; and all MSS. have Ἰστιαῖωτιδος VII 175, cf. I 56. Ἀμπρακιπτέων is the accepted form, IX 28, -ιήτας 31, but Ἀμπρακιῶται occurs VIII 45, 47. Kirchhoff thinks that -ητις is properly Herodoteian and that -ωτις was smuggled in from the κοινή. Names in -ωτις are generally non-Ionic. We find Ἰταλιώτης IV 15. Hdn. II 231<sub>19</sub> *apud* Eust. 468 thinks -ιητης in Μασσαλιήτης, Ἀπολλωνιήτης is Ionic.

Archilochos has παιήονα. See §§ 140, 1, 202, 280.

### 195.] Ionic H=AI.

μηφόνου Archilochos, 48 = Homeric μαιφόνε (E 31). A similar balance of η and αι forms appears in Ἀλθιμένευσ Bechtel, Thas. (L.), 4 B 3, and Ἀλθαιμένης. Ionic has no trace of αἴμις, a form that comes to light in Aiolic. Archil. 167 ἥμισυ τρίτον = δύο ἥμισυ.

### 196.] Long Iota.

1. Ionic with other Hellenic dialects has retained a few cases of *ī* which may be assumed to be proethnic, *e.g.* ἱκω, -ῖτης.

2. *ī* on Hellenic soil from *ιν*f(τίνω), *ιρ*ι(οἰκτῖρω), *ισ*γ(ρίγιον), ἱλεος and ἱλαος < σισλη-, ἱλύς from *ι*-σλύς = Aiolic ἱλλ-, ἱσος < *Fi*σFos (ἱσος does not occur in Ionic poetry). On *ī* from contraction of *ι* + *ε* in ἱρός, ἱρεῖη, &c., in Herodotos, see under Contraction, § 300, on *ī* < *ι* + *ι*, § 270. Hdn. I 526<sub>27</sub>, II 18<sub>27</sub> held that the *ι* of trisyllabic nouns in -ίς was long in Ionic, short in Attic.

Ionic is on a plane with the non-assimilating dialects (*i.e.* all except Aiolic and Thessalian) in lengthening short iota + *σμ* to *īm* (Ἱμερος Perinthos, 234 B 25). γίνομαι < γιν-<sup>1</sup> seems to have been the accepted form of the fifth century, though we lack the evidence of old inscriptions. Oropos, 18<sub>17</sub>, about 400 B. C., has γινέσθων Mylasa, 248 A 15 (367-6 B. C.), γίνεσθαι Teos, 158<sub>5, 26</sub> (first century), γινόμενοι. If we may trust the MSS. of the iambographic poets, γίγνομαι is the better attested form for their period. γίνομαι occurs in Anakr. 87. The substitution of γίγνομαι for γίνομαι appears to have taken place earlier in Ionic than in Attic, in the inscriptions of which dialect γίνομαι does not come to light until 292 B. C. Hdt., Anaxag., Demokr., Xanthos, Pherekydes of Leros (22, 40, 48, 55, 85, 89: cf. 20), Herakl., Hrd. I<sub>27</sub>, Arrian 38, 28<sub>4</sub>, have γίνομαι. This form when found in later writers who quote Ionic sources is no proof of Ionic colouring, since γιν- is common after Aristotle. γινώσκω in Herodotos, Hippo-

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann (*D. M. G.* p. 23) denies that γίνομαι arose from γίγνομαι and derives it from \*γίνφομαι (cf. *jinvati*), but takes no note of γινώσκω. Both arose from γιν-γν-. The Kretan γιννόμενον (*Mus. Ital.* III 694, Gortyna) represents the halting-place on the road to γιν-.



krates, Demokr., Herakleitos, Melissos, Anaxag., Herodas, is not met with upon Attic inscriptions until the period of Roman supremacy. In Hipp., Littré generally has *γινν-*, e.g. II 636. Cf. § 589. Hdt. uses *μίσγω*, not *μίννυμι* as Arrian, on which see *A. J. P.* VI 449.

In *κάκιον* Arch. 13 (*κακίω* 6<sub>1</sub>) we have an instance of *-ῖων*, with which compare Skt. *-īyas*. The epic poets have *-ῖων*.

*ī* occurs in *ξυνίετε* Arch. 50, *ἐσθίειν* Anan. 5<sub>4</sub>. Cf. Attic *ῖημι* (Hom. *ῖημι*). Whether *ἐσθίειν* is to be compared with Attic *κηκίω* = Hom. *κηκίω*, Attic *μηνίω*, *μηνίω* = Hom. *μηνίω* is doubtful. Cf. Curtius' *Verbum*, I 301.

197.] **Itacism.** It is extremely doubtful whether there is any instance of itacism in inscriptional Ionic of the fifth or previous centuries. In the third edition of his *Aussprache* (p. 58) Blass has withdrawn all the examples he had collected (ed. 2, p. 51) from the inscriptions in proof of an early appearance of *ι* for *ει*. In the case of *Μαρωνιτέων*<sup>1</sup> 196<sub>4</sub>, not noticed by Blass, we have a form by the side of which exist *Μαρωνειτέων* 196<sub>3</sub> = *Brit. Mus. Catal.* 125, No. 13, and *Μαρωνιητέων* 196<sub>2</sub>, all three forms occurring upon coins before 400. The coin, *Brit. Mus. Catal.* 125, 15, has *Μαρωνιτέων* on the front and *Μαρωνιτῶν* on the reverse; *Μαρωνιτέων* in Bechtel, 196<sub>6</sub>, being later than 400 B. C.

Of such forms as show both *ηι* and *ει*, as in Attic *Ἀριστηίδης* and *Ἀριστείδης*, the former is the older; but no instance of a parallel form in *ι* can be adduced. An *Ἀριστοκλίδης* Styra, 1916<sub>3</sub>, is derived from *Ἀρίστοκλος*, an *Ἀριστοκλείδης* Styra, 191<sub>2</sub>, from *Ἀριστοκλῆς*. Greg. Corinth., p. 379, attests the existence of diaeresis in *Πηλείδης* and *Πηληϊδης*, herein confusing Homeric and Herodoteian Ionic. On the latter form and on Herodoteian patronymics, see § 235, Bredow, p. 190.

There are several forms in the Ionic of literature which point to the later confusion between the *ει* and *ι* sounds, such as I have shown, *A. J. P.* VI 419-450, to exist in the text of Homer. Cf. e.g. *Πολυνείκεος* Hdt. IV 147, &c., with the spelling of *Στρατο-νείκου* Paros, 67, and of *Νείκην* Olbia, 129<sub>11</sub>, both of the period of the empire. For the older forms in *ι*, see I. G. A. 79, 515. *Πολύνικος* occurs on inscriptions from Attika and elsewhere (*Ἀνδρονίκου* C. I. G. 2252, Samos).

*Τείμαρχος* Styra, 1931<sub>5</sub>, is Lenormant's incorrect reading for *Τιμ-*. *Τειμ-* is, however, attested in *Τειμαγόρα* Cauer, 195<sub>24</sub> (Rhodes). This form is due to the influence of *τείσω*, *ἔτεισα*, *Τεισικράτης*, &c.

*Εἰδομένεος* Thasos (L.), 5<sub>6</sub>, about 300 B. C. (cf. *Εἰδομενέα* C.

<sup>1</sup> See Head, *H. N.* 216.

I. G. 2184, -εἰ 6418), might be derived from εἶδομαι. Ὀλβιοπολιτέων Olbia, 130<sub>3</sub> (not before 200 B.C.), is certainly itacistic. Ὀλβιοπολιτέων 130<sub>2</sub>. Ἀφροδείτης Eryth. 206, C 48, with later εἰ.

On the Homeric Πολύιδος, see *K. Z.* XXV 261, XXVII 275, XXIX 236, *A. J. P.* VI 440. It occurs upon a metrical inscription from Amorgos (No. 35) of the fourth or third century, and in a document from Halikarnassos, 240<sub>46</sub>, dating from the fifth century according to Dittenberger. Πολυίδειος Thessal. 345<sub>84</sub>. The form Πολυείδης, if it existed in earlier Ionic, must have ceased to exist in Ionia by the fourth century. The forms in *ī* seem well attested<sup>1</sup>.

For ἴλη Stein writes εἴλη I 73, and εἴλας I 202, εἰλαδόν I 172. Cf. Kret. ἀρχιλλάν · ἀρχιποίμενα. In the *Glossary* to Herodotos (Stein, II 465) we find εἰρήν, as also in Plut. Lyk. 17; whereas Hesychios has ἴρανες · οἱ εἴρενες, Λάκωνες. Brugmann in Curtius' *Stud.* IV 116, and J. Schmidt, *Vocal.* II 330, claim that the Spartan ἴρην is derived from ἔρσην, through \*ἔρρην and ἴρρην. A preferable explanation is that ἴρην, like ἰρήs and ἐρήs, is an independent nominative not connected with ἔρσην, and that εἰρήν is itacistic (Baunack, *K. Z.* XXVII 566).

ἰτέη, in Hdt. I 194, proved by the Εἰτέα of Attic inscriptions to be itacistic, has forced its way into Ionic and Attic literature. An ἰτέα is attested by Hdn. I 522, II 17.

On -ῖη in relation to -εῖη, -ῖη, see § 145.

On ἰμάτιον, see § 224, 9.

### 198.] Relation of *ī* to *EY*.

The statement that *ev* becomes *ī* in ἰθύς, ἰθύνω, is incorrect. Hdt. has εἰθύς I 65, &c., Arrian, I<sub>6</sub>; but ἰθύν I 185; ἰθέα II 17, &c.; ἰθύτριχες VII 70. On the stones we notice a similar juxtaposition of forms: Εὐθύμαχος Styra, 19<sub>193</sub><sup>2</sup>, Εὐθυνείδης 19<sub>194</sub>, Ἴθυκλέη[s] 19<sub>46</sub>, ἴθυνα Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195. See Bezzenberger in his *Beiträge*, IV 345. Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX 151, suggests that ἰθν- became εἰθν- in post-Homeric times through influence of εὐθν- (I. E. *ūdhú*).

### 199.] *ŷ*.

1. I. E. *ū* is retained.

2. *ū* developed on Greek soil as in other dialects, *e.g.* *ū* from *vs* in βύνω, Hdt. II 96; from *υλσ* in ἐμίστυλα, Sim. Am. 24; from *vnF* or *vn̄* as in ξυνός (also Arkadian for κοινός). See § 380.

<sup>1</sup> Πολυίδου occurs on a late prose inscription from Kyzikos, *Mithr.* X 205, l. 1; Πολυείδης Tanais, Latyshev II 441<sub>17</sub> is not Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> Εἰ- or Ε(ῖ)θύμαχος 19<sub>39</sub>, not Ε(φ)θύμαχος, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 121 note, reads. If the reading Εἰθύμαχος is correct, we may compare Εἰθυκαρίδης Naxos, *B. C. H.* XII 464. See under *F*.

The  $\bar{v}$  of  $\delta\rho\sigma\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\varsigma$  in Sim. Amorg. 17 ( $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\pi\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \delta\rho\sigma.\ \eta\lambda\acute{\sigma}\alpha\mu\eta\nu$ ) is suspicious; compare  $\delta\rho\sigma\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta$  in the *Odys.* 22, 126 and 333.  $\sigma\kappa\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  Hrd. 368 is singular ( $\sigma\kappa\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ?). Hom.  $\delta\iota\zeta\tilde{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ; in Arch. 129, Sim. Am. 750 (fifth foot) the quantity of  $v$  is uncertain. In Aristoph.  $\omicron\iota\zeta\tilde{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ .

$\bar{v}$  and  $\omega$ : In Ionic we find  $\text{'}\text{Α}\mu\upsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Styra, 19155,  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$  Sim. Am. 4, Anakr. 48 and  $\text{'}\text{Α}\mu\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  Thasos, 721, forms which reproduce the two Homeric adjectives. Hinrichs (*H. E. V. A.* p. 81) asserts the Aiolic character of  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu$ , though it is not clear why the Aioliens should have possessed a monopoly of this word, or why the  $\bar{v}$  should be Aiolic solely.

$\acute{\omega}\rho\eta$  Miletos, 1006 = Lat. *sūra*, from  $\text{*}\sigma\acute{\omega}\rho\acute{\alpha}$  or  $\text{*}\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu\rho\acute{\alpha}$ ;  $\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\eta}$  is not connected.

## Ω.

In §§ 200-204 for the purpose of comparison with other dialects, certain forms in  $\omega$  are adduced which are not the result of a special Ionic change.

### 200.] Ω for A.

$\zeta\acute{\omega} = \zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$  is not restricted to Ionic, since we have in Boiotian  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega$  and in Kretan  $\delta\acute{\omega}\omega$ .  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega$  in tragedy where there is need of epic colouring.  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega$  seems to have been formed from a perfect with the ablaut  $\omega$ . Whether we have to deal with a reduction of  $\omega$  to  $o$  in  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega$  that is specifically Greek, and whether the  $\omega$  forms are pro-Hellenic, is not certain. In Ionic both the  $\omega$  and  $o$  forms exist, e.g.  $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\iota\nu$  Sim. Amorg. 117; cf.  $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\varsigma\ \zeta\eta$ , which Brugmann, *M. U.* I 8, III 6, classes with his *injunctives*. Herakl.  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\epsilon\iota\nu$  86, 92, Hrd. 410. Parallelism of  $\omega$  and  $o$  is not unusual, as witness  $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$ , Aiol.  $\gamma\iota\gamma\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$ , Attic  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\gamma\iota\gamma\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$ ,  $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\chi\lambda\acute{\omicron}\eta$ ;  $\lambda\acute{\omega}\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$  Kallim.,  $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , &c. Homeric  $\zeta\omega\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  is a later formation for older  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , Brugmann, *Grundr.* I, p. 458;  $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\eta$ , e.g. Herodas I 4, 32 is from  $\zeta\omega\acute{\eta}$ , as  $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu < \nu\eta\acute{\omega}\nu$ , *ibid.* p. 463. Ionic  $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\eta$  appears in Attic tragedy. Joh. Gr. 240, Meerm. 654 ( $\delta\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ ), Aug. 668, Vat. 698, Greg. Korinth. § 29 mention the absurd notion that the Ionians could say  $\acute{\omega}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  instead of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omicron$  &c. though Greg. sees that the  $\omega$  is in place only in the vocative or where the article precedes  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\omega$  for  $\alpha$  was held to be found in  $\theta\omega\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  Greg. Kor. § 30; see § 258.

### 201.] Ionic Ω where Attic has E.

$\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\omega$ , in Homer, Hdt., Hrd. 259, for  $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , though the latter is more frequent (Greg. Kor. 69, Bredow 171).  $\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\omega$  has been held to contain an  $\omega$  which is the ablaut of  $\eta$ , i.e. one which does not originally belong in the present; *M. U.* I 45. It is derived from a perf.  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\omega\acute{\omicron}\alpha$ .

### 202.] Ω = Â.

$\theta\acute{\omega}\kappa\alpha$  and  $\theta\omega\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  in Hdt., cf. Attic  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ ,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ . Since  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  is =  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , there is no ablaut of  $\acute{\alpha}$  to  $\omega$ . Hdt. has  $\pi\alpha\iota\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ , which is also the Attic prose form except in Xenophon, *Symp.* 2, 1. The noun has always  $\acute{\alpha}$  in Attic. Theog. 779  $\pi\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$ , cf. Archil.  $\pi\alpha\iota\acute{\eta}\omicron\nu\alpha$ , 76. See § 280.

The Ionic Attic form is  $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  = Doric  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ; on  $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in the Thasiote dialect, see § 286, 1. The ground-form is  $\text{*}\theta\epsilon\alpha\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . See K. Z. XXXI 289. The Ionic form for Messenian  $\text{Μεθ}\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$  is  $\text{Μεθ}\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$ .



## 203.] Ionic Ω = Attic H.

For Attic *πῆσσω* we have the Homeric *πτῶσσω* in Hdt. IX 48; cf. Iliad, IV 372 *πτωσκάζω*. Ionic *πτῶσσω* (Eustath. on Δ 371) is either a denominative or a present formed from the base of the perfect.

On the suffix *-ητις*, *-ωτις*, see under H, § 194.

## 204.] Ω = Î.

ἄμπωτις Hdt. see § 367. Cf. Aiolic *πῶνω* and *πῶ* from perf. \*πέπωα. See Schulze, *K. Z.* XXVII 420.

## 205.] Ionic Ω = AY.

In a few Ionic words the *a* of *av* seems sporadically, through influence of *v*, to have taken upon itself an *o* colouring, and this *o + v* to have been pronounced as *ω*; cf. Delphic *ῶτόν*, Spartan *ῶτῶ*.

We have thus *διαφωσκούση* Hdt. III 86, but *-av-* probably IX 45 (*v. l.* *-ω-*, and *-α-*), and *ὑπόφανσις* VII 36. *φῶσκω* may still be heard at Anchialos on the Black Sea. So also *ω* for *av* in *τρῶμα*, *τρωματίης*, *τρωματίζειν*, *κατατετρωματίσθαι* in Hdt., with similar forms in Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Arrian, *Ind.* 19. In Hdt. IV 180, *q* and *z* have *τρωμάτων*, which Stein rightly rejects. *τρωῦμα* is found in Lukian, *d. d. S.* 20, in all MSS. except *E.* *θῶμα*<sup>1</sup> occurs in MSS. of Hdt. with such frequency that we may well question whether Dindorf's *θῶμα* and *τρῶμα* are not preferable to Stein's *θωῦμα* and *τρωῦμα*. The two chief classes of MSS. here follow different principles as regards *θω-* and *θων-*, the first class having *ω*, the second *ων*; in the others there is wild confusion. In pseudo-Hippokr. *περὶ τέχνης*, § 11, Gomperz finds *θῶμα* in a corrupt reading of *A, M.* In VI 496, we find *θωμάζεται* in *θ*; *θανμάζω* Littré, I 499. The pseudo-Ionists, however, offer slender support to *θῶμα* (Arrian, *Ind.* 34, 40, *θαῦμα* 15, Eusebios, § 3 *θῶματι*); Lukian testifies in every passage to *θωῦμα*. See § 258.

The *ω* form in *τρῶμα*, recalling the Attic and Ionic *τῶσσω*, *τέτρωμαι* &c. might be derived directly from *√τρω*; but this method does not avail us in the case of a *θῶμα* (see § 258). That *θῶμα* is a genuine form is evident from Argolic *Θωμάντας* *B. C. H.* IX 355 = *C. D. I.* 3172 A (Phlius); cf. furthermore *θῆβος* (= *θῆφος*)· *θαῦμα* and *θήγεια* (*θήφεια*)· *θανμαστά*. *τραῦμα* recalls Slav. *trǫga*, *τρῶμα* (Pind. *τρώμα*) Slav. *traviti*, *τρύω*, *τρύχω*. Bechtel, *Lautelehre*, p. 167, derives *θῶμα* and *τρῶμα*, *θαῦμα* and *τραῦμα* from the ground-forms *θωῦμα* and *τρωῦμα*, neither of which has been preserved.

## 206.] Ionic Ω = Attic OΥ.

ῶν is the form of the adverb in the Aiolic, Boiotian, Doric

<sup>1</sup> Bredow 142, Struve *Quaest. de dial. Herod.* III, p. 11 write *τρῶμα*, but *θῶμα* or *θῶῦμα*. Cf. Joh. Gr. 240, Vat. 698, Aug. 668, Meerm. 654; *κῶμα* Meerm. 654, Vat. 698. *τρώμη* (*sic*) Ionic for *τῶσις* according to Eust. 102<sub>32</sub>, 991<sub>60</sub>, 1653<sub>32</sub>, who says that in Ionic *τρώω* = *βλάπτω* (1304<sub>5</sub>, 1532<sub>10</sub>, 1803<sub>2</sub>).

(late Doric *οῦν*) and Ionic<sup>1</sup> dialects. Thessalian *οῦν* is only apparently equivalent to Attic *οῦν*, which seems to have been engrafted upon Homer upon the authority of Aristarchos, who regarded the poet as an Athenian; unless it may be held that *ου* became *ω* as did *αν* in *τρῶμα*. Hdt. has *ῶν*, *οὔκων*, *οὔκῶν*, *ὄσονῶν*, *τοιγαρῶν*, with occasional lapses in the MSS. in the direction of the Attic forms, as is the case in the MSS. of Lukian and Arrian. The letter of Pherekyd. has *ῶν*; the MSS. of Hippokrates, of the letters, and of Euseb. Mynd., have *οῦν*. Aretaios has *οῦν* in the first four, *ῶν* in the later books. See § 252, note. *οῦν* comes to light upon a Vienna papyrus written in Ionic (*Philologus*, XLI 748, l. 3). Herodas has *οῦν* six times.

### 207.] Ionic Ω = OH.

The Homeric and Herodoteian *ὀγδῶκοντα* is either a contraction for *ὀγδοη-* (cf. *ὀγδοήκοντα*, Attic inscription, C. I. G. 1030<sub>2</sub>, and Solon's *ὀγδωκονταέτη* 20<sub>4</sub>) or has *ω* from the influence of *ὀκτώ*. Neither *ὀγδω-* nor *ὀγδοήκοντα* has as yet turned up upon Ionic inscriptions. The Chian *ὀκτακοσίων* 174 C 23 does not adopt the *ω* of Aiolic *ὀκτωκόσιοι* (C. D. I. 281 A 30, Lesbos). Though the Aiolic form records the influence of *ὀκτώ*, yet since that dialect has *ὀγδοήκοντα*, nothing is thereby proved as to the Ionic form. It should be borne in mind that, if the Homeric form is a contraction of *ὀγδοη-*, forms that arise under stress of the verse in Homer are not criteria for the prose form.

Other instances of *ω* for *ση* are: *ἀλλογνώσας*, *ἐννώσας*, *ἐννειώ-κασι*, *ἐνένωτο*, in Hdt.; cf. Theognis, 1298 *νωσάμενος*, and *νώσατο* Apoll. Rhod. IV 1409; also *ἔβωσα*, *ἔβώσθην*, *βεβωμένος*, as in Homer, *βώσαντι*, *ἐπιβώσομαι*. Stein still holds (Pref. to school edition, LI) to the view that we have to go back to a stem formation in *ο* (*νο-*, *βο-*); cf. Leaf on M 337. *ἐβώθειν*, *ἐβώθησαν* from *βοηθέω* (cf. Aiolic *βᾱθῶειντι*, *ἐβᾱθή*) are now expelled from the text of Hdt. Cf. *Βαδρομιῶνος* Lampsakos, C. I. G. 3641 b 8. See under *Contraction* (§ 296).

### *The Diphthongs in Ionic.*

#### 208.] AI.

*ai* arises in Ionic as in other dialects by epenthesis: *μαίνομαι* Anakr. 89, cf. *μαινόλα* Sappho, 1<sub>18</sub>; by contraction, § 274. For Attic *δαίς*, *δάδιον*, Ionic has *δαίς*, *δαιδίον*, cf. Hippokr. VIII 22, 50. Hippokr. has *σφαδαίζω* VIII 92 (θ) and *ῥαῖον* VIII 124, 274 (θ) and often *ῥαιθυμείν*, *ῥαίζειν*, cf. § 182.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 240, Greg. Kor. 16, Aug. 668, Apoll. *περὶ συνδ.* p. 228<sub>22</sub> Schn. *οὐ παρὰ τὸν οὔν ἢ σύνθεσις* (sc. τοῦ μῶν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν ῶν, ὅντα καὶ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ Αἰολικὸν καὶ Δωρικόν).



**209.] Loss of *ι* from diphthong AI before a vowel<sup>1</sup>.** See Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 37 ff., Allen, *Versification*, 72. The inscriptions attest the change in the following instances:—

*West Ionic.* Τερώναον Terone, 7 (before 420), cf. *Mittheil.* X 367 ff.; ἀειφυγίην Amphipolis, 10<sub>5</sub>, 25 (357 B.C.); ἀειναῦτ[αι] Rob. I 172, Chalkis, and according to Plut. 2, 298 C, found in Miletos; Ἀνκάος C. I. G. 7375 (Ἀνκαῖος Head, *H. N.* 518); Ἀκτάων 8431 (vase incr.); Μίνδαον Mende, 17 (500–450), but Μενδαίη after 400; Σπόνδαος Styra, 19<sub>141</sub>; Αἴσκραος 19<sub>153</sub>; Τίμαος 19<sub>313</sub>. About the same number of forms with AI are found in West Ionic, e.g. Ἀθηναίη, *Folci*, Rob. I 191.

*Island Ionic.* Ἀθηνάης Delos, 54 (fifth cent.)<sup>2</sup>, Νικᾶν Thasos, 72<sub>8</sub> (300–250), = Νικάην; cf. *ιερῇ* < *ιερείη*. In l. 10 of the same inscription we have Ἀθηναίης. Fritsch, *V. H. D.* p. 37, suggests that Νικᾶς is not certainly an Ionian, being merely proxenos. But cf. § 165, note. Ἀθηναίη occurs frequently in the Ionic of the islands: Keos 41 (epigram), 51, Paros 64 (cf. Herwerden, *Studia critica in epigrammata Graeca*, p. 103, no. XIX), Thasos 72<sub>10</sub>; cf. also Roberts, I, p. 64, and No. 165, where an inscription of uncertain provenance has Ἀθηναῖος twice. Roberts reads Ἀθήνη, a rare form in an old inscription, No. 26 (Naxos). It recurs C. I. A. IV B 373<sup>2</sup>, where it is not Attic. We have the contracted form Ἀθηνᾶι C. I. A. IV B 373<sub>15</sub> (sixth cent.), IV 373, w (about 400). Ἀθηνᾶ came into general use in Attic about 350 B.C. The old Ἀθηναίη held its *ι* in part because of the early adoption by the Ionians of Ἀθήνη. On the assumption of an Old Attic Ἀθηναίη, cf. § 78.

*Asiatic Ionic.* ἀεί Iasos, 105<sub>10</sub> (end of fourth century, hence not certainly genuine Ionic); Ἀθηναίη Φωκαεῖς Phokaia, 170 (age uncertain), Φωκαέων or -αιέων imperial period, Head, *H. N.* 507, recalling the Attic inscriptional forms Φωκαῖς, Φωκαϊκός; Ἀθηνᾶς Erythrai, 206 A 27, 29, B 20 (in the last example we have Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀποτροπαίας) after 278 B.C.; Ἀθηνᾶς Samos, 216 (before middle of fourth cent.). Ἀθηνᾶς is not certainly Ionic, since this document may contain an admixture of Attic<sup>3</sup>. The above list, so long as it is not augmented by more certain proofs of the appearance of *a(ι)*, makes for the conclusion that in Asiatic Ionic intervocalic *a* from *ai* is not frequent. Ἀθηναίη is attested in Halik. 240 A 3, 241, Chios, 173; metrical inser. 265 (unc. loc.); Erythrai, 200, 204<sub>32</sub>, Priene, 142; αἰεί in Halik. 240 A 6, and so all editors except Ruehl, in 238<sub>37</sub>. Φωκαεύς Eryth. 207 (not much older than 100 B.C.).

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 276<sub>26</sub> (Et. M. 66<sub>25</sub>) Ἀλκαος &c.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀθηνᾶα in Attic inscriptions of the sixth and fourth centuries; cf. Alkaios 9, Theokr. 28<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀθηνᾶ in Attic prevails after 362 B.C. in inscriptions.



In the *poets*, whose authority stands second only to that of the inscriptions, we do not find any evidence beyond that presented by *Ἀηθαίου* Anakr. 1<sub>4</sub>, with *ai* short. *γεραίους* Tyrt. 10<sub>20</sub> (cf. Tyrt. frag. 17), is called in question by Bergk, though the *ai* is found in all MSS. *αἰεί* appears Tyrt. 5<sub>5</sub>, Mimm. 1<sub>7</sub>, Sol. 13<sub>4</sub>, Sim. Keos 85<sub>1</sub>, Theognis more than 20 times, Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>4</sub>, 7<sub>65</sub>; the poetical *αἰέν* Xenoph. 1<sub>24</sub>, Theog. 631, &c.<sup>1</sup>; *αἰῶνος* Anakr. 112<sub>4</sub>; *καίετός* Archil. 86<sub>2</sub> (epod.). *Ἀχαιίης* should be expected, and doubtless is the correct form, Sim. Amorg. 23, for *Ἀχαιίης* (Fick, *B. B.* XI 269), which is due to an Attic scribe. Cf. *Ἀχαιῖκ[ά]* C. I. A. II 723<sub>3</sub>. Herodas has *Ἀθηναίη* four times.

In *Herodotos* the chief difficulty as regards settling the question of the occurrence of *a* for *ai* is presented by *αἰεί*. Proper names in *-αιεύς* preserve the *ι* except in *Φωκαεύς*, in seven passages according to Stein, though the same editor adopts *Φωκαιεύς* in thirteen cases. *Φωκαεῖς* Bechtel, No. 170, *Φωκαιεύς* 207, are of doubtful authority<sup>2</sup>, the latter at least being very late. Pherek. 44 has *Ἀθηναίη* as Hdt., &c.

Nouns and adjectives in *-αίη*, *-αυκός*, *-αίς*, preserve the *ι*. *Θηβαίς* II 28, &c., appears to be correct, since a *Θηβαιεύς* is defensible solely on the ground of analogy.

*αἰεί* is Stein's reading, though the MSS. are uncertain in the extreme. Stein's eclecticism dictates *αἰεί*, but *ἀείναος* I 93, 145, (cf. *ἀενάοντα* v 109, *αἰεν-* AE). *αἰεί* may be West Ionic, but scarcely Asiatic Ionic. *ἔσαεί*, in Pherekyd. of Leros, has no parallel form with the *ai* diphthong in that author. Herakl. 2, 20 has *αἰεί* (but *ἀείζων*, *ἀέναον*), Anaxag. 14, 15 *αἰεί* in Simplic. 156<sub>12</sub>, 164<sub>18</sub>; so also Melissos 1 &c., where Mullach edits *αἰεί*. Authors quoting Dem. *Mor.* have *αἰεί* almost invariably, but *αἰεί* occurs 88. Hippokr. *αἰεί*, e.g. III 182. *αἰετός* is probably the genuine reading in Hdt. despite the variation of the MSS.; *ai* does not become *a* in this word and in *αἰεταῖος*, *ἐναιέτιον*, &c., in the Attic inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries<sup>3</sup>, though *αἰεί* and *ἀεί* contend for mastery in the official Attic documents until 361 B. C., when *ἀεί* is declared the victor. It is incorrect that Ionic did not possess *ἀεί*. *ἐλαίη* and congeners, *κλαίω* Theog. 931, 1041, 1132, Archil. 13, 20, and *καίω* do not admit the *ā* form (cf. Theog. 1145). From the stem *καῖ* we have *λυχνοκαίη*, *πυρκαίη* (Hdt., Herakl. 103). On the interrelation of *καίω* and *κάω*, see Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXV 268; Brug-

<sup>1</sup> *ἀένναος* Hdt. I 145, as v. l.

<sup>2</sup> Sappho 44 has *Φωκάας*.

<sup>3</sup> *αἰετός* is found in Delos, Ditt. *Syll.* 367, 191. *Ἀετίωνος* Iasos, Bechtel 104<sub>16</sub> (before 353 B. C.) may have lost *ι*. Is Hom. *Ἡετίων* connected (Blass)? Hdn. II 859<sub>13</sub> calls the *η* of *Ἡετίων* Ionic.

mann, *Gr. Gr.* § 18, 54. *καίω* (with diphthongal *αι*) was also Hellenistic.

## 210.] Ionic AI = A of other dialects.

ἐταῖρος is the Ionic form. Cf. ἐταιρήϊος, ἐταιρητή in Hdt., ἐταιρείη in Sim. Keos 118. Hippon. 1<sub>3</sub>, Arch. 79, epode 85, Sim. Am. 7<sub>49</sub>, Hdt. have ἐταῖρος, so too Theog. 643 and often. ἔταρος is epic only, though claimed as Ionic, without any chronological distinction, by Greg. Korinth. p. 457. See Hinrichs, *H. E. V. A.* p. 90. The accent of ἐταῖρος is due to the influence of ἐταίρα.

παραιβάτης, an Ionic form, Ψ 132. An Attic inscription, C. I. A. I 5, 1 (500-456), has παραιβάτης. Attic cult documents are coloured by Ionisms to a limited extent.

αἶδασμος, Chios, 183 A 30, B 30, is an unexplained form for ἄδασμος. Cf. Tarent. ἀνεγμα = αἶνιγμα.

παλαιστή in παλαιστιάδα, ἐξαπάλαιστα, τριπάλαιστα Hdt. I 50; Attic inscriptions παλαστή *sran* (παλαιστής *wrestler* from παλαίω). In later writers παλαιστή as in Ionic, with an anaptyctic ι; cf. Τροϊζήν Τροζήν, Γεραιστός Γεραστός. Upon a late inscription from Milesian territory C. I. G. 2860<sub>13</sub> we read παλαστῶν.

ἰθαγενής is the Herodoteian form, not ἰθαί-, as is found in *P. R.* II 17; cf. Greg. Kor. p. 551.

AI = A(ι).

Φαίεννον Thasos (L.) 18 C 5, Παμφαίης Thasos (L.) 19 A 6, Δαναίη Miletos, 99, from Δανάη Ξ 319 in a passage held by some to be an Ionic insertion. The myth of Danaë is referred to nowhere else in the Iliad. Hekataios 358, has Δανᾶ < Δανάη. Another instance of *αι* for *a* is suggested by Bechtel, *Thas. Insch.* p. 28: ι 222 ναῖον δ' ὀρφ' ἄγγεα πάντα, Aristar.; MSS. νᾶον. Cf. ἐννεία, Zeleia, and other forms, § 220.

## 211.] Varia.

1. There is no interrelation between η and αι in Ἀλθημένης, Thasos (L), 4 B 3, compared with Ἀλθαιμένης, similar to that existing between ἥμισυς and Aiolic αἰμισέων, C. D. I. 213<sub>9</sub>. The η of Ἀλθημένης is that of ἀλθήσκω, ἀλθήσομαι; see Bechtel, *ad loc.*

2. αι in ἐξαιθραπέυοντος, Mylasa, 248, is referred by Lagarde (*Gesammelte Abhandl.* 70) to Avestan *ṣōithra-*, ἐξατράπης and ξατράπης to Old Pers. *khšathra-pānā* (Lagarde, p. 68, Le Bas, *Voy. Arch.* III no. 388).

3. Archil. 3, δαίμων = δαήμων. The latter is derived from δαήμων.

4. Hdt. has in compounds formed from γῆ the ending -γαιος: ὑπόγαιος IV 200, II 148, II 100 (ε written over αι in *R*);

μεσόγαιος I 145, 175, II 7 (-γeos in *R*) and in many other passages; ἐπίγαιος II 125 (*R* as in II 100); μελάγγαιος II 12 (-γeos *R d z*); βαθύγeos IV 23 (*dz*, -γeos *ceteri*), read -γαιος since Bekker. Hippokr. VI 356 has μεσόγειος (θ -γeos). Here the interrelation of *αι* and *ει* is due to the different treatment of the ground-form. See § 421. Blass thinks that -γeos is the only correct form.

### 212.] EI.

The diphthong EI will here be treated under the divisions—

I. Genuine EI=pan-Hellenic and proethnic EI.

II. Spurious EI (monophthongic)=Attic *ει*, Doric *η*.

Some doubtful cases will be considered at the close (§ 225).

213.] Note on the orthography of Ionic inscriptions. Confusion between E and EI as representatives of the two EI's is of not infrequent occurrence upon Ionic inscriptions antedating the year 400. After that period monophthongic EI was gradually diphthongized.

1. Genuine EI represented (*a*) by EI.

δυνάμEI Teos 156 B 31.

Eιδώς Teos, 156 B 21, 25.

EI Halik. 238<sub>31</sub>.

ΠΕΙθοῦς Thasos, 70.

(*β*) by E rarely.

ποιήσEαν Teos, 156 B 30 (but here *ι* has been dropped).

Eπεν Didyma, Roberts, I 139. Cf. Meisterh.<sup>2</sup> p. 135.

ἈριστοκλEδ[ης] Styra, 19<sub>12</sub>.

ΝεοκλEδης Styra, 19<sub>265</sub>.

2. Spurious EI represented (*a*) by E.

προσέρδEν Thasos, 68.

φεύγEν Halik. 238<sub>37</sub>.

ἐπικαλEν Halik. 238<sub>45</sub>.

ὀφείλEν Thasos, 71<sub>11</sub> (fourth century).

In Attic the last examples of E for spurious EI date from 350–300.

(*β*) by EI rarely.

EΙχον Halik. 238<sub>30</sub>.

Instances of the writing of *εἰμί*, &c., will be given § 224, 9. The diphthongization of the *ει* of *εἰμί* may be traced back as far as the sixth century in Attic.

### 214.] Genuine EI in radical syllables.

*E.g.* Φειδύρων Styra 19<sub>326</sub>; Φειδίλεω Kyme, Rob. I 174; Μείδων Styra, 19<sub>68</sub>; Τειχιούσ(σ)ης Miletos, 98, &c.



The following words call for special attention:

1. *τει* in *ἐκτεισιν* Zeleia, 113<sub>17</sub>, *ἐκτέλωσι* 113<sub>35</sub>, the future and aorist of *τίω* (ἴ) being *τέλω* and *ἔτεισα*<sup>1</sup>: *Τέλσαρχος* Styra 19<sub>311</sub>; *Τέλσανδρος* Smyrna, 153<sub>14</sub>; *Τεισικράτης* Thasos (L), 17<sub>6</sub>, 19 B 3; *Τεισίμαχος* Halik. 240<sub>11</sub>. Similar forms occur in other dialects (*Diphthong* EI, p. 17, *A. J. P.* VI 443). Names in *Tīσ-* are ita-cistic, but not so those in *Tīm-*. It is better to assume a root *qāi*, whose weak form is *qī* in *τιμή*, than to maintain that case-levelling has produced *tīm*: nom. *τείμᾱ*; gen. *τῖμᾱς*, whence *τῖμή*, through remembrance of the long penult of the nominative (and not with *nebentoniges ī*, King-Cookson, p. 234). See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 396.

2. *ἐνέικαι*<sup>2</sup> and connected forms (*ἐνήνεια* Hdt. VIII 37)<sup>3</sup>: *ἐν*] *Εἰκάντων* Chios, 174 B 4, *ἐνείκον* Anakr. 62<sub>3</sub>. The *ει* formation occurs in Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Theokritos, Kretan, Boiotian, Aiolic, and has been explained by Brugmann, *Ind. Forsch.* I 174, from *ἐν* (prep.) + *√εικ*, which is not connected with *ἐνεγκ-*. Cf. Baunack *Inschrift von Gortyn* p. 56 ff., Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 590. See § 222, 609.

## 215.] Genuine EI in other syllables.

On *τουτEI*, *νηποιEI*, *ἀσπονδEI*, &c., cf. § 716.

The *ει* of *Διειτρέφης*, Keos 44 B 12, is from a stem *διFo* and reproduces the old locative. Cf. *Διειτρέφης*, C. I. A. I 402<sub>2</sub>, 447 III 53; Kypr. *Διφείθεμις* C. D. I. 60<sub>21</sub>; *Δίει* Dodona 1582, Korkyra, C. I. G. 1869. In Homer, Zenodotos read *διειπετής* for the vulg. *διῖπετής*. Cf. *Δηιπέτης* (perhaps) Styra, 19<sub>181</sub>.

*ει* in suffixes from *ε(σ)ι* is regularly preserved, never becoming *ηι* (§ 232). Some examples of *-ειη*, *-ειᾶ* < *-εσια* are given in §§ 175 ff. Others are: *ἀδρανείη* Aret. 150, 261. *ἀεικείη* Hdt. I 73, &c., as in Homer. *ἀκριβείη* Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>3</sub>. *ἀσελγείη* Hipp. ep. 17<sub>30</sub>, 44. *ἀσθενείη* Hdt. IV 135, VIII 51, Hipp. II 78. *ἀσφαλείη* Hdt. II 121 (a), III 7, IV 33. *ἀνταρκείη* Dem. *Mor.* 38 (MSS. *-εια*), 39, Hipp. ep. 17<sub>37</sub>, 44. *ἐπιμελείη* Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>57</sub>. *εὐλαβείη* Hippokr. ep. 12<sub>4</sub>, 16<sub>10</sub>. *εὐπαθείη* Hdt. I 135, 191, &c. *νωθείη* Aret. 208. *πολυπληθείη* Hippokr. II 60. *προσηνείη* Hippokr. II 270, Aret. 250.

In many cases we find *-ιη* in place of *-ειη* in nouns derived from sigmatic stems. Most of these occurrences may safely be set down to confusion on the part of the copyists. In some words, however, the *-ιη* is genuine, having been transferred from

<sup>1</sup> Arkad. *τείω* is a neologism. Brugmann, *Grundr.* I, § 314, doubtfully suggests that *ἔτεισα* is from \**ἔτηισα*.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. has *κατενευχθῆναι*, but Lukian *d. S.* 17, *κατενευχθῆναι* and *Astrol.* 15, *κατενέχθη*. Philip of Pergamum, *B. C. H.* II 273 has *ἐξήνεγκα*: cf. Hdn. II 507<sub>2</sub>, Et. M. 339<sub>32</sub>, Eust. 712<sub>18</sub>, 983<sub>37</sub>, 1183<sub>45</sub>.

nouns with vocalic stems in which *-ιη*, not *-ειη*, was the proper termination. To what extent this *-ιη* has found admission into Ionic is difficult to discover. Of the following examples, *ὠφελίη* seems the only certain case.

*ἀναδίη* is the reading of *O* in Theog. 648, of *c* in 291; elsewhere *-είη*, cf. § 175. *ἀσφαλίη* Hippokr. II 634 Littré (*-εῖαν A D R<sup>1</sup>, &c.*), but *-είην* II 244, III 234. *δυσμενίη* Demokr. *Mor.* 20<sub>26</sub>; *εὐμενίη* Hdt. II 45 is written by Holder against the authority of the MSS., which have *-εῖα* or *-εα*; *κακοθηθίη* Demokr. *Mor.* 22 (Stob.); *πολυμαθίη* Herakl. 16 according to Bywater, though Diog. Laert. has *-είη*. Cobet's *πουνυμαθηθίη* is certainly incorrect. *προμηθείη* is correctly handed down in Xenoph. 1<sub>24</sub>. Hdt. has *προμηθίη* I 88, III 36 (*C P d -είη*). A schol., quoted by Bredow, p. 188, says *τῆς νεωτέρας Ἰάδος ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν τὴν προμηθείαν προμηθίαν*. *ὠφελίη* is the better attested form; cf. Hdt. V 98 (*-είη d r*), VII 139 (*-είη C P d*), Demokr. *Mor.* 184, Hippokr. II 334 Littré (many MSS. *-είη*), Aretaios 238, Eusebios § 4. In Hippokr. II 626, Littré reads *ὠφελείη* (*-ίη AC*). With *ὠφελίη*, cf. *ὠφελία* C. I. A. I 835, in Thukydides, &c. No Attic inscription has *-εῖα*.

By contraction of *ε + ι*, § 284, *ε + ει*, § 310.

### 216.] Genuine EI from *ε + anaptyctic ι*.

Ionic examples of this phenomenon are *εἴσχηκα* Smyrna, *Berl. Monatsberichte*, 1875, 554, l. 7; *εἰσχήκατε* Erythai, *Μουσ. κ. βιβλ.* 1875, p. 99; *παρείσχηται* Olbia, C. I. G. 2058, a 4,—all late inscriptions.

### 217.] Genuine EI from EF-.

*εἰρήνη* Eryth. 199<sub>9</sub>, 203<sub>8</sub>, &c., perhaps from *Frāna*, *ē-Frānā*. The North-West Greek and in part Doric *εἰράνᾱ* appears to be derived from a root *Frā*. If from *ἐFrήνη*, we should expect *ἡρήνα* in Doric, *ἐρρήνα* in Aiolic, which never occur. I cannot therefore adopt Meister's derivation (*G. D.* II 93) from *ἐν-Fρήνη*. Spitzer, *Arkadischer Dialekt*, p. 20, attempts unsuccessfully to explain the dialectal interrelation of *ā* and *η* after *ρ* in this word. See also Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 288. Attic *εἰρήνη*, not *εἰράνη*, since the *ā* of the final syllable has become *η*. Cf. Saussure (*Mém. soc. ling.* VII 91).

### 218.] Genuine EI from HI.

*πλείστος* from I.E. *plēisto-* < *plēis-* by proethnic contraction of *ē* and *i*. The Ionic dialect offers no trace of *πλήστος*, ARKADIAN § 20. On *πλείον*, &c., see § 219. *χρεῖος* Hom., Theog. 1196, *χρήμιος* and *χρήος* Gortyna (Baunack, *Die Inschrift von Gortyn*, 51), *χρήια* = Kretan *χρήεα* Cauér, 121<sub>41</sub>.



## 219.] E from EI before vowels.

Genuine EI suffers the loss of its second element, as does AI (above, § 209), though not frequently<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Inscriptional Forms.*

*West Ionic*: A Chalkidian vase in Roberts, I 189 F, has Αινέης; cf. Αινέης in Menekrates *apud* Dion. Halik. *A. R.* I 77 (Jac.). Κλεώ C. I. G. 8369, Latyshev II p. 305, Herodas 393; Θάλαα 8412; Σπεώ 8354.

*Asiatic Ionic*: ποιήσεαν Teos, 156 B 30; δασέαν Miletos, 1002, 6. Cf. νικηθέη (-EE) Zankle, I. G. A. 518.

Other examples, as Fritsch (*V. H. D.* p. 41) states, are not free from the suspicion of not being pure Ionic. Ποσιδέου Chios, 17717 (about 300 B.C.), Smyrna, 15332 (this name with ει, Perinth. 234 B 34, Th. (L.), 10 A 10); 'Ηράκλεος Eryth. 206 A 12 (after 278 B.C.); cf. 'Ηρακλέων στηλέων Hdt. II 33 (R d, -είων A B); 'Ηρακλεώτου 206 A 38, -εώτης 206 B 26 (after 278 B.C.), Eretria, A. J. A. VII 248, no. 11, Halik. 241 (metrical), 'Ηρακλεωτῶν Head, *H. N.* 500, Διοκλέους Phanag., Latyshev II 351, 'Ηρακλεώτης *ibid.* 289. Meisterhans,<sup>2</sup> p. 34, quotes 'Ηρακλειώτου from C. I. A. I 651, before 403 B.C.; 'Ηρακλεώτην II 61315 (298 B.C.). Hdt. has 'Ηρακλέος. Cf. 'Ροδόκλεια Samos, 225, 'Ηρακλείοισιν Teos, 156 B 33 (fifth century), 'Ηρακλείου Erythrai, 20117 (early fourth century). δωρεάς Ephesos, 14715 (300 B.C.); ιερατείαι Eryth. 206 C 13,—the only instance of this form, while there are ten of ιερητείαι. ιερῇ Pantikap. 123 (third cent.), Ephesos, 150 (late), from ιερε(ί)η; cf. Hdt. ιρείη I 175, V 72. ἐξώλεα, πανώλεα Bechtel, 263 (Lykian), may be Ionic or Attic.

Nouns in ειο=ηιο and nouns and adj. from sigmatic and ην stems generally retain ει in all branches of Ionic.

The form δασέαν in Miletos 1002, an inscription dating, according to Rayet, from the fifth century, is as complete a parallel to δασέα in Hdt. as might be desired; and the more interesting, in view of possibility of the Milesian dialect having been that of early Ionic prose, though of course an isolated form proves nothing. See § 18. Greg. Korinth. p. 440, says τῆς θηλείας τὸ ἰ ἐξαίρουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης πτώσεως τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, quoting Hdt. for θηλέων and θηλέη. Following are the forms adduced from Hdt., with the evidence from other quarters of Ionic. Cf. § 419, 506.

<sup>1</sup> χρύσεος, ἀργύρεος, χάλκεος, Ἐκτόρεος, Νεστόρεος are usually cited by the grammarians, e.g. Joh. Gr. 240 B, 241, Greg. K. 433, Meerm. 650, Vat. 697, Birnb. 677<sup>42</sup>, Hdn. II 426<sup>28</sup>, 861<sup>4</sup>, An. Ox. I 292<sup>22</sup>, II 127<sup>17</sup> (Theogn.), I 443<sup>8</sup>, I 356<sup>13</sup>, Apoll. Conj. 233<sup>9</sup>, Schn.; κήλεος Hdn. II 61<sup>4</sup>, 861<sup>4</sup>, Schol. Ven. A on © 217; παρδάλεος An. Ox. I 356<sup>12</sup>, Et. M. 652<sup>35</sup> (also παρδαλή and λεοντή, < εη=ειη; μαρμάρεος An. Ox. I 273<sup>26</sup>, Eust. 3937. See also Hdn. II 276<sup>26</sup>, 909<sup>7</sup>, 861<sup>4</sup>, Et. Gud. 379<sup>55</sup>, 406<sup>25</sup>, 452<sup>47</sup>, Eust. 283<sup>15</sup>, cf. 640<sup>3</sup>, Tzetz. Ex. II. 95<sup>21</sup>, An. Par. III 69<sup>19</sup>.



2. TABLE OF FEMININES OF ADJ. IN -US.

MSS. OF HERODOTUS.	HOMER.	LYRIC POETS.	OTHER IONIC PROSE WRITERS.	INSCRIPTIONS.
βαθέα	-έα only O 606, Π 766, Φ 213 cf. Fick <i>Ilias</i> 84, 86, 380	βαθεῖαν Sim. Am. 766 cf. Sim. Keos 379	βαθέαν Arrian 27, 33 βαθεῖαι Hippokr. III 200	
βαρέα	βαρεῖα	βαρεῖα Sim. Keos 1145		
βραχέα		βραχεῖα Sim. Am. 775 <sup>1</sup>	βραχέη Aret. 28 βραχεῖαι Demokr. 47	
δασέα	δασεῖα	δασεῖαν Hipp. 192 δασείησιν 193	δασεῖαι Hippokr. V 634 δασεῖα II 12 -εας II 92	δασέαν Milet. 1002, 6 δασείης Zeleia 114 E 4
εὐρέα	εὐρεῖα	εὐρεῖαν Sim. K. 846	εὐρέη Euseb. Mynd. 63 εὐρεῖαι Hippokr. III 200, 208	
ἡμίσεια				
θήλεα	θήλεια, θήλεας		θήλέην Luk. Syr. 15, 51 θήλεας 54 (θηλείης 27 MSS.) Arrian 14	
ἰθέα	ἰθεῖα		ἰθεῖη Demokr. (εὐθεῖα Herakl.)	
ὀξεα	ὀξεῖα <sup>2</sup> . A 272 ὀξέαι not probable		ὀξέων Hippokr. II 226 (γ.λ. -ει)	
πλατεά adj., also name of the island.		πλατεῖα Bacchyl. 37	πλατέας Ktesias πλατεῖην Arrian 16 (MSS.)	
παχεία	παχεῖα	παχεῶν Theog. 715		
τρηχέα	τρηχεῖα	Τρηχείης Hipp. 472 τρηχεῖαν Sim. Keos 89, cf. 163	τρηχέην, Hipp. II 92 τρηχέα Arr. 21; τραχεία Herch. τραχείης <i>Vita Homeri</i> 18	[τρηχῆαν <sup>3</sup> Kaib. 237 Smyrna II. or I. cent. B.C.]
δριμέα	δριμεῖα		δριμέα Aret. 204	

<sup>1</sup> Sim. has also παχεῖαν 31 B, Archil. 184 παχεῖα.<sup>2</sup> Hesiod's ὀξεῖα (neutr. pl.) is due to the influence of the fem.<sup>3</sup> γ.λ.

It is noteworthy that the iambographers refrain entirely from the use of the shortened forms. Doubtful support is however given to the Herodoteian adj. in -έα by the Homeric ῥέα, βαθέα, ὠκέα<sup>1</sup>. There is but a single occurrence of this formation in the elegy (ταχεῶν). It is inadvisable to refer this adj. form to the influence of the occasional Attic writing εα (for the first time in an -v- adj. upon an inscription 345 B. C.). In Thukyd. ἡμισέας, Xenophon πλατέα, Plato ἡμισέας, Philemo θρασέα γυνή are attested. Theokr. has εὐρέα, and ἀδέα, a form occurring in Epicharmos and Alkman, Archimedes ἡμίσεια. The Attic forms in literature and inscriptions are too sporadic to have produced so complete a disturbance of the MSS. of Hdt. as that indicated § 506. Cf. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 184, *K. Z.* XXX 405.

3. πλέον (§ 543) and related forms are here classed together.

(1) ι-less forms: πλέον, πλέονι,λέονα, πλέω, πλεόνων, πλέους, πλεόνως (and πλεῦν, πλεῦνος, πλεῦνα, πλεῦνες, πλεύνων, πλεῦνας<sup>2</sup>), in Hdt., according to Stein, πλέον Solon 32<sub>4</sub>, Phok. 4, Anax. 6 (Mullach, Simpl. εἰ); πλέω Demokr. *Mor.* 92, Anax. 13; πλέων Herakl. 112 (Cobet, πλείων vulg.); πλέον and πλεόν Melissos, § 14; πλέονες Demokr. 115, πλέονας Theog. 605; πλεόνεσσι 800; -πλεος Hdt., cf. Archil. 58<sub>4</sub>; πλέον Oropos, 18<sub>4</sub>, Keos, 43<sub>9</sub>; πλεόνος Keos, 43<sub>5</sub>, Demokr. *Mor.* 21; πλέω Miletos, 100<sub>2</sub>; πλέω Anakr. 94<sub>1</sub> (eleg.); πλέον *Syr. dea* 46. (2) Forms with ι: πλείων Sim. Amorg. 2<sub>2</sub>, and Theog. 606; πλειόνων Demokr. 20<sub>13</sub>, πλείονα Theog. 702, πλείω 907 (πλείων O). Hdt. has πλείων I 192, πλείους I 167, II 120, 121 (δ) in all MSS. Bredow and Stein unite in expelling these forms from the text, a procedure followed by Holder except in I 167. Hippokrates and Aretaios have both πλείων and πλέον. Codex A of Hippokrates has the ι-less form sometimes where the other MSS. have εἰ. πλείων lost its *iota* before any other form, according to Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX 144, because the ε bore the accent, while in other forms ι was tonic (πλείων).

4. Ἀμαλθείης, Anakr. 8 (for Bergk's Ἀμαλθείης), seems warranted in the light of Phokyl. Ἀμαλθείης 7<sub>2</sub>. σίοντα Anakr. 49 is probably = *tvisháti*, and not to be written σέοντα (Fick) = *tvéshati*. Alkaios has σείων 22 (with εἰ reinstated from the aorist as in Gortynian ἐνσείη), and σέων 26.

ὁθνέην ὁδόν is quoted by Hdn. II 558<sub>17</sub>, from an Ionic (?) poet.

5. In the case of -εσ- stems, we have -εος = -ειος in the following cases in Hdt. which are all open to doubt.

τέλεος, τελεόω, generally, but τέλειον IX 110, Demokr. *Mor.* 218,

<sup>1</sup> Tzetz. *Ex. II.* 61<sub>15</sub>. See Leaf on π 766, O 606 and Ψ 198.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. *Kor.* 60, Eust. 775<sub>48</sub>.

and Eryth. 204<sub>23</sub>, τελείοις (about 354 B.C.); in Homer and Demokritos τελεώτατος, in Demokrates 2 τελεότης; cf. Kret. ἀτέλεα Cauer, 119<sub>22</sub><sup>1</sup>. ἐπιτηδεός Greg. Korinth. 65. Fritsch, *V. II. D.* 43, prefers to derive the adj. from ἐπιτηδεύω, but denies in any case the correctness of the ending -εος, which is the reading of the MSS. in a large number of instances. See § 554. ὑπώρεα, cf. πανώλεα, ἐξώλεα 263 (Lykia). In citing the fragments of Hekat. Steph. Byz. uses the full form, *e.g.* 186. ἐπέτειος is now written by Stein. ἀφνεός Theog. 188, 559. Ἡράκλειος Hdt. IV 43, 152, 181, VIII 132. Ἡράκλειος is the best attested form in Hdt. See above, under 1. μοννογενέην Arrian, 8<sub>6</sub>.

6. -εος in adjectives from other stems.

βόεος (Arrian 14<sub>9</sub> βόειος), χήνεος, οἶεος, αἴγεος<sup>2</sup> may have existed side by side with the -ειος forms (ἡμιόνειος, μήλειος). Ἀριμάσπεια and Ὑπερβόρεος need not be rejected with Fritsch, *V. II. D.* 44 (Fick, *Ilias*, 551 ff.), though Hellanikos has Ὑπερβόρειοι. ἀδελφεός in Hdt., Lokrian, I. G. A. 321 A 7, 29, and in the letters of Hippokr. 17<sub>29</sub>, 27<sub>20</sub>, 34<sub>35</sub>.

7. Mimnermos' (11<sub>6</sub>) κείαται has, like Attic κείωνται C. I. A. II 573<sub>10</sub>, a later εἰ<sup>3</sup>. In Hdt. and Hippokr. κέεται, ἐκέετο, κέεσθαι, with ε from ε(ι) regularly. Δέαλκος Thasos 83<sub>6</sub> seems to have lost *iota*. Cf. Δεῖαλκος Thasos, 81 B 14.

8. *Expulsion of ι from -ειη.*

*Iota* does not disappear in stems in -εσ-: αἰκείη, ἀληθείη, &c. (above, § 175). εὐμαρέη seems to be supported, Hdt. II 35, by all the MSS., by Greg. Korinth. § 119, and by Suidas (εὐμαρέη ἀπόπατος παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ), but cannot stand against the overwhelming mass of counter-testimony.

9. Δεκελέων Hdt. IX 73, as Δεκελέεως C. I. A. II 733, B 6, from Δεκελειεύς, II 660, 4. See Bekk. Anecd. II, p. 601, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δεκελειᾶθεν = Δεκελεῆθεν, Hdt. IX 73. Hdt. has also Μαντινέη IV 161 (or Μαντίνης), Μαρέη II 18, Μαλέη, Θυρέη and Θυρέαι.

Upon the expulsion of *ι*, contraction resulted in ιερῆ, Pantikap., 123, Ephesos, 150; cf. Ionic ἱρείη in Hdt.; ἱέρεια Keos 48 (fourth cent.), as Z 300. The intermediate step between ιερείη and ιερῆ is represented by Kallimachos' Ἱερέη, epigr. 41<sup>4</sup>. In Attic we may have ἱέρεια and ιερῖα (*Orestes* 261) by suffix exchange. Is Πανακῆ, Hrd. 4<sub>6</sub>, from Πανακείη = Πανάκεια?

10. The explanation of the form Ἑρμῆς is as yet too uncertain for it to be classed here. Apparently it is = Ἑρμε(ι)ῆς = Ἑρμείας.

<sup>1</sup> τέλεος in fifth and fourth centuries in Attic inscriptions; τέλειος, second century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Homeric αἴγειος, except 1 196.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A 659 κέαται, and κατακείαται Ω 527.

<sup>4</sup> Gram. Par. p. 680 cites ἱέρεια as Ionic, Tzetz. Ex. II. 61<sub>15</sub> ἱερέη.



Ἑρμῆς in Homer is rare (but often in hymns). Herodotos has gen. Ἑρμῆω; cf. Ἑρμιέω Chios, 180, where -ιέω seems an analogical formation.

220. EI from E + glide ι (before a vowel) occurs before ο, ω, ου, α; as yet there are no examples before ε and η in Ionic.

δειόμενον Oropos, 18<sub>36</sub> (about 400 B.C.); cf. δειώ[ν]τα[ι] C. I. A. II 119<sub>14</sub>, about 340 B.C.; προσδείηται C. I. A. II 167, 43, 48, 334-325 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Attic inscriptions of the fifth century have ε; and so elsewhere in Ionic: δέηται Olynthos, 8 B 4; δέηι Zeleia, 113<sub>39</sub> (δεῖ Teos 158<sub>8</sub>, late). Mimn. 2<sub>13</sub>, ἐπιδευέται has been unjustly expelled by Fick, *B. B.* XI 253, in favour of an assumed ἐπιδείεται. δεύω is an Aiolic form (C. D. I. 214<sub>37</sub>, 250<sub>6</sub>, 281 A 19, B 26), and ἐπιδευέται may be classed with other Aiolisms preserved by Ionic elegists. Traces of this form appear even in MSS. of Hdt. IV 130 (ἐπιδευέες, where ἐπιδεέες, i.e. -εῖς is correct).

ἐννεία Zeleia, 113<sub>30</sub>, shortly after Granikos.

εἰάν Zeleia, 113<sub>20, 39</sub>; cf. C. I. A. II add. nov. 14 *b*, 11 (387 B.C.), II add. 115 *b* 30, 47 (after 350 B.C.); add. 573 *b* 13, 18 (after 350 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, and in Epeirotic.

εἴως Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402<sub>12</sub>.

πόλει(ω)ς Zeleia 113<sub>19</sub>.

Θε[ι]όφρων Eryth. 206 C 12, would seem to be the same as Θεόφρων 206 C 11. θειόν=θεόν, Priene, 141, an inscription in Ionic orthography, but not in Ionic dialect.

-εῖος, genitive of -ην- stems, called later Ionic (and Lesbian) by Herodian, II 674<sub>4</sub> (Ἀχιλλεῖος, βασιλεῖος). No examples occur in Ionic literature or inscriptions. Hdt. βασιλέος, and so Ἀχιλλέος, Olbia, C. I. G. 2076 (late).

On -κλείους in the genitive, see list in § 529. Cf. Meisterhans, p. 36, and Dittenberger, *Syll.* p. 780, for other forms<sup>2</sup>.

221.] An ει that is never represented by η in other dialects, and which is nevertheless not strictly a genuine diphthong, appears to exist in κρεῖας by a probable conjecture of Hermann, Ananios, 53. κρέας is found in Hippon. 77, Sim. Amorg. 24<sup>3</sup>. As in λειαίνω Solon, 4<sub>35</sub>, ἀποπνείω Tyr. 10<sub>24</sub>, this ει is a mere graphical representation of ευ < εφ, and appeared originally only when a long syllable was necessary, a fact not comprehended by later transcribers. Cf. also δειδιότες Theog. 764, δειδιθι 1179 (δέδοικα 780), where δειδ=δεδφ.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also ἐδειήθη Lokris Ἀθην. I 489.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest certain example of ε(ι) upon an inscription is Attic Νηλείως Εφ. ἀρχ. 1884, 161 (418 B.C.).

<sup>3</sup> The ι of κρεῖας must not be confused with that of Hom. κρεῖον, which is that of the suffix (Skt. *kravya*). On κρεῖων see Schmidt *Neutra*, p. 325.

In *εἰαρινός* Theog. 1276, Sim. K. 73; *εἶαρος* Lukian, S. 49, Alkm. 26 (*Ἐαρίνης* (?), Styra, 19<sub>184</sub>, Ananios, *ἔαρι*, tetr. 51, Hdt. *ἔαρ*<sup>1</sup>, Theog. *ἦρος* 777), the *ει* may be due to the development of the glide *iota*, the ground-form being \**ἦαρινός*, cf. *vēr* from *vēr*, Old Norse *rār*, but is more probably an accommodation to the necessities of the hexameter (*εἰαρινῇ* B 471, *εἰαρινοῖσιν* B 89). *ἦρος* seems to be from *ἔαρος* rather than from \**ἦαρος*. Cf. § 281.

Hom. *εἰλάτινος* (*ἐλάτινος* Olynth. 8 B 3) is purely metrical, as is *εἰνάλιος* (Greg. Kor. 387) with *εἰν* < *ἐνι*-, and *εἰλήλουθα*<sup>2</sup>.

In the cases where this intervocalic *iota* appears, we must, I think, distinguish two distinct classes.

1. Cases of *ει* in poetry, where the *ει* is a mere graphical expression, not made use of by the earlier poets at least, to represent *ευ*=*εφ*; e.g. Hom. *λείουσι*, *εἰοικυῖαι*, (*εὐδείελος* ?), *ἀποπνεύειοντ'* (Tyrtaios X 24, Greg. Kor. 453), *πλείοντος* (An. Ox. I 131<sub>4</sub>).

2. Cases of the pure glide *iota*, as in *εἰάν*, *ἐννεΐα* (or even in *Ἀχιλλεῖος*, *βασιλεῖος* Hdn. II 674<sub>4</sub>=Choir. 209<sub>24</sub>, see § 25), where *F* has nothing whatever to do with the appearance of the *ι*, though in some of the words in question *F*, as a matter of fact, did once exist; but at the period from which the forms date, cannot have left any trace of its former appearance.

At the present stage of our knowledge, I hold it best to keep the two classes apart, though thereby not wishing to deny that in certain special instances one class may overlap into the other. In the case of *ἐρείομεν* A 62, it is difficult to determine whether the *ει* is=*ευ* (as in *λείουσι*) or is a false transcription of *ἐρήομεν*. *Λειώκριτος* and *Λειώδης*=*Ληο*-, *Ληω*- are from the misunderstood E, rather than due to the glide *ι* in *Λεω*-. Aristarchos wrote *ει* before a vowel except (1) in verbal endings as *ῆη*, which seemed to be a 'distracted' *ῆι*, (2) where the *κοινή* had no parallel form in *ε*, as in *περιστήωσι*, *κῆαντες*, or where it had a parallel in *η* as *τεθνηώς* (*τεθνηκώς*), and (3) in nouns where an *ει* would have thrown the declension out of gear. See B. P. W. 1891, p. 38. In Homer monophthongal *ει* before vowels is gene-

<sup>1</sup> *ῆρι* in Hdt. must be corrected. The form in Lukian cannot stand, unless it can be proved that he here imitates an epic, not an Herodoteian, form. Hippokr. and Aretaios have no trace of *εἶαρ*, their MSS. fluctuating between *ῆρ* and *ἔαρ*. The Gram. Par. p. 680 holds that *εἶαρ* (*sic*) is Ionic. See also Eust. 1851<sub>42</sub>. Unfortunately the Boiot. *FEIarino* I. G. A. 250, and *FEIarinos* *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad.* 1885, 1035, no. 46, do not decide whether the *ει* is =*η* or =*ε*+ the glide *iota*.

<sup>2</sup> Held by the grammarians to be the Ionic form: Gram. Par. p. 680, (XVIII, XIX), An. Bachm. II 368<sub>31</sub>, Drakon 159<sub>6</sub>, cf. 161<sub>10</sub>, interlin. Schol. Ven. A on A 202. In Eust. 734<sub>54</sub>, An. Par. III 49<sub>28</sub> Herakleides says that the form shows peculiarities of four different dialects (!), the *ει* being Ionic. Since *ει* before liquids and nasals was regarded as Ionic, the schol. Apoll. Rhod. B 404 does not hesitate to call the addition of *ι* in *σκιόειν* Ionic.



rally capable of being resolved into  $\epsilon\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon a$ , or is to be written  $\eta$ . The substitution of  $\epsilon i$  for  $\eta$  in the above mentioned Homeric forms, and in *e.g.*  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$ ,  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\eta$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  cannot well have occurred before the period when the parasitic  $\iota$  (§ 220) was current.

Homeric  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$ , Ionic according to An. Par. III 150<sub>16</sub> (cf. Schol. Ven. A on E 256), have been attacked by Nauck who proposed to read  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\omega\sigma\iota$ , &c. Schmidt (*Neutra*, p. 326) suggests that the original reading was EEOΣΙ and that the  $a$  of  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\omega$  became  $\epsilon$  before  $o$  in primitive Greek. Cf. § 136, 687.

Some verbal forms with  $\epsilon i$ , which is probably an incorrect transcription of  $E$ , are claimed as Ionic by the grammarians, *e.g.*  $\delta\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , on which see Osthoff, *Perfect*, p. 50. So too in the case of other forms with an  $\epsilon i$  in the syllable of reduplication, where the  $\epsilon i$  is for  $\eta$  as in  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron$ , cf. Skt. *dācati*.

The  $\epsilon i$  of the Homeric  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ , *i.e.*  $\tilde{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$ , was regarded as Ionic by Joh. Gr. 240 B, G. K. 442, Apoll. Adv. p. 149<sub>22</sub> Schn.

222.]  $\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota$ , in Hdt. are forms which stand in no conceivable relation to  $\eta\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\nu$ , &c. Lukian follows well in the wake of Hdt., but Hippokrates and Aretaios have throughout the Attic forms. See § 214, 2.

### 223.] Itacism.

See above, § 197, for instances of  $\epsilon i$  for  $\bar{\iota}$ , and cf. §§ 145, 175.

### 224.] Monophthongal EI.

1. A few sample, and some of the most important, forms under each head will illustrate this characteristic feature of Ionic. On 5-12, see § 338, 382, and Solmsen and Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX. When Homer has forms in  $\epsilon$  parallel to those in  $\epsilon i$ , there is a presumption in favour of the former being Aiolic.

#### 2. Spurious EI from $\epsilon\nu f$ .

$\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup>:  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Styra, 19<sub>54</sub>, 76, 277,  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$  19<sub>279</sub>,  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  19<sub>402</sub>,  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  19<sub>74</sub>,  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  19<sub>73</sub>,  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$  19<sub>75</sub>, 278;  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$  Amorgos, 228;  $\Xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\theta\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$  Perinthos, 234 B 28,  $\Phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Styra, 19<sub>330</sub>,  $\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  19<sub>318</sub>,  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  19<sub>239</sub>;  $\Theta\epsilon\nu\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$  Smyrna, 153<sub>29</sub>, &c. Hdt. has  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  VI 57, though Eustathios, quoting Hdt., uses the form  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . In the poets we have  $\epsilon i$  forms, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>19</sub>, 29, 107; Archil. eleg. 7, 19<sub>2</sub>; Anakr. 57 (not  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$  as Bergk reads); Theog. 521, &c. Lukian has  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , though cases of  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  occur. Arrian, 26, 28, has  $\xi\epsilon\nu$ -; and so too Aretaios and the *Vita Homeri*. Even the supposititious letter of Pittakos to Kroisos (Diog. L. I 81) has  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  side by side with Aiolic forms. In other pseudo-Ionic sources, though there is great fluctuation, the weight that Herodotos' un-

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 241 B, Greg. Korinth. 387, 442, Apoll. D. *Pron.* 3 A; cf. An. Ox. I 300<sub>30</sub>.



impeachable *ξείνος* carries may pardon the adoption of this form.

Attic *ξένος* in some relatively pure inscriptions: Oropos 18<sub>9</sub>; Miletos, 100<sub>6</sub>; Eryth. 199<sub>4</sub>; later documents, Thasos, 72<sub>3</sub>; Eryth. 206 B 12; Ephesos, 147<sub>19</sub>; Phanag. 165. So *ξενιτεῖη*, Demokr. *Mor.* 38. Theog. *ξενίης* 518 is to be regarded as an epic reminiscence. Is Anakr. *ξένοισι* 84 Aiolie? *ξένος* in Attic must be derived directly from *ξένφος*, not through *ξέννος*. Solon has *ξένος* 23<sub>2</sub>. On *ξείνος* in tragedy, see § 77.

*κεινός*<sup>1</sup> = Attic *κενός* (*κενότερος*, cf. *μαν(F)ότερος*). Homer and Melissos have *κενεός*.

*στεινός*<sup>2</sup> = Attic *στένος* (*στενότερος*). Arrian has *στεινός* three times, *στενός* an equal number. Aretaios seems to have the vulgar form; cf. Hippokrates, III 208, *στενο-* or *στενώτεραι*. With Sim. Amorg. (14) *στεννγρη* (not un-Ionic), cf. Messenian *Στενύχλαρος*.

*εἵνεκεν* perhaps = *ἐμ + Fεκα* (Osthoff, *Perfect*, 334, Brugmann, *Gramm.* § 13) in Hdt. and Demokr. 87 (cf. on *Prepositions*, § 715). *εἵνεκα*<sup>3</sup>: Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>118</sub>, Anakr. 45, Theog. 46, 730, &c., Demokr. 184. *οὔνεκα*, Theog. 488, 854, Xenoph. 2<sub>19</sub>, Solon, tr. 37. See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVIII 109 ff. *Vita Homeri* has the Attic *ἐνεκα*, &c.

*εἵνατος*, *εἵνακόσιοι*, Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVIII 132, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* p. 379, Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 101 (Greg. Kor. 453, Eust. 388<sub>35</sub>).

3. Spurious EI from *ερφ*.

*δειρή*, Hdt. and Theog. 266, but *δέρη* Anakr. 80. On the accent, see § 119. Attic *δειράς* is from *δερσ-*.

*πείρατα*, Arch. tetr. 55, Solon, eleg. 16, Theog. 140, 1078, 1172. Skt. *párvan*. On Ionic and Attic *ἄπειρος*, see *K. Z.* XXXI 443.

*εἶρομαι* (Greg. Kor. § 73, Max. Plan. in *Anecd. Bachm.* II 55<sub>2</sub>) appears to be a present formed from the aorist stem with prosthetic vowel (*ἐ-ρῶ Fεσθαι*)<sup>4</sup>. *εἰρωτάω*<sup>5</sup> in Hom., Theog. 519, Hdt. III 14, Hrd. 378; *ἐρωτώμενον* I 86, is rejected by Stein in favour of *εἰρωτεύμενον*; Thasos, 72<sub>12</sub>, *ἐπερωτήσαι* is Attic (300–250 B.C.); cf. C. I. A. II 601<sub>8</sub>. Attic inscr. have also *ἐπερέσθαι*.

<sup>1</sup> J. G. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 442, Gram. Meerm. 652, Vat. 697.

<sup>2</sup> Gram. Meerm. 652, Vat. 697.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. 452, poetic according to Eust. 388<sub>35</sub>, An. Ox. I 130<sub>31</sub>, Bekk. An. II 968<sub>19</sub>, Apoll. *Conj.* p. 238<sub>22</sub> Schn.

<sup>4</sup> So my *Diphthong* EI, p. 64, and also G. Meyer, *Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 425. Or *εἶρομαι* as well as Homeric *ἐρέω*, *ἐρέομαι*, *ask*, and also Attic *εῖρομαι*, are based upon the transference of *\*ἐρενμι*, *\*ἐρνμαι*, to the Ω conjugation (*ἐρέφω*, *ἐρφομαι*; Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 64). Monro *H. G.* § 80 with Curtius refers *ἐρείομεν* to *ἐρημι*. See above § 221.

<sup>5</sup> Eust. 388<sub>35</sub>.

εἰρύομαι<sup>1</sup>, Hdt. See Leaf on A 216 (εἰρύω *draw*, √*Fe*rv; εἰρύομαι *protect*, √*σε*ρ*F*). Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 235, holds to the view that εἰρύσαι is from \*ἐ*Fe*ρύσαι.

εἶριον (Hom., Hdt., Hippokr.), εἶρος δ 135, ι 426 from *Fe*ρ*F*, cf. *vervea*. Hom. and Aiolic εἶριον (Apoll. *Adv.* p. 149<sub>22</sub> Schn.).

4. Spurious EI from ε*λF*.

εἰλίσσω, Hdt. probably from √*Fe*λ*F*. Homer has both εἰλίσσω and ἐλίσσω. Hdt. II 148 has ἐλιγμοί. Is εἶλω from *F*έλ*νω*?

5. Spurious EI from -ε*νσ*- or -ε*νς*.

The *sigma* may represent either I.E. *s* in a final syllable, or secondary (dialectal) σ = τ*λ*.

On εἰς, εἶσω, and the orthography in inscriptions, see § 715. εἰσί = ἐντί, λυθείς < λυθέντ*ς*, χαρίεις < χαρί*F*εντ*ς*, ἀ[πο]κτ*ν*ει(ε) Teos, Rob. I 142 B 11. μείς, T 117, Hdt. II 82, Anakr. 6 (Hesiod and Pind.), gen. μηνός Halik. 238<sub>4</sub>, Oropos, 18<sub>6</sub>. κένσαι Ψ 337, < κέντ*σαι*, for κεί*σαι*, with the *ν* of κεντέω.

πέισομαι did not arise directly from \*πένθομαι, nor πείσμα from \*πένθ*μα* but from πεν*σ*- a new formation, the *ν* having disappeared in aboriginal Greek before θ*μ* without compensatory lengthening.

6. Spurious EI from ε*ρς*.

κείρας, Paros 67. διέρσ*ης*, διέρσαι, pseudo-Hipp. IV 108, διέρσ*ας* IV 296 are certainly not original or genuine Ionic.

7. Spurious EI from ε*λς*.

ἀγγείλ*αι*, ἀποστειλ*αι*. For σκήλ*ει* Ψ 191 read σκειλ-.

8. Spurious EI from ε*μς*.

ἐνείματο, &c.

9. Spurious EI from ε*σμ*.

εἶμα[τ]ί[οις] Keos, 43<sub>2</sub>, with the ε*ι* of εἶμα. Cf. Andania, Cauet, 47<sub>16</sub>, 19<sub>2</sub>, 20<sub>2</sub>, 21<sub>2</sub>, εἶματισμός *ibid.* 15. Hdt. has ἱμάτιον. Brugmann, *M. U.* II 223 (cf. Osthoff IV 133), separates ἱμάτιον from εἶμα, thereby implying that itacism does not here exist. That G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 115, Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 73, are incorrect in maintaining the itacistic character of the ε*ι*, is clear from the old Ionic form cited above and from Attic ἱμάτιον, C. I. A. II 755, 8, 9 (349-344 B.C.), &c. We have double forms in εἱμάτιον and ἱμάτιον. ἱμάτιον arose from *Fi*σμάτιον, the weak form of *Fe*σμάτιον (cf. § 144), the *ι* being the 'minimum' vowel. Cf. Fick, *K. Z.* XXII 116, Prellwitz, *Deut. Litt. Zeit.* 1890, p. 1538. εἶμασιν, not ἱμασιν of the MSS. in Sim. Am. 21, is correct.

Medial ε*σμ* is preserved by analogy in Ionic as in other dialects.

The orthography of the word εἰμί fluctuates between EMI and

<sup>1</sup> εἰρύσασθαι Hdn. II 503<sub>9</sub>, Et. M. 304<sub>10</sub>; εἰρύσατο An. Ox. I 157<sub>19</sub>.

EIMI. All inscriptions, not otherwise dated, are earlier than 400 B.C.

With E.

Kyme, 3 = Rob. I 177.

Kyme, Rob. I 173, 185.

Naxos, 25 = Rob. I 27.

Chalkidian, Rob. I 175, 186.

Arkesine (Amorg.), 29 = Rob.

I 158 D.

Prokon. 103<sub>2</sub> = Rob. I 42.

Samos, 214 = Rob. I 155.

Naukr. Rob. I 132 A, E, G,

and often upon the Naukr.

inscr., Asiatic Ionic, Naukr.

Bechtel, 259.

Kameiros, 256, Rob. I 164.

With EI.

Miletos, 98 = Rob. I 138.

Theodos. 125, written IEMI  
(after 400).

Olbia, Rob. I 163 A.

Naukr. Rob. I 132 C.

For a similar fluctuation in other dialects, cf. my *Diphthong* EI, p. 60. ΕΙμί in Attic is as old as 570 B.C. (Rob. I 42<sub>1</sub>), this proving that ει = ē had a tendency toward diphthongization at an early period. In a few other words the same phenomenon may be observed. On the monophthongization of the diphthong ει, see Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 15, Lewis, *Paper of the American School*, IV 263.

10. Spurious EI from εσν.

ἐπείνυσθαι, Hdt. IV 64 (A B) according to Stein. Holder follows *PR's* ἐπέινυσθαι. Cf. καταείνυσαν, Ψ 135 (elsewhere six cases of ἐννυμι). εἴνυμι is not a direct descendant of ἐννυμι which is derived from a later \*ἔσνυμι, brought into life through the influence of ἔσσω, ἔσται, &c.

κλεινός < κλεφεσνός: κλενογένης, I. G. A. 396 (Keos). Ἄργεννον near Erythrai is perhaps due to the Aiolic element in the neighbouring Chios. Ἄργεννον occurs in Troas and Lesbos, ἀργεννός being an Aiolic word, Hinrichs (*H. E. V. A.* p. 56). Other traces of Aiolism are Πελινναῖον, name of a mountain in the north of Chios, χρυσοφαέννων Anakr. 25, and Φαίέννον Thasos (L.) 18 C 5; AIOIC, § 97, and IONIC, § 17.

The orthography of εἶναι in Ionic inscriptions shows the fluctuation in the representation of the closed ē sound. It is held by Brugmann, *Gram.* § 146, that εἶναι is not derived directly from \*ἔσναι but that it owes its ει, as Arkadian ἦναι its η, to the influence of εἶμεν, ἦμεν. It is not probable that the adulterine ει (η) was borrowed from εἶμεν (ἦμεν) at a time so remote as to precede the adoption of -ναι in Ionic-Attic and Arkadian, which, it is claimed, was abstracted from -φεναι, -μεναι. Neither dialect has any trace of -μεν. The possibility of εἶναι having originated from \*ἔσεναι is very slight.



## With E.

Halik. 238<sup>22, 24, 42</sup> (fifth cent.).  
Erythrai, 199<sup>5, 10, 11</sup> (after 394).

Keos, 43<sup>4</sup>, ἐξεῖναι (fifth cent.).

## With EI.

Halik. 238<sup>27, 29, 36</sup>.  
Thasos, 71<sup>5, 6</sup> (fourth cent.) 72<sup>9</sup>,  
(300-250).  
Oropos, 18<sup>32</sup> (about 400).  
Amphip. 10<sup>12</sup> (about 350).  
Eretr. 15<sup>11</sup> (fifth cent.).  
εἶν, Olynth. 8 A 3, B 5, 7 (betw. 389  
and 383).  
ἐξεῖν, Orop. 18<sup>31</sup>.

## 11. Spurious EI from εσλ.

χεῖλιοι = Aiol. χέλλιοι, Lak. χηλίοι.

χεῖλος < χέσλος Sim. Am. 27. See Windisch, K. Z. XXVII 169.

## 12. Spurious EI from ενι.

According to Brugmann, Gr. § 54, Homeric εἶν is = ἐνι + vowel. We find ἐνάλιος in Archil. 74<sup>8</sup> (tetr.), εἰνάλιος in Theogn. 576.

The εἰ of ἀμείνων is due to compensatory lengthening (*i.e.* εἰ is a spurious diphthong) ἀμεννο- being Aiolic. ἀμεινότερος occurs in Mimn. 14<sup>9</sup>, Ἀμεινοκράτης, Mykonos 92<sup>14</sup>, ἀμεινον (?), Rob. I 159 a, Amorgos.

## 13. Spurious EI from ελι.

ὀφέλλω, *increase*. The εἰ of ὀφείλω would seem to be genuine, despite the pair ὀφέλλω : ὀφείλω (with different significations), because of ὀφειλέτω, Chios, Rob. I 149 A 14, ὀφειλόντων, *ibid.* l. 17, Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 4, and ὀφειλεν Thasos, 71<sup>9-11</sup>. EI is also attested, C. I. A. 40<sup>14</sup>, I 58, 324 A 52. We have however E in C. I. A. I 32 A 3, 8, B 22, *ib.* 41<sup>3</sup>. See Johansson, D. V. C. p. 212. ὀφέλλω, *sweep*, in Hippon. 51<sup>3</sup>. ὀφέλλειεν Π 651, β 334 is an Aiolism. Cf. L. Meyer, B. B. VII 311.

## 14. Spurious EI from ερι.

φέρω *say* < Φερῶ. Ionic εἰρέθην Hdt. IV 77, 156, &c. < ἐΦερέθην, Attic ἐρρήθην < ἐ-Φρή-θην. πέπειρα Anakr. 87, πέπειρος Hippokr.

Ναυστείρης Styra, 19<sup>264</sup>, Homeric στεῖρα or στείρη A 482, β 428, and nowhere else (*Diphthong* EI, p. 65). Theog. 757 ὑπειρέχοι with ὑπεῖρ, as in Hom., formed from ὑπερι before an initial vowel. ὑπειρόχους Hdt. V 92 (η), adopted by Stein, is alien to the form usually accepted by the historian, and can be defended solely by those who hold to the assumption of a phonetic ποικιλία in the Herodoteian dialect.

## 15. Spurious EI from contraction of ε + ε, see § 262.

κείνος, written κενος, Teos, 156 A 4, 5, 11, 13, 156 B 28, 39, but with EI, 156 B 7; ἐκεῖνος, upon inscriptions tinged with Atticism, Teos, 158<sup>15</sup>, Mylasa, 248 A 11, 16, B 15, C 19. See § 564. Prellwitz rightly holds that the εἰ is a monophthong,

and divides (ἐ)-κεῖ + ενος : his proposed etymology, *B. B.* XV 155 ; see also Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 94.

With the variation between Ionic κείνος, Aiolic κῆνος, Wackernagel compares (*B. P. W.* 1891, p. 6) Νηλεύς in Homer and Νείλεως in Hdt.

### 225.] EI of doubtful origin.

Σελήνη Paros, 66, a late inscription with ει not in accord with the common Attic-Ionic form (Sappho σελάννα ; Doric σελάννα ; Archim. σελήνα?).

Εἰλειθυίει Delos, 56<sub>50</sub>, Paros, 66 (Εἰλειθυίηι). See Baunack's *Studien*, I 69. Εἰθύμαχος Styra, 19<sub>39</sub>. See § 198.

Τειρεσίας. Cf. τείρεα Σ 485 < τέρας (cf. γέρεα Miletos, 100<sub>7</sub>).

### 226.] OI.

On οἱ < οφι, οσι, see § 298, from ε + οἱ § 311, from ο + οἱ § 314, ο + εἰ § 315, from ωἱ § 241.

This seems to have been pronounced as a genuine diphthong. Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 37, has refuted the view that in Styra οἱ was pronounced as ü, and that the dialect of Styra was herein influenced by the Boiotian change of οἱ to υ, i. e. ü. Μέτυκος, 19<sub>70</sub>, may or may not be correct ; but in the fifth century, the period of this leaden tablet, Boiotian οἱ had not abandoned the old diphthongal pronunciation of οἱ. Cf. Blass, *Aussprache*,<sup>3</sup> p. 57.

### 227.] Antevocalic OI = O.

See above for A(I), E(I) in Ionic.

#### A. In inscriptions.

Roman figures refer to centuries.

#### WEST IONIC.

A. Εὐβοεύς Styra, 19<sub>38</sub> (V) ; B. ἐποίει Eretria, 14 (V) ; ἐποίησε Adesp. 21 (VI) ; ἐποιησάτην 265 (Euboian or Island Ionic) (V).

#### ISLAND IONIC.

A. ἐπόει Delos, 57 (II) ; ποε(ῖ) Thasos, 72<sub>4</sub> (300-250) ; B. ἐπ[ο]ίησεν Naxos, 26 (B. C. 500) ; [π]οιεῖν Keos, 43<sub>21</sub> (end of V) ; Εὐκοίης Keos, 44 B 9<sup>1</sup> (IV?) ; Ποιασσίων Keos, 47<sub>2</sub> (IV) ; Ποιᾶσαν Keos, 47<sub>10</sub> (IV) ; θαυματοποιός Delos, 55, 3 (270) ; ἐχσεποίησεν Paros, 58 (VI) ; ποίημα Paros, 60 (metr.) (V) ; εὐνοίας Thasos, 72<sub>6</sub> (III).

#### ASIATIC IONIC.

A. ἐξεπδύησ' Abdera, 162 (metrical) (V) ; ποιήσασθαι Eryth. 199<sub>13</sub> (394) ; ἐπόει Samos, 222 (pre-Rom.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. κοιᾶται G. G. A. 1883, p. 119.

## B. a. Before η, ει.

ἐποίησε Miletos, 94 (VI); ἐποίηεν Miletos, 95 (VI); ἱεροποιῆι Miletos, 100<sub>6</sub> (400); ποιεῖ[ν] Didyma, Rob. I 139 (V?); [π]εποιή-  
 κασιν Iasos, 105<sub>4</sub> (end IV); ποιήσεαν Teos, 156 B 30 (470);  
 ποιήσει Teos, 156 B 39 (470); ποιήσας Teos, 158<sub>14</sub> (II or I);  
 ποιήσει Chios, 174 A 12 (V); ποιῆι Chios, 174 C 9 (V); ποιῆται  
 Chios, 174 C 11 (V); ἐποίησεν [Chios?] Rob. I, p. 64 (V):  
 ἐποίησεν Eryth. 207 (II); ποιήσειν Sam. 221<sub>24</sub> (322); ἐποίει  
 Sam. Rob. I 157 (V); νεωποιήσαντες Sam. 222 (pre-Rom.); πῶή-  
 σεν Halik. 241 (metr.) (?); ποιήσαντες Myl. 248 A 12 (367/66);  
 ἐποιήσαντο Myl. 248 A 13 (367/66); ποιήσαντος Myl. 248 B 6  
 (361/60); ἐποιήσαντο Myl. 248 B 12 (361/60); ποιήσασθαι  
 Myl. 248 C 9 (355-54); ποιησαμένη Myl. 248 C 16 (355/54);  
 ἐποίησεν Adesp. 264 (VI); οἴη, *village*, Chios, 183 A 46 (350);  
 Οἴην Eryth. 201<sub>27</sub> (IV); αἰδοίην Adesp. 264 (metr.) (VI).

## β. Before ο.

τειχοποιοῦ Kyzikos, 111<sub>6</sub> (IV); ποιοῖ Teos, 156 A 2 (470);  
 ποιούντων Teos, 158<sub>18</sub> (late); ἱεροποιοῦ Eryth. 206, ABC 12  
 times (278); Ἐνδοῖος Adesp. 264 (VI).

## γ. Before α, αι.

νεωποίας Ephes. 147<sub>15</sub> (300); νεωποίας Halik. 240<sub>6</sub> (450-400);  
 εὐνοῖαι Ephes. 147<sub>8</sub> (300); εὐνοῖαν Samos, 221<sub>8</sub> (322).

ποιέω is the word most frequently affected by the change, and  
 in it the *iota* never disappears in any dialect before ο, but  
 only before η, ει. In the MSS. of Hdt. and of other Ionic  
 prosaists, ποιέω is the only form found.

Cf. πόης Theokr. 29<sub>21</sub>; ἐπόησε Theokr. 29<sub>24</sub>, Aiolie, C. D. I.  
 218<sub>9</sub>; ποιήσασθαι Aiolie, 281 A 19, B 24; πόη=ποιῆ, 238<sub>6</sub>;  
 ποιήσω 281 B 54; ποείμενος 305<sub>8</sub>; Arkad. ποέντω 122<sub>29</sub>; other  
 examples, G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 155.

The optative sign in -οιατο is never lost.

B. *Lyric Poets.*

Anakr. ἀδοῖαστως 95 (eleg.), ἐπτοήθη 51<sub>3</sub> (ἐπτοήθεν χ 298,  
 ποιῶμαι Mimn. 5<sub>2</sub>), but ποιήσεις 60, πεποίημαι 97 (eleg.). Herodas  
 2<sub>34</sub> ἡλόησεν, but ἀλοήσῃ 2<sub>51</sub>; πῶεῖς 6<sub>9</sub>, but ἐπῶεί 4<sub>22</sub>, elsewhere οἱ  
 retained.

C. *Herodotos, &c.* Cf. Fritsch, *V. H. D.*, p. 45 ff.

Εὐβοεύς VII 156, VIII 4, 19, 20; Εὐβοῖς III 89.

Εὐβοϊκός III 89, &c. In fact, Εὐβοιεύς is found in no Attic  
 prosaist, and Εὐβοῖς only in poetry: *Trach.* 237, 401; Εὐβοίς  
*Trach.* 74, Eurip. *Herakleidae*, 83.

εὐνοίη and προνοίη.



ποίη, as in Homer ποιῶδης. Attic ποία is poetical, elsewhere πόα, as Sappho, 54<sub>3</sub>. On the accent, see § 122.

ροίή, Homer ροιαί, Attic ρόα, but ροιά in Aristotle (Greg. Korinth. p. 220, quotes ροιά as Doric). On the accent, see § 122.

στοή, according to Stein, III 52 (*R* has στωή); στωιά in *Ekkles.* 684, 686 may be taken from the *sermo familiaris*, though στωά is the only form found in inscriptions. στωιά is Doric (Ditt. *Syll.* 369<sub>25</sub>)<sup>1</sup>. Why Hdt. should use ποίη and ροίή, but στωή, is not clear. Hence I doubt Stein's reading.

φλοιός IV 67, also Homer and Attic.

χλόη Archil. 108, Hdt. IV 34 (Stein); χλοι- regularly in χλοιούσθαι Galen, *Lex. Hippokr.*, χλοιῶδης Hippokr. Attic has always χλόη, hence in X]λοι[ης] C. I. A. II 722 B 18, if correctly restored, we assume that the ι is the glide *iota*.

δροχροίη has MS. authority, I 74, where Stein prefers -οίη. Diog. Apoll. 6 χροίης, Attic χρώα (Aristoph. χροιά).

φθόη is a medical expression adopted by Plato, perhaps from Hippocrates. Wackernagel's (*K. Z.* XXV 268) objection to the hiatus is well founded if we compare Skt. *kshayá* and apply Fick's law as to the interrelation of ι and γοδ: when the accent falls originally, as here, upon the final syllable, ι not γοδ should appear. Cf. Fick, *B. B.* VIII 168, Bechtel, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1885, No. 6, and on ροίή, χροίή under Accent, § 122. Evidently in some of these words contamination of the original forms has given rise to those now found in our texts.

δοή for δοιή, Ionic papyrus (*Philol.* XLI 746).

## 228.] OI (Varia).

(1) There appears to be no certain instance in Ionic of οι for ο before a vowel (as in ὀγδοίης, &c.). καταβοίης, however, occurs upon the very ancient papyrus (*Philol.* XLI 746) which is chiefly Ionic. For ἐπίπλοον, Hipp. has ἐπίπλοιον VIII 122 (C, θ), but the latter form contains suffixal -ιο-. κοίλη Mimn. 12<sub>6</sub> is a conjecture. It has not been shown that a κοίλος arose in the manner assumed for γελοῖος ὁμοῖος (Hartel, *Hom. Stud.* III 41). A preferable solution is that κοφίλος (κοφ = *cav-us*) = κουίλος was represented graphically by κοίλος, cf. § 221. This οι = ου is probably not Aiolic, hence in Alkaios 15<sub>5</sub> read κοίλαι.

(2) [T]ροιζήνιος Iasos, 104<sub>29</sub>, before 353 B.C., disproves the statement of G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 112, that this form (with anaptyctic ι before ζ) does not appear before the imperial period. Cf. Τροζάνιος I. G. A. 70<sub>13</sub>, Schneider, *Dial. Megarica*, 39, Müllensiefen, *Dial. Lacon.* 88.

(3) δεσπόνησιν Kyzikos, Rob. I 148 = δεσποίναις, if correct, is

<sup>1</sup> Also C. I. G., 2483<sub>22</sub>, Astypalaia.

a unique form. The converse appears in Φιλοδέσποιτος (*Papers of the American School*, III, No. 218). Cf. § 151.

(4) οι appears for εοι in the Herodoteian οἶκας, οἶκός, with absence of reduplication, as in οἰκοδόμηται I 181, Herakleian Tables, I 137.

(5) The ancients regarded ἡοῖος as Ionic in contradistinction to ἡῶος and ἐῶος: Eust. 727<sub>53</sub>, 53, 1142<sub>54</sub>, 1504<sub>44</sub>.

(6) πρήξουσιν Chios 174 A 16-17 for πρήξουσιν, subj. with short modal vowel, is an Aiolism as regards the ending.

(7) For -οῖα in the fem. part. = νῖα, see § 605.

(8) οι < ωι, see § 241.

## 229.] ΥΙ.

The second mora of the diphthong υι may disappear before a following vowel.

ύός Paros, 67 (late), Ηυός 266, of uncertain provenance. Cf. υῖός Δ 473, λ 270; δῦν υ 286. ἀφύη, often used by the comic poets, may be an Ionic loan-form (G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, p. 36). Cf. μυνοσόβαι B. C. H. VI 32, 33.

νῖός is found, Amorg. 35 epigr.; Priene, 141 (in Ionic alphabet); 265, uncertain locality; Delos, 57. On νῖός, υῖός in metrical inscriptions, cf. Allen, *Versification*, p. 71 ff., on υ(ι)ός in Attic, Meisterhans, p. 47.

## Diphthongs κατ' ἐπικράτειαν.

## 230.] ΑΙ.

αι = pre-Hellenic āi, gave way to ηι at the earliest period of Ionic that can be reconstructed by us.

## 231.] ΗΙ.

Whether HI is really a δίφθογγος κατ' ἐπικράτειαν in such forms as βασιλήιος is not perfectly certain (Blass, *Ausspr.*<sup>3</sup> 22, Johansson, B. B. XV 182). Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 252, writes βασιλῆος, and holds that ηι became η between the time of Hipponax and Herodotos<sup>1</sup>. Between βασιλῆιος (or βασίλῆος, cf. Attic βασιλείος) and βασιλῆιος there is a far greater difference than between ἀνδρήιος and ἀνδρῆος,—the important difference of the accent position. While MS. testimony possesses slight, and even inscriptions but little more value (the ordinary HI, e.g. in such a form as ΚΛΗΙΩ, being indifferent to the question at issue), the evidence in favour of the existence of the long vowel and of diaeresis in certain Ionic prose authors is drawn (1) from the cases of ηῖ in the poets; (2) from the Attic ΤΗΙΟΙ, Τῆῖοι or Τῆῖοι, C. I. A. I

<sup>1</sup> In Hdt. the correct form is ῆε, not ῆιε.

234<sub>15</sub> (446 B. C.) and TEIOI = Τήϊοι, C. I. A. 229<sub>11</sub> (451 B. C.), forms whose ηῖ, even if not Attic, is certainly Ionic; cf. THIOS Naukratis 700<sup>1</sup> (cf. *K. Z.* XXVII 264); (3) from Kyprian μνάϊιο(ν) (?), Meister. *G. D.* II 144; (4) from Boiot. μαντεία, = Delph. μαντήια, cf. Aiol. or Thess. μαντήιον, C. D. I. 1558. In any event Hippokrates certainly made use of ηῖ much less often than Hdt. See below, § 286.

### 232.] Medial HI before vowels.

(1) In this category fall chiefly the derivatives in -ήιον, -ήην = Attic -εῖον, -εῖη, from stems in -ην. In dealing with the much-vexed problem of the interrelation of these terminations it must be borne in mind that originally an -ην- stem yielded -ηνη or -ηιο-, except in the case of such feminines as had adjectival motion (§ 174); while sigmatic stems produced -εῖη and -εῖο-. This original mark of distinction has been obliterated to a great extent in all the dialects, and especially in Ionic. The retention of the traditional accentuation in this treatise does not imply that in all cases, notably in that of the pseudo-Ionists, ηι was pronounced with ι as a distinct phonetic power. The conduct of ηι upon Attic inscriptions shows that at an early period ι was a vanishing sound. ηι must sometimes have been written when it was not diphthongal, *e.g.* μουσηιον Herodas 1<sub>31</sub>.

All the forms of the ην stems have been collected by Fritsch, *Γ. II. D.*, pp. 9 ff.; *e.g.* Hdt. ἀριστήιον, ἀρχήιον, ἱερήιον (Greg. Kor. 3), μαντηή (μαντείας Tyrt. 4<sub>2</sub>), μαντήιον Pherek. 60 (Herakl. 11 -εῖον), πολιτηή, πρυτανήιον, as Prokon. 103 (fifth century), στρατηή (and στρατιή), ταριχηή, χαλκήιον, &c.

Also from -ην- stems adjectives and nouns in -ηιος, -ηιον, -ήην, = Attic -εῖος, -εῖον, -εῖα. βασιλήιος Theog. 1191, Hdt., Hekat. 175, Charon 2, βασιληή Hdt., Herakl. 79; and the following forms in Hdt.: δουλήιος<sup>2</sup>, ἐξοδηή (Stein -δίη), κηρυκήιον, Ὀδυσσῆιος, ἀρήιος, ἐρμητηή, as in Diog. Apoll. 1. Mimn. has Νηλήιον 91; θεραπηή Hippokr. VI 492, 586, VII 172, 180, IX 268, *v.l.* -εῖη, no *v.l.* VII 246, but θεραπείη V 686, II 14, 110, III 72.

In the pseudo-Ionic prosaists we find the -ηι- forms are not so prevalent as in Hdt. and are largely artificial: θεραπεῖη Lukian, *Syr.* 31, Aretaios often; θεραπηή occurs only in the letters of Hippokr. 15<sub>7</sub>, 16<sub>7</sub>, 17<sub>20</sub>, 23. -ηι- forms occur as follows: μαντηι- Luk. *Syr.* 36, *Astr.* 8, 23, 24; πολιτηή Hipp. ep. 17<sub>32</sub>; βασιληι- Luk. *Syr.* 18, 25, *Astr.* 12, Arr. *Ind.* 3, 8, 39, Hipp. ep. 17<sub>34</sub>, 41; ἀρήιος Arr. *Ind.* 7, 11, 12, Euseb. 2; παιδηίους

<sup>1</sup> Coins of Teos have THI Head *H. N.* 511, and so THIOS Naukr. I 209, II p. 68 (a late metrical inser.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Anakr. 114, epigram. δουληήν. Hdt. has also δούλιος VII 8 (γ); cf. πολεμήιος and πολέμιος, ξεινήιος and ξείνιος.



Euseb. 2; ἱρήιος Luk. *Syr.* 42, 58, 57, cf. Arr. *Ind.* 18. The following have no variant in -ηι-: μοιχείη, δυναστείη, γοητείη, προφητείη, φαρμακείη, πρεσβείη, ἐρμηνείη. στρατηίη is the only example in the *Vita Homeri*.

Fritsch's thoroughgoing examination (*V. H. D.* pp. 8-30) shows that here and there the Attic forms have forced themselves into the MSS. of Hdt.; and in the inscriptions we meet with the following forms in ει where we might expect an Ionic -ηι-:—*ἀρχεῖον* Iasos, 105<sub>12</sub> (end of third cent.); *πολιτεία* Zeleia, 114 ABC (late), Samos, 221<sub>27</sub> (322 B. C.); *πρυτανεῖον* Kyzikos, 108 B (first cent.); *καπηλεῖον* Iasos, 104<sub>44</sub>; *πορεία* Samos, 221<sub>21</sub> (322 B. C.).

All these forms occur in inscriptions so late that they may be ascribed to Attic influence.

(2) Furthermore, -ηιο- occurs (Attic -εῖο-) where there is no -ην- stem involved. Herodotos has *ἀνδρήιος* (Protag.), *ἀνδρηίη*, (cf. Arrian 174) but *ἀνδρειότερος* I 79, *ἀνδρειότατος* I 123, IV 93, IX 37, *γυναικήιος* (where Homer has, λ 437, *γυναικείας*, Phokyl. 32 *γυναικείων* (cf. Fick, *B. B.* XI 272), Archil. *γυναικείον*, 9<sub>10</sub>; Rutherford's *γυναικήιον*, Hrd. 6<sub>1</sub>, is incorrect). Hdt. has also *ἀχρήιος* (Hom.), *ἐργαλήιον*, *ἐταιρήιος*, -ηίη (Sim. K. 118 -εῖη), *Καδμήιος* but *Καδμείη* I 166, and *Καδμείοι* often. Hdt. *μνημήιον* (Arr. 10), *οἰκήιος*, -όω, -ότης, cf. Demokr. 94, 124, 168, *σημήιον*, Diog. Apoll. 5 is not found in Simplicius. *σημήιον* is hesitatingly adopted by Littré in Hippokr. Demokr. 6 *ἐμψυχήιον*.

(3) -ηιο- = Attic -εῖο- from non -ην- stems: Hdt. has *ἀνθρωπήιος* (Hippokr. VI 468, v. l. -ίνην; and -εῖος, as Herakl. 91, 96), *βορήιος* (Phoinix *apud* Athen. 495 E), *Εὐρωπήιος*, *κηλωνήιον*, (*κηλωνεύω* is late), *Φοιβήιος*, *φοινικήιος*<sup>1</sup> (*φοινικήια* Teos 156 B 38, 470 B. C.), *ἀγαρήιον*, *λαισήιον*, *Ἀλήιον*, *Λιμενήιον*. Hipponax, 57, has *τροπήιον* from *τροπέω*, an Ionic verb.

(4) Non -ην- stems yield -ηιο- in the later Ionists in the following cases:—

*οἰκήιος* Luk. *Syr.* 22, 53, 54, 57, Arrian, *Ind.* 20 (elsewhere -εῖ-); *ἀνθρωπήιος* Luk. *Astr.* 27, *ἐμψυχήιον* Luk. *V. A.* 6. From consonantal stems we have *ἀνδρήιος* Luk. *Syr.* 15, 26, 27, Euseb. Mynd. 56 (Hippokrates has -εῖ- always); *γυναικήιος* Luk. *Syr.* 15, 27, 51, Arrian, *Ind.* 8, Aret. 60, 61, 62, 285 (Hippokrates -εῖ-, and also Euseb. Mynd. 54); *σημήιον* Luk. *Syr.* 15, 17, 49, *Astr.* 4, 7; Arrian, *Ind.* 28. Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Attic *σημεῖον* rather than the Ionic -ηιον. We have here a line of distinction drawn with tolerable distinctness between the medical writers and Herodotos, Lukian, and Arrian. Arrian, *Ind.* 10, has *μνημήια*, *θήρεια* 17, 24, and *Αἰθιοπέϊω* 6.

<sup>1</sup> Hesychios has, however, *Φοινικία* Ἀνδοὶ καὶ Ἰωνες τὰ γράμματα ἀπὸ Φοινικὸς τινος . . . ; purple in Hdt. is *φοινίκεος*.

The grammarians call -*ηιος* Ionic: ἀρήιος, Ὀδυσσήςιος An. Ox. I 36<sub>30</sub>, Πηληιάδεω An. Ox. I 346<sub>27</sub>; μνημήιον, σημήιον, βασιλήιον An. Ox. II 123<sub>33</sub> (Theogn.), ξυνήιον Et. Gud. 416<sub>50</sub>, Schol. Ven. A on A 124, An. Par. III 124<sub>6</sub>; οἰκήιος is called Doric by Hdn. II 558<sub>23</sub>, though he reserves -*ήιος* for Ionic; cf. I 361<sub>5</sub>.

(5) The inscriptions have *ηι* in *πρυτανήιον* Prokon. 103 (600 B.C., the Attic copy has -*είον*), *φουνικήια* Teos, 156 B 38, *ιερήιον* Oropos, 18<sub>33, 36</sub> (see § 234); *ήμιμνήιον* and *σπονδήιον* Paros, 62; *Σαραπήια* Naxos, 28<sup>1</sup>; *Τήϊιος* Naukr. I 62, No. 700. *ΠοσιδΗΙΩν* C. I. A. I 283<sub>17</sub>, is probably Ionic as the Attic form is *Ποσειδεών* usually, cf. *Ποσιδηίου* Maroneia 196<sub>5</sub>, and *Ποσιδηιών* Anakr. 6. *Ποσιδήιον* and *Φοιβήιον* in Hdt., other names of festivals having -*ιο*-.

On inscriptions we find *ει* where *ηι* might have occurred: Ἀνδρείων Eryth. 206, B 48, 56 (278 B.C.). οἰκειότητος Ephesos, 147<sub>4</sub> (300 B.C.). οἰκείοι Lykia, 263 (perhaps an Attic form). Εὐφροριεῖοι, Θαλείοι Eryth. 206 B 46. Λυκείου Eryth. 206 A 20 (Steph. Byz. Λυκήιον). *ιερητεῖαι* Eryth. 206 A 44, B 1, 45, 60, C 7; *ιερητειών* A 14, 36, *ιερατέαι* C 13; Priene, 144<sub>7</sub>, *ιερατείης*. ὀρκυνεῖον Halik. 240<sub>44</sub> (fifth cent.). See under (1) above.

(6) -*ηιο*- in Ionic has, as Fritsch has shown, in the class *ἀνδρήιος* and *ἀνθρωπήιος* extended by analogy its sphere beyond that of the -*ην*- stems. In no case is there any justification for the adoption of -*ηι*- even in such -*ες*- stems as yield abstract nouns, *e.g.* ἀληθινή, which has been foisted upon Herodotos by the Aldine edition. Even the *Astrol.* of Lukian has ἀληθείης (§ 1). The few instances which occur of *ηι*=*ει* are of late date. Ἀργήιος, Ditt. *Syll.* 421<sub>5</sub> (400-350), which is certainly on the stone, may be an error as it dates from a period when there was a fluctuation in the orthography. Sim. Amorg. 27 has Ἀργεῖη, Hdt. VI 52 Ἀργεῖην.

For examples of forms in -*ειη*, see § 175 ff.

Ξενοκρατήια is not to be classed with Delphic Καλλικράτητα, &c., where the *η* is a late graphical expression for *ει*, as often, *e.g.* ἐπιμέληαν *Mitth.* X 314, No. 2, l. 9 (Odessos), πολιτήαν *Mitth.* XI 83, l. 3 (Amorgos). It is scarcely probable that a stem in -*ησιο*- should manifest itself so late as the first century B.C. when it is not beyond peradventure proved in the case of older forms.

If it can be shown that there are stems in -*ησιο*-, which have as yet not been shown to exist, such apparent anomalies as Aiolic *κυπρογένεια*, and Boiot. names in -*γενειος*, -*μειδειος*, may be cleared up. See Johansson, *B. B.*, XV 181. Ξενοκρατήια Eryth. 208 is an hyper-Ionic form, and not to be regarded

<sup>1</sup> In Doric inscriptions *πρυτανήιον*, *ἀνδρήιον*, *πρειγήια* (πρεσβεῖα) *οἰκήιας*, *μαντήιον*.



as an example of -ησια. That *you* should lengthen a preceding vowel, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> § 67, still holds, is of course out of the question.

ἀγγήιον without variant, Hdt. II 121 β, δ, IV 2, Lukian, *Syr.* 20, 48. This is the sole support for this supposed Ionic form. Keos 43<sub>10</sub>, with ἀγγεῖα, is not free from the suspicion of being Attic, though this form is undoubtedly Ionic too. Cf. ἀγγεῖον and κενεαγγεῖη in Hippokr. and Aretaios.

κρήιον in Hesychios is probably Doric, not Ionic as was held by Curtius *Et.*<sup>5</sup> 155.

(7) Feminines derived from masculines in -ευσ have εἰ, not ηι. In Keos, 48, ἰέρεια; Pantikapaion, 123, ἰερῇ; Ephesos, 150, ἰερῇ. In Herodotos, the MSS. have generally ἰρείη, but occasionally the shibboleth of the Ionic ηι is disclosed (II 53, 54, 55). Cf. also βασιλεία, not -ήιη. So αἰδρεῖη not -ήιη Hdt. VI 69.

### 233.] Medial HI before consonants.

#### 1. Masculine patronymics<sup>1</sup>.

In but one case in Hdt. VIII 132 Βασιληίδεω, which must be an error. Cf. [B]ασιλείδης Chios, 179<sub>9</sub>, the same form on a Chian coin, *Denkmäler der Wiener Akad.* IX 322 (400–350). If Σελληίδεω in Archil. 104 is correct, it is the only instance in the lyric poets, and Σκηβηίδης Teos, C. I. G. 3064<sub>28</sub> (late), the only instance in the inscriptions. In all other cases -ειδης, on which see § 235.

#### 2. Feminine patronymics<sup>2</sup>.

Hdt. Νηρηίδων II 50; Νηρηῖσι VII 191 (cf. Νηιρείδων Eryth. 206 B 27); Βοιβηίδα VII 129, not to be written ηῖ, a poetical form introduced by the grammarians. Doubtless -ήιδης and -ήις (-ήις) are here correct. Upon Attic inscriptions of the fourth century we sometimes meet with the spelling -εῖς, -εῖδος.

#### 3. Dat. Plur. of Ἄ (η) stems.

-ηισι (-ησι) was the regular Ionic form in the fifth century in Hdt. and in the inscriptions. The last Ionic -ηισι of which we have any knowledge dates from 394 B. C. (Erythrai, 199<sub>6</sub>). After this, αῖς is the normal ending. See under *Declension*.

#### 4. In compound names (two stems).

Δηδαμαντ- Aigiale, 28 A; Δηιλέων Smyrna, 153<sub>18</sub> (cf. Bechtel, *ad loc.*); Δηίλλεος Thas. (L) 7, B 9; Δηιθράσης Th. (L) 3 A 8; Δηιπέτης Styra 19<sub>181</sub>, perhaps; Δηίαλκος Thas. (L) 9<sub>9</sub>, (cf. Δεῖαλκος Thasos 81 B 14, Δέαλκος 83<sub>6</sub>; § 236). Ἀλεξιῶδης Naukr. 667, 838; Ἀρηίθους Th. (L) 14 B 2, 16 B 7; Ἀρηιφίλου<sup>3</sup> Anakr. 106, as ἀρηιφάτους Herakl. 102.

5. Greg. Korinth. p. 377, quotes κληισθέντες as Ionic. Μαρωνιτέων Maroneia, 196<sub>2</sub>, though from the same period (before

<sup>1</sup> Πηληίδης Greg. Kor. 379, together with Πηλεῖαδης and -ηιάδης (p. 488); the Et. Gud. 466<sub>5</sub> has Πηλεῖαδης Πηληιάδης, -ηιάδης Eust. 1237, Πηλεῖαδεω Joh. Gr. 239 B, Πηλεῖδεω and Πηλεῖαδεω Meerm. 655.

<sup>2</sup> Νηίδες, Νηρηίδες Eust. 622<sub>31</sub>, 1954<sub>8</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> An. Ox. I 28<sub>21</sub>, I 36<sub>30</sub>.



400) we have *Μαρωνειτέων* 196,<sup>1</sup> cf. § 197. *ηι*, as augment, is preserved *e.g.* *ἡρημένους* Samos, 221<sub>35</sub>.

6. *ὀνήστος* Phoinix in Athen. 495 E, Anaxag. 10, Herakl. 114, *κληίσκεται* Hippokr. IX 84, cf. *θνήσκω μιμνήσκω* according to the grammarians. *θνήσκω* occurs in Attic inscriptions and *κικλήσκω* in MSS.

### 234.] Medial HI becomes H.

*ἱερήον* Oropos, 18<sub>3, 36</sub>, about 400 B. C. Greg. Korinth. p. 379, mentions *ἱερήιον* as Ionic. Also Aiolie and Delphic.

A remarkable form is *λητουργεῖν*, on a Teian document in *Κοιμή*, Ditt. *Syll.* 126<sub>72</sub> (306–301 B. C.).

### 235.] Medial HI passes into EI.

#### 1. before vowels.

Here belong the forms mentioned under § 232 from inscriptions, from the lyric poets *γυναικείον*, Archil. and Phokyl., unless Fick's defence of the form as it stands (= *γύναιον*) holds good. Or shall we read *γυναικῆον*? [*ā*] *γγεία* Keos, 43<sub>10</sub>, while Hdt. has *ἀγγῆια* IV 2; Homer, *ι* 222 *ἄγγεα*. Fritsch holds that *ἀγγείον* alone is correct, which is probable (cf. *ἄγγος*).

#### 2. before consonants.

In all masculine patronymics, except those mentioned § 233. Hdt., as Attic writers, uses *-ειδης* with but the single exception of *Βασιληίδεω*: *Αἰγείδαι*<sup>2</sup> IV 149; *Ἀριστείδης* VIII 79–82; *Ἀτρείδαι* VII 20; *Νηλείδαι* V 65; *Περσείδαι* I 125; *Ἀλκείδης* VI 61. *ΕὐθυνΕιδης* Styra 19<sub>194</sub>, *ΝικολΕιδης* 19<sub>272</sub>, *ΠεριλΕιδη(s)* 19<sub>283</sub> are transcribed *-ειδης* on account of the extreme rarity of *-ηιδης*. *Πιθείδης* Keos, 44 A 10, *Ἀρι](σ)τείδης* Thasos, 77 A 9, *Ἀριστείδεω* B 14, are all too late to be of moment, though they apparently support the general conduct of the patronymic in Ionic prose. As Attic inscriptions of the fourth century have *-ηιδης*, the older form existing parallel to the younger *-ειδης* (to say nothing of the fifth century with its *ΕΙΔΕΣ*), so in Ionic we might assume the contemporaneous existence of both forms. In this case *Βασιληίδεω* would be correct despite the numerical weight of evidence against *-ηιδης* in Hdt., though the weakening of *ηι* to *ει* in the majority of the instances is surprising. The Ionic dialect is usually tenacious of *ηι* and *ηφι* < *ēvi* generally becomes *ηι*. He who with Fritsch holds that *Βασιληίδεω* represents the only correct form of the patronymic ending must have the heart to expel every case of *-ειδης* from the text of Hdt., even though *-ειδης* can be shown to have existed before the fifth

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hdn. II 86<sub>72</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> In a fragment (99) attributed to Anakreon we read *Αἰγείδεω*.

century. If -εἶδης is Homeric Ionic, it may well be Herodoteian Ionic. The cases (§ 232, 1) in which Attic forms have forced themselves into the text of Hdt. belong to a different sphere and are numerically insignificant in contrast with the almost total extinction of -ηιδης in the MSS. of Hdt. See also §§ 238, 239, 286.

### 236.] Medial HI becomes E.

The month Ποσειδεών from -δηιών, C. I. G. 2309<sub>4</sub>, Delos, 3664<sub>27</sub>, Kyzikos (Attic?). With Δέαλκος Thasos 83<sub>6</sub>, cf. Δηίαλκος § 233, 4. Δεῖταλκος Thasos 81 B 14 is not to be explained with Bechtel according to § 237.

### 237.] Medial Hĭ becomes Eĭ.

This *metathesis quantitatis* was first proposed by Fick (B. B. XI 267) on the score of Anakreon's four syllable Θρηκίη (96) by the side of Θρηκίη (49, 75). Hipponax' Θρηκίων 42 (ἐπ' ἀρμάτων τε καὶ Θρηκίων πάλων). Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.*, p. 13, goes so far as to claim for Ionic and Attic that, wherever εἰ appears for ηἰ, ηἰ passed through the stage εἶ. On any view -εἰ < ηἰ is found chiefly in Eretrian Ionic, since in Asiatic Ionic -ηἰ lost its *iota* and did not become εἰ. From prose inscriptions we can scarcely expect proof, and even if we accept Θρεῖκίων, we are not compelled to extend this *metathesis quantitatis* over all the territory claimed by Bechtel. The parallelism of later λειτουργεῖν and τεῖ does not disprove the *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur* rule, or necessitate the hypothesis that in Ionic-Attic there was a middle stage εἶ. See § 232. The form Θρηῖκιον occurs in an hexameter, Hdn. I 118<sub>6</sub>, Θρεῖσσα Hrd. 179.

### 238.] Final HI is retained.

#### 1. In the dative singular.

νηί, perhaps from νῆ from the analogy of νηός, &c. (Alkman has νῆ according to Blass, *Hermes*, XIII 25). On Πριη[ν]ῆ see § 510.

2. In the subjunctive (Island and Asiatic Ionic, but not generally in West Ionic). See § 239.

The ι ἀνεκφώνητον is but rarely misplaced; e.g. εἴη (opt.), Teos, 158<sub>15, 30</sub>, (second cent.). Cf. the similar form on an old papyrus, Blass, *Ausspr.*<sup>3</sup> 48, and the confusion between εἴη and εἴη, H 340, Σ 88. εἴη occurs on the papyrus that has θείηι.

### 239.] Final HI becomes EI.

#### 1. In the dative singular of Â(η) and -ην- stems.

For the forms from Euboian Ionic, see § 433, 3. The Herodoteian βασιλείι, or βασιλεῖ, is due to the analogy of other cases. Ἄρει, found Sim. Amorg. 113, may be read Ἄρη; Ἄρει in Homer will readily yield to Ἄρεϊ, or Ἄρη (Φ 112, 431, B 479). Smyth, *Diphthong EI*, pp. 36, 42.

2. In the subjunctive. Here we have to distinguish between (1) εἰ, an original form with short modal vowel (Schulze, *Hermes*, XX 491 ff.).

κατάξει Teos, 156 B 37,  
 ἐκκόψε(ι) Teos, 156 B 38,  
 ποιήσει Teos, 156 B 39,  
 ποιήσει Chios, 174 A 12,  
 ἀποκρύψει Ephesos, 145<sub>1</sub>, 8,  
 ἐπάρει Ephesos, 145<sub>2</sub>,

} of the fifth century.

Cf. παραμείψεται Mimn. 3, and also in Kretan (Baunack, in his *Studien*, I 3; Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1888, p. 402).

(2) ει < ηι in later inscriptions.

ἀναψηφίσει Amph. 10<sub>19</sub> (middle of the fourth century).

παρέλθει Orop. 18<sub>3</sub>,

ἀδικεῖ Orop. 18<sub>9</sub>,

ἐκτίνει Orop. 18<sub>12</sub>,

ἀδικηθεῖ Orop. 18<sub>14</sub>,

συνχωρεῖ Orop. 18<sub>10</sub>,

παρεῖ Orop. 18<sub>26</sub>, = παρῆι < παρέηι;

cf. εῖ 18<sub>34</sub>, = ῖ,

ἐμβάλλει Orop. 18<sub>40</sub>,

} between 411-402 or  
 387-377.

This ει < ηι is restricted in Ionic to the division of the West<sup>1</sup>, and in so far presents a proof of the progression of West Ionic and Attic along the same phonetic lines<sup>2</sup>. In Attika the change of ηι to ει occurs about 376 B.C., the sound being represented either by ει (βουλεῖ) or by ε (αὐτῆ). ηι has here become a closed ε̣. There are no examples of this later ει from other portions of Ionic territory, and even in West Ionic the change has not been thoroughgoing (Olynthos, 8 A 6, B 17 ἦι; B 14 δοκῆι). In the Kyklades and in Asiatic Ionic we have -ηι in the verb and nouns, except where ι has fallen off. The change of -ηι to -ει precedes in Amphipolis that of -ωι to -οι. In Olynthos, 8 A 6, Bechtel reads π[ο]λέμοι whereas we have κοινῶι in 8 B 4 (as well as -ηι).

#### 240.] Final H from HI.

Rarely, and then not in West Ionic, in the dative: Μάνη Kyzikos, 108 (sixth century); τῇ βουλῇ Eryth. 199<sub>1</sub> (after 394 B.C.); Μαλυεῖη Eryth. 201<sub>1</sub> (fourth century); τῇ Zeleia, 113<sub>15</sub> (after 334); δημοσίη Mylasa, 248 C 15 (355/4); θύη Chios, Paspates 9.

#### 241.] ΩΙ.

προίρης in Hesychios has been regarded as an example of an Ionic change of medial ωι to οι. Final ωι becomes οι only in the

<sup>1</sup> εἰαν δὲ δεῖ Teos, Ditt. *Syll.* 126<sub>7</sub> (306-301), is Attic.

<sup>2</sup> The editor of the Oropian inscription No. 18 in *Hermes* XXI 91 regards as due to Boiotian influence the shortening of diphthongs whose prior member is a long vowel. Both this and the use of ττ for σσ seem to be Attic rather than Boiotian in colouring.



inscriptions of Western Ionic. See § 461 for examples. The *ι* of nom. -*ωι* in the declension of nouns in -*ώ*, -*ους* has been lost at a very early date in Ionic as elsewhere. On *ω* + *ι*, see § 299. *λάβωισιν* Chios 174 B 16 is an Aiolism. In an Eretrian inscription (*Ἐφημ.* 1888, 83 ff. l. 180 C, *ΣΟΙναργο* has been read *Σοιναύτο(ν)* = *Σωι-γινώισκειν* Hrd. 5<sub>21</sub> is a slip rather than an analogue of *μιμνήσκω*, Aiolic *μιμναίσκω*.

#### 242.] AY.

Hipponax 2 has *καύης* or *καύηξ*, whereas in o 479 we find *κήξ*, though ACKQSV have here *κῆϋξ*, cf. Lobeck's *Paralip.* 101 ff. Kretschmer's attempt (*K. Z.* XXXI 354) at explaining the interrelation of the two forms is unsatisfactory. *δεδαυμένων* is found only in Sim. Am. 30. The above mentioned forms and Homeric *κήξ* may be referred to *κωκύω*. According to Schol. V on Il. XV 421 *δανλός* was New Ionic for Homeric *δᾶλός*; *δαλός* is from \**δαf-ελός* (cf. *δᾶνός*), *δανλός* from \**δαf-λός*. *δαfελός* was Lakonian (Hesychios s. v. *δαβελός*). In Ionic and Attic before sonant vowels, *αυσ-*, *ευσ-*, *ουσ-* became *α*, *ε*, *ο*, e. g. *ἀκοή*. *ἀκούω* contains an *ov* reinstated from the fut., aor. &c.

#### 243.] AY=AO in inscriptions.

*Αότοκληῖος* Latyschev, II 140, Pantikap., *αῶτοί* Priene, 144<sub>9</sub>; *αῶτός* Chios, 184; *αῶτόν* Samos, 221<sub>14</sub>; *αῶ[τῶ]ι* Eryth. 202<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>, 263 (Asiatic); *αῶτοῖς* Samos, 221<sub>21</sub>, 27, 28, Eryth. 203<sub>2</sub> (*ταῦτα* l. 8); *αῶτούς* Samos, 221<sub>23</sub>, Leros, 107<sub>7</sub>; *ταῶτα* Leros, 107<sub>12</sub>, Chios, 184, Eryth. 202<sub>10</sub>, 18, Samos, 221<sub>14</sub>, Halik. 240<sub>7</sub> (the only example of the change in the dialect of Halikarnassos); *έαστῶν* Samos, 221<sub>20</sub>, 263 (Asiatic); *Γλαῶκος* Eryth. 209<sub>1</sub>; also Imh.-Bl. G. M. 290 Erythrai; *Ταορέας* Eryth. 209<sub>2</sub>; *Καοκασίωνος* Chios, 183 A 33; but *Κα]υκασίων* Chios, 177<sub>9</sub> and *Κανκασέ[α]ς* B. P. W., 1889, p. 1195; cf. Eryth. 206 A 19; *Ναόλοχον* Priene, 141, an inscription not in Ionic dialect but in Ionic orthography; *Ναῶκλος* Paus. VII 3, 6 may be compared; Styra, 19<sub>264</sub>, has *Ναυστείρης*; Olynth. 8 B 2 *ναυπηγησίμων*. In *ναυμαχίη*, *ναυπηγήσιμος*, &c., we find *ᾶ* not *η*.

The graphical substitution of *ο* for *υ* is practically confined to Ionic territory. Kumanudes, *Ἐπιγρ.* Ἀττ. ἐπιτύμβιοι, 2597 (*Αῶτοκρά[τ]ης*), offers the only example from extra-Ionic territory. So far no evidence for this *ao* has been found in any portion of Ionic except that of the Asiatic mainland and adjacent islands.

This method of writing, however, does not of itself necessitate the conclusion that Ionic *av* was of different colour from Attic *av*. Perhaps the Naxian AFYTO represents nothing more than an attempt at showing the pronunciation of *au* in a clearer manner

<sup>1</sup> About 350 B.C. No. 199, Eryth. (394 B.C.) has *αῦτῶι* twice.

than by ΑΥ, Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 74 ff. The suggestion that ΑFTO was meant, and ΑFΥTO was a correction of the engraver (αφύτου) is excluded by the Old-Attic αφύτάρ (Δελτ. ἀρχ. 1890, p. 103). See under F. This αF for αυ before a consonant is chiefly the property of Kretan, and sporadically of Lokrian and Korinthian.

#### 244.] ΑΥ=Ω.

See §§ 205, 258, for τρῶμα, διφώσκω, &c. The substitution of ο for υ is more frequent in Ionic than that of υ for ο. At present but one example of the latter orthography is known to us in Ionic: Μύλαυρος, Styra, 19<sub>133</sub>=μυλωρός<-αορος. Cf. πυλαυρός=πυλωρός in Hesychios and the other examples quoted, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 120. Hdt. III 72 has πυλουρός with the υ. l. πυλωρός. The grammarians went so far as to hold that αυ became ωυ in a supposititious form ωυτός. Greg. Korinth. p. 419.

On ΟΥ from ΑΥ, see under ΟΥ, § 256.

#### 245.] A from ΑΥ.

In late inscriptions υ is sometimes not written before a consonant. In Kaibel's *Epigrammata* I find τοῦνομα τὰτόν 311 Smyrna; ἀτῶν 321 near Sardis; ἐατοῖς 340, valley of the Makestos; ἀτῆς Sterrett, *Papers of the Amer. School*, III 235, ἀτῆς Latyshev, II, p. 305 (199<sup>1</sup>).

#### 246.] ΕΥ.

On Δεύνυσος, see § 138, on Διένυσος, § 137.

EO for original ΕΥ is not specifically Ionic, though this orthography was more extensively adopted by the Ionians than by any other Greek people. EO is here invariably diphthongal.

##### 1. Inscriptions of the fifth century<sup>1</sup>.

βασιλεός Chios, 174 C 10; Κεφαλεός Adesp. 266, see Bechtel *ad loc.*

##### 2. Inscriptions of the fourth century.

φεόγειν Amphip. 10<sub>3</sub>; φεογέτω Amphip. 10<sub>24</sub>; φεόγο[υσιν] Chios, 185<sub>15</sub>; κοπρεόων Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195; Εδνομίδης Miletos, 102<sub>1</sub>; Εδέλθων Ephesos, 151<sub>3</sub>, Mionnet, VI 122; Εόπαθίδη(s) Ephesos, 151<sub>4</sub>; Εόχωρος Ephesos, 151<sub>5</sub>; εόνοϊαν Samos, 221<sub>8</sub>; εόργέτην Eryth. 202<sub>5</sub><sup>2</sup>; Εόθύδαμος Klazom., Le Bas, *Foy. Arch. Inser.* III 1, No. 86, Head, *H. N.* 491; Λεοκαῖος Klazom. 169<sub>3</sub>, Head, *H. N.* 491. Cf. λεοκοῖς Priene, 141, Ionic orthography as in Ναόλοχον; Θεόττις Chios, *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* XIV 153, No. 3. Cf. Θεῦττ[ις], l. l. No. 4=Bechtel, 194 (both fourth century). Λεόκωνος (and Λεύκωνος) Latyshev, II 296.

<sup>1</sup> εῶδοξε I. G. A. 390 Amorgos, an obscure inscription, placed by some as early as the first half of the seventh century.

<sup>2</sup> Bechtel's [εόργ]έτην Eryth. 199<sub>3</sub>, is doubtful on account of αὐτῶι l. 5, 12.

## 3. Inscriptions of third century.

Εδαγόρης Thasos, 83<sub>3</sub>; cf. 83<sub>4</sub>.

## 4. Of uncertain date.

Εδρύδα(μος) Eryth. 209<sub>3</sub>; Σινωπέος Sinope, 116.

On coins Εδσεβής Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* 324 Miletos, cf. 290, ιερεός Chios, Pasp. 9<sub>11</sub>, Εδπαθίδης *ib.* 39.

Εδπάμονος (Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.*, p. 104), held by Boeckh (*C. I. G.* 2121) to be Phanagoreian, cannot well be Ionic on account of -παμων = κτήμων, despite πολυπάμονος Δ 433, which must give place to πολυπάμμονος of many MSS.<sup>1</sup> That εο = ευ is not confined to Ionic is clear from the following list: Εδβωλος Knidos, *C. D. I.* 3550; ἄνεο Sunium, *C. I. A.*, III 73<sub>12</sub> (period of the empire), the only instance in Attic; Ὀρφεός *C. I. G.* 7049; Σεοῆρον *C. I. G.* 3423, ὅς κνέσσα Kos in *J. H. S.* IX 334 ll. 57, 61, Εδρυνόμο[υ], Herakleia, the Megarian colony, *C. D. I.* 3083; cf. ε[ὗ]ο[ρ]κέοσι, Krete in *Mus. It.* III 563 ff. l. 38 (Itanos). See Hausoullier, *B. C. H.*, III 51. Bechtel proposes to refer Εδπάμονος to Knidos.

This εο is sporadic merely, and does not indicate that the pronunciation of ευ (*i. e.* I. E. *e + u*) was different in the localities where these εο forms were at home from that prevalent among all Ionic speaking Greeks. The following list shows the retention of ευ in words that in the above list had εο.

φεύγον[το]ς 13<sub>6</sub>, Chalkis (?), found at Olympia; φεύγων 13<sub>8</sub>; φεύγειν Iasos, 104<sub>5</sub>; Εδαγόρης Thasos, 83<sub>4</sub>; Εὐθύδαμος Klazom. Head, *H. N.* 491; Εὐ(π)ορία Pantik. 121; Λεύκων Theod. (?) 127; Λευκ[ά]ριος Styra, 19<sub>124</sub>; Λεύκαρος 19<sub>389</sub>, Λεύκωνος Phanag. 164; Λευκαῖος Klazom. Head, *H. N.* 491 (4th cent.); [ε]ὐώνυμον Eph. 145<sub>5</sub>; Εὐκράτον Teos 159<sub>2</sub>.

There are no indications of εο for ευ in the literary monuments.

On ευ for original εο, see also under *Contraction*, § 287; on -ευ in the genitive singular, § 426.

247.] εο represents the diphthong ευ in Πιθενος = Πιθεύς, Ephesos, *Num. Chron.* 1881, 16, with an υ between εο that recalls the *F* of Naxian αὐτοῦ, Attic αὐτάρ, cf. Prellwitz, *Deut. Litt.-Zeit.* 1890, p. 1538. εο stands for εο = ευ in Δεοννός, Maroneia, on a coin in Imhoof-Blumer's collection, referred to by Bechtel on 196. εο = ευ also in Ἀριστοκλέους Thasos, 72<sub>1</sub>, Εὐρυσθένης Εὐρύς Samos, 217. Analogous is αο in Παουλλίνα *C. I. G.* 6665, G. Meyer, *Gr.* § 120. Cf. § 529, Baunack's *Studien*, I 72, *B. B.* II 269.

An hyper-Ionic ευ, due to a supposed fondness of the dialect for this sound, takes the place of ου in MSS. of Hdt. (§ 690), and in such forms as χασκεύση Herodas 44<sub>2</sub> (§ 44).

β takes the place of υ in the late κατεσκέβασεν Kyzikos, *C. I. G.* 3693. Cf. the same form *C. I. G.* 2015 (Gallipoli), and

<sup>1</sup> On Πολυπημονίδαο ω 305, see Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.* 70, note. See §§ 169, 344.



such forms as Boiot. *εὔδομον* C. D. I. 49<sub>17</sub>, *εὔδομέκοντα* 3206<sub>47</sub> (Korkyra).

### 248.] Loss of Υ in ΕΥ.

Before vowels *υ*, like *ι*, may be expelled. Scanty evidence of this phenomenon is furnished by the Ionic poets, Hipponax using *ευ* as a short syllable in *εὔωνον* 22 B (cf. *Ἑωνυμέυς* Kumanudes, *Ἐπιγυρ.* Ἀττ. ἐπιτύμβιοι 501<sub>3</sub>), *θηρεύει* 22 A, according to the scholiast on Hephaestion (p. 156, Gaisf.<sup>2</sup>=p. 106, Westph.), who says that Hipponax often treated *αι* and *οι* as short. Herodas 371 has *ικετεύω*. The shortening of *ευ* is very rare; cf. Pind. *P.* VIII 35 *ἰχνεύων*.

Inscriptions offer us but doubtful evidence:—

*Ἑαλκίδης* Styra, 19<sub>183</sub>, may be due to carelessness, as Blass suggests; at least we have *Εὔαλκείδης* Thasos, 77 B 10, and *Εὔαλκίδεω* Th. (L.) 3 A 10.

*πρυτανέ(ο)ντος* Priene, 144<sub>10</sub>, Ross' conjecture for *-εωντος* of the transcribers. Johansson, *D. I. C.*, p. 61, retains *-εωντος*, which he explains as *=-ηοντος*, comparing Lesbian *ἀδικήω*. This is, however, entirely unwarranted and has in fact been partially withdrawn by the same scholar, *B. B.* XV 171.

[*βασιλ*] *έοντος* C. I. G. 2107 *c*, Pantikapaion, is not free from suspicion, since Ionic verbs in *-εω* retain the *υ*<sup>1</sup>: *e.g.* *βασιλεύοντος* Pantik. 118, Mylasa, 248 ABC; *ἐξαιθραπεύοντος* 248 A 2; *θεραπεύεσθαι* Oropos, 18<sub>21</sub>; [*κιξα*] *λλεύοι* Teos, 156 B 19; *μνημονεύοντος* Halik. 238<sub>12</sub>. There is no confusion here between *-εω* and *-εω* verbs such as is discussed by Bredow, p. 81.

### 249.] ΕΥ for ΑΥ.

*πέτευρον* Oropos, 18<sub>42</sub>, deserves notice as it has been called the Ionic form, found also Theokr. XIII 13. *πέταυρον*, expelled from Nikander on the authority of *π*, occurs now only in the Septuagint. *πέτευρον* < *πετ* + *ηυρον* = *πετ* + *αυρον*, *πέταυρον* < *πετ* + *αυρον*.

*εὔληρον* = Doric *αὔληρον*, < *α-φλη-*, cf. Hesych. *ἀβληρά*. Cf. Bekk. An. I 464<sub>2</sub>, Bachm. An. I 164<sub>20</sub>.

### 250.] Genuine ΟΥ.

The diphthongal *ου* is generally represented upon inscriptions by ΟΥ or in a few cases by ΩΥ (ΩΥ = οὐ, and ΩΥΔΕ = οὐδέ, Thasos, 68). ΟΥ in ΤΟΥΤΟ, Halik. 238<sub>21, 23, 32, 35</sub>, ΤΟΥΤΟΣ, Amphipolis, 10<sub>20</sub>. ΤΟΤΟ = τοῦτο 175 = Roberts, I 150 (Chios), and Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 14, as occasionally in pre-Eukleidean Attic documents<sup>2</sup>. ΑΡΟΔΗΙ Teos, 156 B 17 = ἀρούρηι (?)

<sup>1</sup> κατεσκέασε Magnesia (Μουσ. καὶ βιβλ. τῆς εὐαγγ. σχολ. Σμυρν. 1878, p. 46), is late. Cf. similar examples from Kyme (C. D. I. 311<sub>40</sub>), Korkyra (C. I. G. 1838 B 6), Tenos (C. I. G. 23443); κατασκεώσεται Delphi (W-F), 263<sub>8</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *K. Z.* XXIX 140.

is a vexatious spelling, compared with Kyprian *a · ro · u · ra ·* where the diphthong is genuine, and due to the ground-form *āpo-vp-a*. The suffix *-vp-* is the weak form of *-Fap-*. On a Thessalian inscription, C. D. I. 371, we find *āpOp[as]*, and in one MS. of *Acharnians*, 762, *āpōpaīoi* (Rav. *āpoupaīoi*), where the *ov* would seem to be adulterine. Misteli (*K. Z.* XVII 178) suggested that *\*āpopFā* is the ground form. Cf. Archil. 148.

Genuine *ov* (*i. e.* *o + u*) is retained in Ionic as in other dialects. It occurs in ablaut forms, such as *σπονδῇ* and probably in *βροῦκος · ἀκρίδων εἶδος*. *Ἰωνες* (cf. *βρεῦκος · ἡ μικρὰ ἀκρίς*), since an Ionic *ū* is not, despite its pronunciation, represented in Hesychios by *ov*. *ov* also occurs where *v* has been joined to *o* as in *το(δ)-v-το* (particle *v*). On genuine *ov* from contraction, see §§ 295, 312, 317.

*oῦa* Hippokr. II 500 and in Theophrastos, from *oῦon sorb-apple*, contains a genuine diphthong despite *ῶά* Plato, *Symp.* 190 D (so the MSS.). *ōa* was found in the text of Hipp. by Galen.

### 251.] Spurious OY.

The monophthongal *ov* is generally written O; *e. g.* :—

*ὀρκΟv* Halik. 238<sub>26</sub>, = *ὀρκοῦv*; *τΟρμοκράτεος* Prokon. 103<sub>2</sub> = *τοῦ Ἑρμο-*; *βΟλεῖοι* Teos, 156 B 24 BOAH Thasos, *J. II. S.* VIII 401<sub>21</sub> and *Δι[ο]νύσΟ* l. 17, an inser. that has also OY l. 21, 23; *τιμΟχέοντες* Teos, 156 B 29; *ΤειχιΟσης* Miletos, 98.

Sporadically OY appears:—

*TOY* Amphipolis, 10<sub>13</sub>, only case in older Ionic of this writing of *τοῦ*.

*βαρβαρOYΣ* Teos, 156 B 26; in every other case of the accus. pl. OΣ.

Spurious *ov* by contraction of *o + o*, see § 266.

### 252.] Spurious OY before nasals<sup>1</sup>.

*μοῦνος* < *\*μονFo-s*, Hom., Hdt., Herakl. 65, Demokr. 70, 107, Archil. epod. 89<sub>4</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>24</sub>, 14<sub>3</sub>, Anakr. 84<sub>2</sub>, Kall. 1<sub>21</sub>, Solon, troch. tetr. 33<sub>6</sub> (§ 52); *μουνόκερα* Archil. 181; *μουναρχος* Theog. 52, Sim. Keos, 87, but 88 *μόνος*, as Solon, 24<sub>3</sub>, 9<sub>3</sub>. In Herodas we find *μοῦνος* 2<sub>89</sub>, 3<sub>4</sub>, 6<sub>16</sub>, 7<sub>8</sub>, *μόνος* only once (6<sub>70</sub>). Aischylos and Euripides have the Ionic form occasionally in dialogue parts (§ 77). *μοῦνος* survives in late inscriptional poetry; *e. g.* *Papers of the American School*, III 341<sub>6</sub> (Pisidia). Lukian, Abydenos, Aretaios, and other later Ionic writers have *ov*. Arrian varies between *μοῦνος* and *μόνος*, but the prevalence of the former in Aretaios and Hippokrates is so striking that there can be no question but that *μοῦνος* was accepted by all the pseudo-Ionists,

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. p. 390, 453, Et. M. 607<sub>35</sub>, An. Ox. I 296<sub>17</sub>, An. Bachm. II 64<sub>34</sub> (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II. 61<sub>23</sub> and on Hsd. W. D. 12.



except the author of the *Vita Homeri*. Attic Μοῦν- in Μοῦνυχία, Μοῦνιχιών, see § 75.

γούνατα < γοῖF-, Hdt., Theog. 978, Tyrt. 10<sub>19</sub>; Archil. tetr. 75 γουρουνμέμφ; Lukian, *d. d. S.* 22 γούνων; Arrian, 36 γόνατα. Hippokr. and Aretaios have the ου form, which is found in Hom., Ild. 5<sub>19</sub>, 7<sub>10</sub>, cf. Greg. Kor. 489. χλούνης, of the wild boar, *II. IX* 539, and in Hipponax, 61, where it is generally translated 'robber,' is from χλοσν-, cf. Skt. *ghṛṣti*, 'boar.'

The etymology of οὔν is uncertain. It is found Hipponax, 61, though there probably an Atticism. Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>45</sub> has the genuine Ionic form. Wackernagel (*K. Z.* XXIX 127) suggests that οὔν was extracted from μᾶν. μᾶν is not found in Ionic, save Hipponax, 52. See § 206.

The principle that the exigencies of the Homeric verse cannot force any Greek form<sup>1</sup> upon the ordinary dialect life of the people is fatal to a genuine Ionic οὔνομα<sup>2</sup>, despite the fact that Lukian, &c., read it in their copies of Hdt., and that it is supposed to have been used by Pherekydes of Syros. Steph. Byz. attributes it to Hekat. (frag. 180), while Herodian reports ὄνομα (frag. 328). In Herakl. 60, 65, 66 ὄρομα is the best MS. reading, yet Bywater writes οὔνομα in all three passages, despite ὀνομάζεται 36. In 65, Clemens has ὄρομα almost side by side with μόνον, while οὔνομα is found in Eusebios cod. *D.* Hellanikos, frag. 150, has ὄνομα. Stein writes οὔνομα in Hdt. although the MSS. are in a constant flux, and ὀνομαίνω, ὀνομάζω. ὄνομα is the genuine Ionic prose form, found Oropos, 18<sub>30</sub>, and so also in Ὀρομάστου Kyme (Roberts, I 174). ὄνομα is found in poetry, Theog. 246, Tyrt. 12<sub>31</sub>; ὀνομαστός Theog. 23, Ὀνομάκριτε 503, cf. Hdt. VI 127, VII 6. οὔνομα receives poor support from Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>87</sub>, κοῦνομάκλυτον, a form alien to the genius of the folk-dialect (misread from KON?). In Hippokrates, II 190, VI 392, VIII 186 (θ), Lukian, *d. d. S., de Astr. (Vit. Auct.* 5, οὔ- poorly supported), Arrian, Aretaios, οὔνομα prevails over ὄνομα; in the *Vita Homeri*, ὄνομα over οὔνομα. ὀνομάζω is the accepted form in later Ionic prose, while ὀνομαστί varies with οὔνομαστί. The Homeric form and the possibility of misunderstanding τοὔνομα brought into the texts of the Ionic prose writers all the instances of οὔνομα.

### 253.] Spurious ΟΥ before ρ<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ἐνεκα was not completely enfranchized until the imperial period.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Gr. 240 B, Birnbaum 677<sub>56</sub>, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ οὐρος interlinear schol. Ven. A on A 157, Joh. G. 240 B, Greg. K. 390, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Bachm. An. II 64<sub>34</sub> (Max. Plan.), οὐρος, boundary, Birnb. 677<sub>56</sub>, Eust. 23<sub>28</sub>, 488<sub>7</sub>, 1774<sub>6</sub>, 1871<sub>38-41</sub>, cf. 1282<sub>15</sub>, 1491<sub>5</sub>, 194<sub>26</sub>, 1121<sub>52</sub> οὐρος is called Aiolie or Ionic through the grammarians muddling it with the εὔ of εὐקהλος, see An. Ox. III 398<sub>70</sub>, οὐροπύγιον Eust. 1871<sub>45</sub>; κοῦρος, κούρη Et. M. 607<sub>36</sub>, Eust. 23<sub>27</sub>, 488<sub>5</sub>, 1535<sub>50</sub>, G. K. 387, An. Ox. I 242<sub>31</sub>, I 296<sub>17</sub>, Bekk. An. III 1096, Bachm. An. II 64<sub>35</sub> (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II. 124<sub>3</sub>, schol. Ven. A on A 275 (interlin. schol.).



## 1. -ορF-.

οὔρος<sup>1</sup>, *mountain*, Simonides of Amorgos 14<sub>1</sub>; Theognis 881 οὔρεος, &c.; Hekat. 172, 173 οὔρεα, οὔρεσιν. In Hdt. and Homer we find both οὔρος and ὄρος. The latter is the sole reading of the MSS. in about nineteen passages in Hdt. In other places where the word occurs, ABR have ὄρος, CPd οὔρος; whence Stein concludes, in opposition to Dindorf and Bredow, that ὄρος is the genuine reading in Herodotos. Of the pseudo-Ionists, Lukian has οὔρος, *d. d. S.* 8, 28; Arrian has οὔρος but once (§ 11), ὄρος fourteen times. Hippokr. II 58, 70, 72, &c., and Aretaios have the ο form, as the *Vita Homeri*; ὄρος in Hekat. 44, 227, 344, Tyrt. 57, Archil. tetr. 74<sub>9</sub>, epod. 115 (hexameter perittosyll.), Anakr. 2<sub>5</sub>, Theog. 1292. The Hipponaktian (35<sub>5</sub>) ὀρείας is suspicious, and was attacked by Renner (p. 179), whose πέτρας γέρατος has not met with favour. The form ὄρειοι is certain, Arrian, 17. Ὀροβιή[της] or Ὀροβιέ[ύς] Chalkis, Roberts, I 172, an inscription not adopted by Bechtel. Οὐράλιος is an uncertain conjecture of Roehl, No. 394 = Bechtel, No. 42. From Homer we obtain no information as to the character of the ον, since all the forms in ον are found under the ictus (23 times).

οὔρος, *boundary*, Hom., Chios, 174 A 6, 8, 10, οὔροφύλακες 174 A 15, 19 with O; ὄμουρος Halik. 240<sub>61</sub>; οὔρος, not ὄρος, Samos, 216; and if I. G. A. 406 is Ionic, then HOPOΣ must be read Hoṓρος. In Herodotos οὔρος, ὄμουρέειν, οὔρίξειν (a form found only<sup>2</sup> in MSS. of Hdt.), &c., Herakl. 30, Demokr. *Mor.* 8, 9, οὔρος. The MSS. of Hippokrates have ὄρος very frequently. In Arrian 2 ὄρος, 40 οὔρος, Euseb. *Mynd.* 13 οὔρος. Solon, trim. 36<sub>4</sub>, has the Attic form. Upon a term-stone from Thera, οὔρορ Cauér, 147, οὔροι Dittenb. *Syll.* 377, Kretan οὔρεια Cauér, 121 B 9, οὔρεύωντι C 41.

δουρ- is not found in MSS. of Hdt. except I 79, where Stein reads δόρατα, cf. VII 89, 224, IX 62, δόρασι VII 41. δούρατα is here correct. Tyrt. 11<sub>20, 37</sub>, Archil. eleg. 35, Anakr. 21<sub>9</sub> have the ον form, which alone is genuine Ionic (Greg. Kor. 489). Cf. Δουρίης Adesp. 21 (Western Ionic) of the sixth century. δορί Archil. eleg. 21, 2, recalls epic δόρυ, though Hom. has δουρί, etc.

κούρος, κούρη, Hom. κούρη is also found on Knidian documents, C. D. I. 3538-41, 3543-44. On κούρη in Attic, see § 75 (2). φούρη Naxos, 23 (but Κόρηι Paros, 65 (late); Κόρης Eryth.

<sup>1</sup> Οὔρειος, οὔρεσιβάτης in the tragedians make for an Ionic οὔρ-. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 358, goes so far as to hold that in ᾤρος (Dor.) and ὄρος, ω and ο are ablaut vowels, and that by qualitative assimilation of open pan-Hellenic ω and closed ο, a closed ω (=ον) resulted in οὔροι. The etymology of the word is uncertain, and is here only tentatively regarded as based upon ορF; cf. Johansson *K. Z.* XXX 419.

<sup>2</sup> The Hesychian gloss οὔρίσαι ὀρίσαι. παρασκευάσαι has been referred by some to οὔρίξειν from οὔρος 'favourable wind' in tragedy.

206 B 22, almost an Attic inscription); Διοσκουρίδης Halik. 240<sub>32</sub>; Διοσκούροισι Naukr. 665, cf. 675-682, 833-836; Δ]ιοσκούρο[ι]σι 257 (unc. loc.); but Διοσκόρων Eryth. 206 A 7 (Attic); Διοσκουρίδους Thasos (L.), 11 C 11; Διοσκουρίδου Pantikap., Lat. II 239, Thasos (L.), 20 B 3. In the poets we find κουρ-, Tyrt. 10<sub>6</sub>, 15<sub>2</sub>, 16 (Doric!); Anakr. 69, 76; Hrd. 1<sub>22</sub>, 3<sub>66</sub>, 4<sub>64</sub>, 4<sub>71</sub>, Bergk. *P. L. G.* III 710; Διόσκουρος Hipponax, 120, and so in Hdt., who has also κουρίδιος. Aret. 18 has κούρησι.

κόρος, Attic, Hdt. only IV 33, 34. Archil. 120, in the iobacchies, uses κόρης.

In Attic we find Διόσκουροι (Thuk. III 75, IV 110), see § 77, 78; in Seleukeia, Διοσκουρίδου Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* 573. For κωρίδες Sim. Am. 15 we expect the ου form, which Athen. III 106 D strangely enough declares to have been used by Sophron and Epicharmos. The ω form is attested in Epich. 67 (Lorenz, p. 244). Epicharmos may have used Ionic words (Phot. 183<sub>9</sub>), but not Ionic vocalism. On Ἐπίκουρος Styra, 19<sub>35</sub>, Samos, 221<sub>2</sub>, cf. Schulze, *Quaest. Hom.* 17, Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXX 600.

2. -ορσ. οὔρον Hdt., οὔρα Hipp. II 682, and often.

οὔρή tail, illustrates Wackernagel's theory (*K. Z.* XXIX 127) that the Greek accent was partly expiratory in character, ὄρσος becoming ὄρρος, ὄρσή becoming οὔρή.

## 254.] Spurious ΟΥ before λ<sup>1</sup>.

1. ολF.

οὔλαι Hdt., τρίχουλος Archil. 196 = οὔλότριχες, Hom., Hdt. (Syraκ. ὀλβαχόιον), < FολF. The accent is troublesome on account of the probability of λF, when preceding the accent, becoming λλ. Hdn. II 110<sub>20</sub> cites οὔλας from γ 441. Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 48 note, thinks the old-time explanation of οὔλαι as ὅλαι κριθαί may explain the accent in Hdn.

Hom., Xenoph. ἀποφθεγ. 2, οὔλος<sup>2</sup>, entire, < ὀλFo- is, it is claimed, not represented by the same form in later Ionic. If there is no form except ὅλος, the parallelism between Hom. Ionic ου by compensatory lengthening = Doric ω = Attic ο would not be complete. In Herakl. (59) some MSS. have οὔλα, which Bywater reads. We look in vain to Herodotos, who does not use the word in any form. Herodas has ὅλος only. Theognis 73 is the first occurrence of ὅλος and here the initial ο is not specifically Ionic. Hippokrates certainly has ὅλος, e.g. II 612. Greg. Kor. 80 says that οὔλειν was used instead of ὑγαίνειν; cf. Hesych. s. v. οὔλε (ω 402).

If κολεόν in Hekat. (Hdn. I 61<sub>12</sub>) is Ionic (as it is Attic), κουλεόν Γ 272 is not from κολFεFor, but due to metrical lengthening.

<sup>1</sup> Μούλιος from μολεῖν (!) Eust. 80<sub>437</sub>, 88<sub>223</sub>, 185<sub>240</sub>; οὔλένη (!) Eust. 46<sub>16</sub>, ὠλ- being called Doric.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Gr. 241 B, Vat. 694.



Proper names in Πουλυ- have come to light in Megarian, Thessalian, and Attic as well as in Ionic. Hdt. has πολλός<sup>1</sup>, a form that is found in Arch. 81, 101 epod., 103 epod., Herodas, Anakr. 11, 43<sub>3</sub>, 93, in a metrical inscription from Abdera, 162, in Demokr. *e.g.* 185, &c. πουλύς in Theog. 509 need not be Megarian, but is to be classed with such Ionisms as πουλύποδος ε 432, Hymn Apoll. 77.

Πουλυδάμας Smyrna, 153<sub>7</sub>, Eretria, 16 B 5, -χάρου Eretria, B. C. H. II 277, Πουλύωνο[s] Chios, 187, Πουλυάναξ Thasos (L.), 8 B 1, Πούλνος Thasos, 78 B 11. There are no names in Πουλυ- in Hdt.

Cf. also in other dialects:—

Πουλυτίων in the Hermokopidai process (Thuk.), Megara, Πουλίās C. D. I. 3025<sub>59</sub>, Πουλυχάρης C. D. I. 3029<sub>23</sub>, Πουλυδάμας C. D. I. 3021<sub>26</sub>, Πουλυ- 3025<sub>40</sub>.

There are no names in Πολλο-, but those in Πολυ- are abundant. Πολυάρκης Styra, 19<sub>287</sub>, and perhaps 19<sub>406</sub>, Πο]λυαρ[κίδης] Naukr. I 195, Πολύδωρος Styra, 19<sub>288</sub>, Π[ο]λυξειν[ίδης] Styra, 19<sub>407</sub>, Πολλυξίδης 19<sub>286</sub>, framed from Πολύξενος, Πολύθρους Thasos, 75 B 11, Teos, 158<sub>27</sub>, Πολυάρητος Abdera, 163<sub>12</sub>, Maroneia, 196<sub>15</sub>, Thasos, 72<sub>3</sub>, Πολύνικος Maroneia, Head, *H. N.* 216, Πουλυδάμας Thasos, 76<sub>8</sub>, Πολυαίνετος Thasos, 81 B 11, Thas. (L.), 3 A 7, 6 A 9, 15 C 10, Πολύοκτος Eretria 16 B 37, 49; also Thessal. 345<sub>75</sub>, Πολύχαρμος Smyrna, 153<sub>11</sub>, Πόλνος Smyrna, 153<sub>22</sub>, Πολυπείθης Erythrai, 206 A 28, Πολύϊδος Halik. 240<sub>46</sub>, Πολύφαντος Thasos (L.), 6 D 9, Πολυάλθης Thasos (L.), 10 A 11, Πολύτιμος Thasos (L.), 21<sub>5</sub>, Πολυ- Thasos (L.), 16 A 17, B 3, Πόλυ[β]ος Volci, Roberts, I 188 H.

Bechtel holds that the names in Πουλυ-, in whatever dialect found, are due to the influence of the epos. This, even if true, would not render nugatory our contention that the Homeric verse cannot impose its forms upon the dialects. Proper names have their own peculiar history. But that πουλυ- is a genuine prose form<sup>2</sup>, from contamination of πολυ- and πουλ- (πουλ- originating in the oblique cases, *e.g.* πολυ-ός) is evident from the Attic πουλύπους, πουλυπόδειρον, Πουλυτίων in comedy.

In Hdt. πουλύς is not supported by MS. testimony of such a character as to demand its insertion. It is but sparingly attested in the late Ionists. Lukian and Arrian follow Hdt., while the medical writers use now πουλυ-, now πολυ-. πουλύ occurs in the letters of Hippokrates (XVII 16 in c); elsewhere πολύς and πολύ should probably be read (Lindemann, p. 12 ff.). Cf. § 479.

It is no contradiction of the laws of phonetic development that πουλ- and πολυ- (*e.g.* πολυκρότη Anakr. 90<sub>2</sub>) should be co-

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. 12 quoting Homer only.

<sup>2</sup> Ionic according to An. Bachm. II 64<sub>35</sub> (Max. Plan.).



existent at one and the same time in a single dialect. As in Ionic, so too in Megarian (Baunaek, *Stud.* I 229) both forms are permissible. Α πωλ- is, however, foreign to Ionic, despite πώλυ-πον in Sim. Amorg. 29. Perhaps Sim. of Keos is the Simonides referred to by Athenaios, VII 318 F. In Hippokr. VI 214 the oldest MS. (θ) has πώλυπος, and so in VII 50, 52 (with variations in -ο- and -ου-) of the excrescence in the nose. In VII 222 πολύποδας (θ), VI 550 πουλύποδες (θ), VII 276 (the animal).

2. -ολν.

οὐλή, *scar*, Lat. *volnus*.

οὔλος, *crisp*, < Φολνο-?

βούλομαι, probably from βολνο-, from βωλν-? Forms with O are: βΟληται Oropos 18<sub>31</sub>; ΚριτοβΟλης Kyme, 2; Θευβούλου and Βουλοθέμιος Naxos, 28 with ΟΥ (late).

The ου of Οὔλυπος<sup>1</sup> appears to be due to the metre alone in Homer and Theog. 1136. In Herodotos 'Ολ- is to be written, a form attested by Xenoph. 23, Theog. 1347, Solon, tr. 36<sub>2</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>21</sub>, Arch. tetr. 74<sub>2</sub>, Hipponax, tr. 30 A, Anakr. 24; 'Ολυμπίω (dat.) Miletos, 101 (late), and 'Ολυμπιόδωρος, Smyrna, 153<sub>27</sub> (before 350 B.C.).

Likewise due to the ictus is the ου of οὐλόμενος Hom., Tyr. 7<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 156, 1062. Cf. Anecd. Bachm. II 64<sub>35</sub> (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II. 61<sub>21</sub>.

### 255.] Other cases of ΟΥ.

Editors of Hdt. rightly reject οὐδῶν, *ways*, I 123, which is found in R. Samos, 220<sub>30, 36</sub>, has ὁδοῦ (346/5 B.C.). οὐδόν, *threshold*, I 90, is from ὁδός and is the form proper to Ionic prose and poetry, cf. *Od.* ρ 196, Hrd. 17<sub>2</sub>, 33<sub>8</sub>.

ροῦσος<sup>2</sup> Herakl. 104, Hdt., Mimm. 6, Solon, 24<sub>10</sub>, Theog. 274, Hrd. 4<sub>8, 17</sub>, Pindar, &c., is not from \*νογκλος = \*νονσος, as Curtius held in his *Studien*, X 328. I formerly derived the word from νοσφτιος, = Old Norse snauðr, *stripped, poor, bereft*, sneyðiligr, *destitute* (Germ. *schnöde*), but now am inclined, in view of the co-existence of ροσέω and ροῦσος, to set up with Aufrecht, K. Z. I 120, as a ground-form \*ροσφο-, which would yield ροῦσος or ροσέω in accordance with the accentual principle mentioned, § 164, whereby ροῦσος<sup>3</sup> would depend upon \*νόσφος, ροσέω upon \*ροσφός. ρούσ[ου] must be read in Teos 156 B 1, where Rob. 142 B 1 has νόσ[ου]. That ου is not due to metrical necessity is clear from Mimm. 6. Lukian (π. δ. ι. σ. § 16) says that ροῦσος was a part

<sup>1</sup> Οὔλυπος Vat. 694, Anecd. Bachm. II 64<sub>35</sub> (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II. 61<sub>23</sub>, called poetic merely Choir. 516<sub>10</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> ροῦσος is found twenty-one times without variation in the MSS. of Hdt.; νόσος comes to light about ten times. ροῦσος is called Ionic by J. G. 240 B, Greg. Kor. p. 390, Gram. Meerm. 652, Et. M. 607<sub>26</sub>, An. Ox. I 296<sub>16</sub>, Apoll. Adv. p. 149<sub>21</sub>, Schin., Anecd. Bachm. II 64<sub>31</sub> (Max. Plan.); poetic Bekk. An. II 694<sub>21</sub> and Choir. 516<sub>9</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Schulze (*Quaest. Hom.* p. 35) thinks the proper Homeric form is νόσος, for which ροῦσος is an error of transcription.

of the medical language of his day. A list of the occurrences of *νοῦσος* upon late epigrams will be found in Wagner, *Quaest. de epigram.* 27, to which add Lat. II 167, II p. 303, *B. C. H.* VIII 502, No. XI, from Phrygia, *Papers of Am. School at Athens*, III 341<sub>3</sub>. Lukian adopts the form seven times in the *Syria dea*, Arrian has it chap. 15, Herakleitos, epist. V, Pherekyd. and Hippokr. epist.; and so too Aretaios. Hdt. always uses *νοσέω*, if MS. authority means anything, sometimes in conjunction with *νοῦσος* (III 33, 149). Hippokrates, Lukian, and Aretaios agree in adopting *νοσέω*, cf. Lindemann, 6. The MSS. of these authors (cf. also Demokr. 67) fluctuate constantly between *νόσημα* and *νοῦσημα*, to the former of which preference is generally given. Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>12</sub> has *νόσοι*, which was changed by Ahrens and Renner (see especially the latter in Curtius' *Stud.* I 178). In Hymn XV 1 we find *νόσων*. The author of the *Vita Homeri* used the *o* form only.

*Συρακούσιος* appears to exist in Ionic side by side with *Συρακόσιος*. That the latter is not a fictitious form is evident from its occurrence in Latyshev, II 300 (fourth century, from Panti-kapaion), in C. D. I. 1200, incorrectly supposed to be Arkadian, and in inscriptions from Agrigentum, Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 199<sub>9, 13</sub>, &c. -*κουσα* is from -*κοντια*, -*κοσα* from -*κοτια*, instead of -*κατια*, by influence of the former termination.

*μοῦσα* (An. Ox. I 278<sub>15</sub>) from *μοντια*; on *οῦς*, see §§ 266, 292, 545. *ῶς* is Doric, *ἄτα* Tarantine; Sim. K. 37<sub>14</sub> has *οὔας*. *οῦς* is from *ῶος*, *ῶς* from *ὄφατ-*.

## 256.] Interrelation of OY and AY.

*ἐουτῶν* Panionion, 144 (=C. I. G. 2909), an inscription but indifferently written.

*ἐντοῦθα* Oropos, 18<sub>17</sub>, whereas Sim. Amorg. 23 has *ἐνταῦθα*, Hdt. *ἐνθαῦτα*. This and the preceding example present no slight difficulties, since in no Greek dialect is there a well-attested instance of an interchange of *av* and *ov*. These forms if genuine at all may be rescued on the view that they show the influence of other pronominal forms (*οὗτος*, *ἐν τούτῳ*).

In the Attic *Οὐλιᾶται* C. I. A. I 231<sub>7</sub> = *Ἀυλιᾶται*, C. I. A. I 226<sub>13</sub>, this recourse to the influence of analogy being out of the question, we find that we must accept a change of *a* to *o* under the influence of a following *v*. This change is unique, recalling only indirectly *ω* for *av*. See § 244.

## 257.] HY.

In the dialect life of Greece wherever *ηv* appears before a consonant it is not an original diphthong<sup>1</sup>. So in Ionic *γρηῦς*, *νηῦς*

<sup>1</sup> In a pre-dialectal period *ēu*, *ōu*, *āu*, having become *ēu*, &c., before consonants, their history is the same as that of I.E., *ēu*, &c.



with  $\eta$  from the oblique cases ( $\nu\eta F$ -ός  $\gamma\rho\eta F$ -ός); so too in  $\pi\rho\eta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , whence  $\Pi\rho\eta\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , a Thasiote name (and  $\Pi\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\eta\varsigma$  Keos, 50, IV 65), from root  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}i$ .  $\eta\nu$  in the augment (e.g.  $\eta\upsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$  Solon, 11<sub>2</sub>) is not proethnic  $\epsilon\nu$  or  $\bar{\alpha}\nu$ . In Attica  $\eta\nu$  as augment of  $\epsilon\nu$ -verbs held its ground until the second half of the fourth century. Hipponax, 63<sub>2</sub>, has  $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\nu\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\nu$ , but Hdt. often avoids  $\eta\nu$ .

### 258.] ΩΥ.

Like  $\eta\nu$ ,  $\omega\nu$  is not an original diphthong in the dialects.  $\omega\nu$  originates in Ionic chiefly by crasis, as in  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{o}$  (E 396  $\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ )<sup>1</sup>,  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\sigma\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$  <  $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron$  +  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ . All the Ionic forms in the other cases are based on the genitive. Attic  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , are from analogy to  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu(\epsilon)$  +  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\sigma(\epsilon)$  +  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ . Whether  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$  in  $\kappa\omicron\Upsilon\kappa$ , on a papyrus, cited Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, 43, is for  $\kappa\omega\upsilon$ , as in Sappho's  $\kappa\omega\upsilon\kappa$  1<sub>24</sub>,  $\kappa\omega\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , Epicharmos, 19<sub>2</sub>, may well be doubted. The same Ionic papyrus has KEN, i.e.  $\kappa'$  +  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , and Sappho's  $\delta\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  by the side of  $\delta\eta\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  shows the possibility of elision, i.e.  $\kappa'(a)$  +  $\omicron\upsilon$ . Nor would I agree to Blass' explanation of  $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  Priene, 144 = C. I. G. 2909 (Mykale), from  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ . A form  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  is utterly unknown on Ionic inscriptions. The  $\alpha$  of  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  became  $\omicron$  either through assimilation to the following  $\upsilon$ , as  $\epsilon$  became  $\omicron$  in Kretan  $\psi\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , or  $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  is due to the influence of  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , &c. See § 256.

To a limited extent outside of crasis,  $\omega\nu$  appears in Ionic. The cases are however all suspicious. Herodoteian MSS. have  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$ <sup>2</sup>,  $\theta\omega\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ,  $\tau\rho\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$  IV 180, in one MS.; Dem. *Mor.* 20<sub>8</sub>  $\theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ , 20<sub>14</sub>  $\theta\alpha\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\nu$ ; Luk. *Astr.* 3, *Syr.* 7, 8, 10, 30, has  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$ ,  $\theta\omega\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  13, 32, 36,  $\theta\omega\nu\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}$  *V. A.* 6, and the *Vita Homeri*,  $\theta\omega\nu$ -. Arrian, *Indl.* 15  $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha$ , but  $\theta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$  40, as Euseb. § 3. The epistles of Hippokr. as the genuine works (cf. Galen, XVIII A 443) have generally the Attic form.  $\tau\rho\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$  is found in the majority of the MSS. *Syr.* 20, while Arrian, *Indl.* 19 has  $\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ <sup>3</sup>. Greg. Korinth. p. 420, in quoting  $\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  as Ionic for  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ , seems to regard  $\omega\nu$  and  $\alpha\nu$  as interchangeable. Aretaios abounds in forms which indicate that the grammarians were ignorant of the true interrelation of  $\omega\nu$  and  $\alpha\nu$ . See §§ 205, 244.

Lindemann (*de dial. Ion. rec.* p. 30) suggests that the  $\omega\nu$  of  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$  is due to the influence of  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$  &c. Perhaps  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$  may be explained as the ablaut form of  $\theta\eta F$ -ος (Hesych.  $\theta\eta\beta\omicron\varsigma$ ·  $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha$ ), cf.  $\theta\acute{\alpha} F\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  = Ionic  $\theta\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , § 685; and

<sup>1</sup> This thorn in the flesh of Aristarchos with his views as to the power of  $\delta$  in Homer, forced the Alexandrian to the assertion that  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  was an Homeric form for  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .

<sup>2</sup> Struve (*Quaest. de dial. Herod. specimen* III, 1830) first treated the occurrences of  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$ . He compared the  $\omega\nu$  of the Ionic pronoun (Attic  $\alpha\nu$ ) with the  $\omega\nu$  of  $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$  ( $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha$ ). See § 565. Cf. Birnb. 678<sub>18</sub>,  $\theta\omega\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$  Eust. 482<sub>39</sub>.

<sup>3</sup>  $\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$  Eust. 893<sub>5</sub>, cf. 102<sub>32</sub>, 991<sub>60</sub>, 1653<sub>52</sub>. Ionic  $\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\epsilon\iota\nu$  = Attic  $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ , § 25, note.



was thus the incentive to the formation of a *τρωῦμα*. This suggestion must, however, fall to the ground in case an original *ων* became *ω* and had *αν* as its ablaut.

Outside of Ionic the diphthong *ων* is due solely to crasis, and in Ionic we must abandon *θωῦμα* and *τρωῦμα*.

### 259.] Vowel Contact.

I. Contact of like vowels.

II. Contact of unlike vowels.

III. Contact of vowels and diphthongs, diphthongs and diphthongs.

Under these heads will be treated actual contraction, poetical synizesis, diaeresis, and crasis.

Both medial combination of vowels and diphthongs and sentence phonetics are thus included.

Under the head of a short or long vowel + *η*, *ω*, are included *ηι*, *ωι*. Examples of the crasis of *ι* and *υ* diphthongs are placed under the head of *α*, *ε*, *ο* + the vowel in question (*e.g.* *οι* + *ε* under *O + E*). In citing inscriptions I have generally selected only those of considerable antiquity. Fuller information as to such contractions as occur in the inflection of nouns and verbs is to be found under the head of *Declension* and *Conjugation*.

260.] It is almost a canon of current belief that the Ionic dialect, in its impatience of all contraction<sup>1</sup>, occupies a position entirely unique. New Ionic has been regarded as more pronounced in its hostility to the closed forms than even Homer himself. The MSS. of Herodotos and of the other early Ionists have been made the corner-stone of this belief from the time of the *editio princeps* of Herodotos to the present day, and in justification thereof the pseudo-Ionists have been called upon to give their testimony. In the history of no dialect is there a parallel to the retention, for such a period as that from the time of Homer to that of Herodotos, of vowels brought into contact by the disappearance of the spirants *yod*, *sigma*, and *vau*.

The Homeric language is, on the one hand, not an appellate court to determine the genuine reading of the text of the Halikarnassian historian. Where Homer discloses strata of various periods, the stratum of latest date is apt to recur in the fifth century. On the other hand the evidence of Lukian and Arrian, and the other pseudo-Ionists, is conclusive only for the text of Herodotos current in their day.

In but few cases do the Ionic lyric poets and the inscriptions desert us in the endeavour to discover the principles regulating vowel contraction. These trustworthy witnesses tell us that with but few, and these clearly marked, exceptions, vowels of

<sup>1</sup> Ἰωνες διαρετικώτατοι Apoll. Pron. 121 A.

like nature are fused (δοκεῖ, δοκεῖν, ἐποίει, βασιλεῖς<sup>1</sup>), while dissimilar vowels are either contracted or kept open. Cases of synizesis in the lyric poets, such as πορφυρέη, ποιέει, are manifestly nothing more than accommodations to the theory that the Ionians preferred open vowels. The test to which we put the prose monuments by no means disproves the statement that the Ionic dialect dislikes contraction. In a majority of cases inscriptions and poets agree with Herodotos. When disagreement occurs (chiefly in reference to combinations whose first member is ε), the text of Herodotos refuses to adopt the forms preserved in the iambic poets and current in his time, and either accepts or extends the system of Homer—a system that in the main was obsolete in the fifth century. In many cases dissimilar vowels are either kept apart in the Ionic orthography even when they may be contracted, or contraction has actually ensued. Orthography is here as elsewhere no exact test of pronunciation, and scope must be left for minor dialectal variations. When the first vowel is not original contraction may not have resulted in certain cases.

The artificiality of the Herodoteian system is patent if we reproduce the results of Merzdorf's careful investigations in the eighth volume of Curtius' *Studien*.

Subject to no change :

αεῖ  
αεε  
οιεε  
  
οιεει  
  
ιεα  
υεα  
  
ιεω  
υεω  
οεω

Subject to change :

εεε becomes εε  
ιεε     „     ιει  
υεε     „     υει  
ηεε     „     ηει  
οεε     „     οει  
οεει     „     οει  
ιεει     „     ιει  
εεα     „     εα  
εεαι     „     εαι  
(ιεεαι     „     ιη)  
εεο     „     εο  
εεω     „     εω  
  
οιεη     „     οιη  
οιεοι     „     οιοι.

It is impossible to conceive of a system more perverse. We ask in vain, if οεει, ιεει, οιεη, οιεοι grated upon Ionic ears, how could οιεει be regarded as vocalic harmony?

Diaeresis is relatively more frequent in the Ionic lyrists than

<sup>1</sup> To preserve inflectional endings, like vowels may not coalesce, e. g. ἥρωος. The only case of open εη in inscriptions is that of names in -κλέης in Western Ionic.

in Attic poetry. Whether the MSS. of Hdt. represent in regard to diaeresis the usage of the language of his time is impossible to discover. ΘΡΗΚΗ is either Θρηκήη or Θρήκη. Open -εῖ in the dative cannot be supported. As regards crasis, no rule can be formulated. Even when the *scriptio plena* occurs in the inscriptions, we dare draw no conclusions as to ordinary Ionic pronunciation. As might be expected, the forms of the article present the majority of instances in the inscriptions. On *Apocope*, see § 322; on *Elision*, § 323.

The ancients adduce as proof of the love of the Ionic dialect for διδλυσίς such examples as the following:—ἄκρη πόλις, Πέλοπος νῆσος, ἄγριον ἔλαιον, ἄγριον αἶγα, σὺς ἀγρίου, ζῶα γράφειν, ἐϋ- in ἐϋτρέφω, ἐϋπλήσασα (cf. An. Par. III 310<sub>1</sub>), ἦια for ἦειν, Οἰδιπόδαο from Οἰδιπόδου (Tzetzes on Hsd. W. D. 162). Tmesis is Ionic, Joh. Gr. 241, Tzetz. Ex. Il. 83<sub>25</sub>, hyperbaton is Ionic, *ibid.* 124<sub>1</sub>.

### I. Contact of Like Vowels.

#### 261.] A + A.

1.  $\check{a}F\check{a} = \bar{a}$  in  $\check{a}\tau\eta$  (except Archil. 73, where  $\acute{a}\acute{a}\tau\eta$  is possible);  $\acute{a}\acute{a}\tau\eta$  is generally permissible in Homer and occurs in Kallim.;  $\acute{a}\tau\eta\rho\acute{o}s$  Theog. 433, 634,  $\check{a}\tau\eta$  Solon 4<sub>36</sub>, 13<sub>13</sub>, 68, 75. Open in ἀγλαά Hom., Anakr. 94<sub>3</sub> (eleg.).

2.  $\check{a}S\check{a} = \bar{a}$ ; κρέᾱ Sim. Amorg. 24, and Hdt. (Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 321 ff.); otherwise -as stems have -εα in Hdt. καρᾱδοκέω in Hdt. with καρᾱ from \*καρᾱσα.

3. In the verbal forms ἰστᾱσι, ἐστᾱσι.

4. Hdt. τᾱλλα, τᾱγάλματα, &c. (Bredow, 201). τᾱλλα we find in an almost Attic inscription, Teos, 158<sub>13</sub>; τὰ ἄλλα Eryth. 204<sub>18</sub>; and τὰ ἀγάλματα Miletos, 93.

5. Crasis of AI + a = Ionic  $\bar{a}$ ; κᾱνεπίφραστοι Sim. Am. 1<sub>21</sub>; κᾱποθυμή Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>35</sub>; κᾱσκερίσκα Hippon. 18; κᾱναρίθμιος Arch. tetr. 63; κᾱλαλητῶ Anakr. 63<sub>8</sub>; κᾱγαθός Sol. tr. 36<sub>16</sub>, Iasos, 105<sub>2</sub>, as in Hdt. I 30, κᾱγαθοῖσιν Sim. Am. 1<sub>10</sub>; κᾱτιμος Chios, 174 A 14; κᾱπόλλωνι Thas. 68, κᾱπόλλων Hipp. tr. 31, κᾱπέλουσεν 33, κᾱλειφα 58, κᾱμαθουσίων 82, κᾱριπρεπής Sim. Am. 7<sub>88</sub>. Crasis with καί is almost always omitted in inscriptions: καὶ ἀγαθοί Samos, 221<sub>5</sub>; καὶ ἄρσεν Thasos, 68; καὶ Ἀναξίλεως Miletos, 93.

#### 262.] E + E.

1. εFε.

(a) uncontracted; in the MSS. of Hdt. we find ῥέεθρον, as in Homer (εὐρεέτης, εὐρρεέος *sic*), though there is no reason to doubt that ῥεῖθρον was the genuine Ionic form of his day. Hippokr. has ὄξεές, πρήεες, &c.



εε < ηφε < *ēve* is kept open in the MSS. of Hdt. (βασιλέες, νέες<sup>1</sup>), but is closed in the inscriptions in the forms of the -ην-declension (see under H + E). ἡχέεντα Archil. 74<sub>8</sub>; τελέεντ' Tyrst. 4<sub>2</sub>; χαιτέεσσ' Sim. Amorg. 75<sub>7</sub><sup>2</sup>; Περικλέες Arch. 9<sub>1</sub>, 16; Ἡράκλεες 119<sub>2</sub> (hymn).

(β) contracted in Κλείτος Th. (L.) 20 C 9, &c., late inscriptions. κλειτός, in Theog. 777, Mimn. 17; Κλειτώννυμος Thas. (L.) 8 A 9. κλειτός is from \*κλέεω as αἰρετός from αἰρέω (cf. Κλήσιππος, and κλειτ- in Argolic, Arkadian and Oinoian, I. G. A. 16). Contraction also results in ἀναχέλσθων Anakr. 42, εἴθισθε Hrd. 712<sup>6</sup>.

2. εσε contracted to ει, e.g. in εἶχον, εἶων, and in like augmented forms. In the ες declension the inscriptions have without exception -εις, the prosaists -εες; in the future of liquid verbs the MSS. of Hdt. do not contract εε, save when an ι precedes. Unfortunately there is no evidence from the stone-records to test this principle of the MSS. which seems to lack foundation. In Ionic on the expulsion of intervocalic *sigma* and *yod*, no *metathesis quantitatis* took place.

3. ειε becomes ει in Ionic. Examples of -εε-, such as Hdt. I 39 φοβέαι, III 34 ἐπαινέαι, I 41 ἀπολαμπρυνέαι, IV 9 εὐφρανέαι, IV 163 ἀποθανέαι, and other similar monstrosities in the imperative act., imperfect active and middle, present indicative and inf. mid., occurring only in the texts of the prosaists, are to be found under the sections on the verb<sup>3</sup>. All these forms are probably figments of grammatical doctrine. In nouns, pronouns and adj. ειε yields ει invariably: πόλεις, τρεῖς, ἡμεῖς (ἡμέες is pseudo-Ionic), (ἐ)κεῖνος (see § 224, 15).

Whether the infinitive ending is φεν, σεν, or λεν, the result of the combination of this ending with the final ε of the stem is always -ειν (e.g. ἐκχεῖν Keos 43<sub>22</sub>, ἐπιτιθεῖν, &c.); also in θείναι, &c.

4. Contraction does not ensue in the case of iteratives, but there is no basis for the belief that in the fifth century εε in the pluperfect (ἐώθεε, &c.) had not been contracted. See § 597.

263.] E + H (see Fritsch, *V. H. D.* p. 31 ff.).

1. εFη.

(a) contracted in νήνι < νεήνι, Anakr. 14<sub>3</sub> (Et. M. 448<sub>29</sub>, Drakon

<sup>1</sup> Cf. -έες for -ῆς in Attic Ἀλαιέες, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Fick, *B. B.* XI 266, 271, writes εη < ηε in all these cases. This *metathesis quantitatis* is however not a necessary, only a possible, change in Ionic. Forms in ηε are usual, see § 264. Ἀλέεντος Mimn. 9<sub>5</sub> may be correct. Hdn. II 921<sub>1</sub> calls ἡχέεις, βρωμέεις instances of poetic shortening.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκτέετο, ἐχρέετο, οἰκέετο, Πυθέεω, in Hdt. are forms due to grammatical theories, and do not represent any actual dialect. The only rule deducible from the study of the MSS. of Hdt. as regards the imperfect active is that after a consonant and οι, εε was written; after vowels, ει. Oftentimes good MSS. have the contracted form, e.g. in II 1 the *Romanus* has ποιεῖσθαι.

46<sub>13</sub>); *νήνις* on an Athenian lekythos, C. I. G. 7629. *νή* = Attic *νέᾱ*, Hdn. II 912<sub>3</sub> quoted from *Σαμίων ὄροι*, and *νής* Aristoph. frag. Kock I 395<sub>9</sub>. Sim. K. 84<sub>6</sub>, Hippon. tr. 49<sub>4</sub> have *κληδών*, a form found also in Hdt. IX 91, 101, properly without the *iota*; epic *κληηδών* and *κληηδών*.

On *-κλῆς* and *κλέης*, see § 526. Western Ionic has the open, Island and Asiatic Ionic, the closed forms.

(b) uncontracted in *δέηται* Olynth. 8 B 4, *Νεήπολις* Neapolis 4<sub>1</sub>, parallel form to *Νεο-*; *κενεή* Aret. 146, *κενεῆς* 170. Adj. in *-αλέη* generally remain open, but in Arch. 89<sub>5</sub>, Anakr. 43<sub>5</sub> the forms with synizesis occur. Attic *κερδαλέᾱ* to differentiate the word from *κερδαλέη*, *fox.* ἀδελφῆι Roberts, I 158 B (Amorgos-Arkesine), is not in itself an obstacle to the validity of the Herodoteian ἀδελφεή, though we have ἀδελφή Mykonos, 92<sub>22</sub> (Attic?), and Halik. 240 D 34, feminine to the masc. ἀδελφός<sup>1</sup>.

*εη* < *ηF(ι)η* < *ēviā* in *πλέη* Hdt. I 178 (*πλῆ*, Diogenes of Apollonia, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 7, 8).

*εη* < *ηFη* < *āiā* remains open in *θέη*, *θέημα* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>67</sub>, *θειήσεσθαι*, *θεισάμενον* Hdt. I 11 (but *θεισάμενος* Abdera, 162, eleg.).

*εη* < *ηFε* in *λεηλατέω* < *ληF(ο) + ἐλατέω*, K. Z. XXVII 269.

2. *εση*.

On *ξη*, *η̃* in *παρεῖ* Oropos, 18<sub>26</sub> and on *ξην*, *η̃ν*, see §§ 706, 711.

3. *ειη*.

(a) In substantives.

In the nouns in *-έης*, *-ῆς*, we find that the poets use the contracted forms: *ρόδῆς* Arch. 29<sub>2</sub>, *γαλῆς* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>50</sub>, *συκῆ* Arch. 19, Hipp. 34, Anan. 5<sub>2</sub> (*-έης*). *κωλῆν* Xenoph. 5<sub>1</sub>, *Θαλῆς* six times in Herodas, and in Phoinix of Kolophon in Athen. 495 E, *γενῆ* Hrd. 2<sub>1</sub>, 3<sub>2</sub>. *Ἑρμῆς* Hipponax, 32, 55 B, Anakr. 111<sub>3</sub>, eleg. (voc. *Ἑρμῆ* Hipp. 1, 16, 21 A, 89), *Ἑρμῆι* Abdera, 162 (metr.), Lampsakos, 171; *Ἀπελλῆς* Iasos, 104<sub>15</sub>, 4<sub>2</sub>, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 385 Chios (and so probably Anakr. 72 B, where Bergk writes *έης*), *Μεγίστης* = *Μεγιστῆς*?, Anakr. 16<sub>2</sub>, 41, 74<sub>3</sub>.

In the inscriptions, *κωλῆν* Miletos, 100<sub>3</sub>, *Λεωνῆς* Keos, 44 A 5; *Δημῆς* Thasos, 78 C 14, Thas. (L.) 13 A 10; *Θαλῆς* Miletos, 93 (sixth century). Hdt. has also *Θαλῆς* I 74. Cf. § 415, 3. With such authoritative testimony in favour of the contracted form, we cannot but conclude that *Βορῆς* is the genuine Ionic form, despite the fact that the MSS. of Herodotos prefer *-έης*, though in VII 189 there are four occurrences where the MSS. with but one dissenting voice speak in favour of *-ῆς*. The same con-

<sup>1</sup> That the contraction of ἀδελφεή took place early is evident from the form ἀδελφός, appearing first in Aischylos (Hom. *-εἰός* and *-εός*), which is in reality formed from influence of ἀδελφή < ἀδελφεή. Cf. Wackernagel, K. Z. XXV 271.



clusion will hold good in the case of *βορήs*, *Ἄριστῆs*, *Πυθῆs* (not *Πυθῆs* as Steph. Byz. has it). Pherekydes Syr. used the form *Ῥῆ* according to Hdn. π. μ. λ. 7, 5 = II 911<sub>23</sub>, cf. I 405<sub>6</sub>. Cf. *Ῥέα* O 187 and *Ῥέη*, Hymn to Demeter, 460, Luk. *Syr. D.* 15. *Μαντινῆ* or *Μαντίνη* Hdt. IV 161, where *C* has *Μαντίνης*, Aldus and Stein *Μαντινέης*, following the Homeric *Μαντινέη*.

*γῆ* is from *γέα* < \**γῆα* from *γαῖα* as is shown under *Declension*, § 421.

Kallim. fr. 241 has *γενήν*; cf. Et. M. 225<sub>24</sub>, and *γονή*. *γενεή* is open in Solon, 27<sub>10</sub>, Paros, epig. 59, Hdt. (§ 435).

Avoidance of contraction will have to be accepted in a few proper names: *Αἰνετῶν* Ainea, 12 (550 B.C.), later, *Αἰνητῶν* (end of fourth century); *Νεμέη* Thasos, 69 (fifth century); *Κρεήτη* Archil. 175 = *Κρήτη* (a pun on *κρέας*?); Hdt. *Τεγέη*, *Θυρέη*.

(b) In adjectives (masc. -*εος*; fem. -*εη*, -*η*).

The forms will be quoted under the *Declension*. The inscriptions prove that when *η* follows *ε*, contraction ensues, when *ο* or *α* follows *ε*, the forms are kept open till the latest period of declining Ionism. In the poets -*ῆ* almost without exception (*κυνέην* *κυνέη* Tyr. 11<sub>32</sub>), *χρυσῆs* Mimn. 1<sub>1</sub>, Theog. 1293, 1381, *πορφυρέη* Anakr. 14<sub>1</sub>; *πορφυρέη* Anakr. 2<sub>3</sub>; *πορφυρῆs* Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>16</sub>. If it is certain that Anakr. 33 contains a 'choriambic' monometer with anacrusis + a first pherecratic, as Sappho 54 may be scanned, we must admit the existence of one open form *ἀργυρέη* (the schol. Pind. *Isth.* II 9 has οὐδ' ἀργυρέη κότ' ἔλαμπε). Hiller reads *ἀργυρῆ* correctly. In Herodotos we find -*ῆ* generally, but not without exceptions; e.g. *διπλέη* III 42, for which Stein correctly reads *διπλῆ*, a form found in Hippokr. V 640. Attic *διπλῆ* from *διπλε(ί)α*, cf. Kret. *διπλεία*.

(c) In adverbs *Δεκελήθεν* Hdt. IX 73 from *Δεκελέη*. Cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Δεκελειᾶθεν*.

(d) As regards the forms of -*ΕΩ* verbs, Merzdorf's 'law' that after consonants *εη*, *ειη* remain open, but are contracted after vowels (e.g. Hdt. *στρατηλατέης*, *ποιῆs*) has been accepted in many quarters; but incorrectly, as is clear from the fact that his contention is based upon a mere numerical count of MSS. For the establishing of the dialect of Herodotos we cannot assume that a given form is genuine Ionic merely because a varying per cent. of Hdt.'s MSS. speaks in favour of its adoption. The inscriptions proclaim that the Ionians in their decrees adopted the contraction without exception<sup>1</sup>; and the poets unite with the inscriptions in their opposition to the Merzdorfian view. In the aorist passive *ε* + *η* are invariably fused. Bekker sought

<sup>1</sup> The forms of *δέω* and *δέομαι* occupy a special position.



in vain to discover the uncontracted form  $\delta\epsilon\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  in Hdt. IV 154. On  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron$  in Hippokr. see § 685. The  $\mu\iota$  verbs contract  $\epsilon + \eta$ .

## 264.] H + E.

### 1. $\eta F \epsilon$ .

From  $\bar{e}ve$ , contracts in  $\eta$  or, from  $\eta + F\acute{\epsilon}$  (Lat. *ve*); but remains uncontracted in a few forms of the  $-\eta\nu$ - declension, as in  $\phi\omicron\nu\eta\epsilon\varsigma$  Archil. 59. See under E + E.

$\bar{a}ve$  in  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup> ( $\sigma\bar{a}F\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ): the elegiac poets adopt this form only (Tyrt. 11<sub>6</sub>, Mimn. 1<sub>8</sub>, 2<sub>8</sub>, 12<sub>1</sub>, 14<sub>11</sub>, Solon, 13<sub>23</sub>, 14, Theog. 168, 1183, &c.). The iambographers contract:  $\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  Archil. tetr. 74<sub>4</sub>, Hipp. tr. 15<sub>5</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>19</sub>, Herodas V 1, 3<sub>88</sub>, 8<sub>3</sub>, Anak. 27; and upon an inscription Arkesine, 33,  $Z\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \eta\lambda\lambda[\iota\omicron]\varsigma$  (fifth century), Hekat.  $\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  173, 190, 193, Pherek. Leros, 33  $\eta$ , Diog. Apoll. 6, Anaxag. 6 (Simplik. 156<sub>27</sub>, Diels), and 10 (Simpl. 157<sub>13</sub>), Hipp. II 24, and so Herodotos II 92 (Bredow, 45), as Arrian 11; Lukian uses  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  *Astr.* 3, 5, &c., *d. S.* 29, 34. Both  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$  form a part of the poet's material in Aiolie (Sappho, 69, 79).  $\Pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\sigma\alpha$ , i.e.  $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha$ , is the name of a city in Keos.

$\eta\epsilon$  also in adjectival forms (nom.  $-\acute{\eta}\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ), Kall. 1<sub>6</sub>  $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\epsilon\nu$ ; Mimn. 5<sub>5</sub>  $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ; 12<sub>7</sub>  $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  as Sim. Keos 84<sub>5</sub>; Phok. 3<sub>3</sub>  $\chi\alpha\iota\tau\eta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma$ . On Fick's  $\epsilon\eta$ , Archil. 74<sub>8</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>57</sub>, Mimn. 9<sub>5</sub>, see § 262.  $\eta\epsilon$  in these forms is found often in Hdt.,  $\eta\epsilon$  in the poets and in prose writers only when  $F$  followed  $\eta$ . Forms with  $\eta\epsilon$  seem to be obsolescent in the seventh century.  $\phi\omega\nu\eta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$  remained uncontracted in Attic as a technical term, originally Ionic. On  $-\eta\epsilon\iota\nu$  see § 319.

$\eta\bar{\rho}\iota < \bar{a}user-$ , in  $\eta\bar{\rho}\iota\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$  Mimn. 12<sub>10</sub>, as in Homer.  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , &c., must be kept distinct from  $\eta\acute{\eta}\rho$ , Hdt.  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ , § 169. Notice also  $\xi\alpha\rho\iota = \eta\bar{\rho}\iota$ , Ananios, 51.

### 2. $\eta\iota\epsilon$ .

$[\chi]\rho\eta\sigma\theta[αι]$  Keos, 43<sub>12</sub>, is not necessarily for  $\chi\rho\eta\iota\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , since it may be formed directly from  $\chi\rho\eta + \sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ . Cf. § 167.

$\xi\chi\rho\eta$  in Tyrt. stands for  $\xi\chi\rho\eta\epsilon$  or for  $*\xi\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\eta$ , if we assume that  $\eta\iota\epsilon$  in Ionic becomes  $\epsilon\eta$ .  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\eta$  Hippokr. III 36, 42,  $\delta\iota\psi\acute{\eta}\nu$  Hdt. II 24, i.e.  $\eta + -F\epsilon\nu$  or  $-\sigma\epsilon\nu$ .

### 4. *Crasis* and *Aphaeresis*:

With  $\eta\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}$  Teos, 156 B 36 ( $\tau\eta\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\iota$  B 24, Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195, as  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  Arch. 93<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup>),  $\mu\eta$   $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$  Chios, 174 B 24,  $\eta$  's Chios, 174 A 2, compare  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}$   $\sigma\tau\iota\nu$  Theog. 147 and Phokyl. 17 (oldest example of aphaeresis in the case of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\iota$ ),  $\eta$  'κ

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 229<sub>16</sub>, 490<sub>9</sub> = Et. M. 261<sub>18</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> TETEPEI =  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\iota$ , Rob. I 167, of uncertain dialect. Bechtel suggests Asiatic-Ionic. Cf. § 134 note.

Theog. 577 (in *A*), δὲ 'πίκουρος Arch. tetr. 24, perhaps Μιμνή 'κατομήχανε Hippon. 49, ὀδύνη 'πιαλεῖ 21 B, and Hrd. δουλή 'στι 453, μὴ 'λασσον 358. There is no example of the crasis of τῇ in Hdt.

### 265.] H + H.

η + η is contracted almost universally. On ἡῖρ in Hippokrates (*ἄFῖρ*), see § 169. Ionic of the post-Homeric period does not possess such subjunctives as στήῃ, φανήῃ, σαπήῃ. On ἐθηῖτο, v. l. Hdt. I 10, &c., see § 685. ηε held its ground longer than ηη.

### 266.] O + O.

So far back as we can follow the history of Ionic, o + o became ου. In view of this fact the position assumed by many scholars that in Ionic o + o first became ω and afterwards ου is without foundation. The Doric dialects, which at different stages of their existence had ω and ου, offer but a specious parallel to an Ionic ου < ω. οσο in Homer never becomes ω as εσε never = η.

#### I. oFo.

οὐρανός with spurious diphthong (Οὐρανίη on an old amphora, C. I. G. 8412, οὐρανίη Phanag. 164, 168) from ὀ-Forανός, whence Aiolie and Doric ὦρ-; Aiolie ὅρανος from Forανός.

C. I. A. I 322 A 93, OΣ shows that οὖς has an adulterine ου. οὖς, probably from \*ου(σ)ος; ὦς in Delos, B. C. II. II 322 (before 167 B. C.) is formed like φῶς. Theog. 1163 οὔατα, Anakr. 214 ὦσί, Hdt. ὦτα; Lak. ἐξωFάδια, ὦFατα have their ω from the nom. ὦς, as ἐνώδιον < ἐνουσίδιον has its ω from ὠτός. See Wackernagel, K. Z. XXIX 141, Schmidt, *Neutra*, 407.

In a few nouns<sup>1</sup> and adjectives of the O declension oo is apparently kept open to a limited extent: the MSS. of Hdt. have νόος, εὔνοος, πλόος (Hekat. 303 -ου-), σόον, but χοῦς II 150, &c. Love of the old-fashioned orthography dictated νόος in the MSS., Sim. Amorg. I 3, where νοῦς, or νόος, must be read<sup>2</sup>. νόον in the same poet (71) must be an archaism, if the authority of the inscriptions is accepted. π[ρ]όχουν occurs upon a vase from Naukratis, Roberts, I 132 *bis*. Perhaps contraction resulted during the seventh century, since Archil. 89 epod. and Mimn. 58 have νόον. Homer preserves νόος, but the beginnings of the later forms appear Ω 354, κ 240 (Menrad, p. 46). Later inscriptions have Ἀστύνοους Eryth. 206 C 9; Καλλίνους Thas. (L.) 7 A 7; ἔκπλουν, ἔσπλουν Eryth. 2027; Πολύθρους Thasos, 75 B 11 (Πολύθρου Teos, 1587). χοῦν Hdt. II 150, χοῦ Arr. *Anab.* II 27, 4 (χόου

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 241 B, Greg. Kor. 479 cite νόον, ῥόον, Gram. Meerm. 654 ῥόος, χνόος, θρόος, but cf. Hdn. II 9218. ἀκηκόες, &c. do not contract.

<sup>2</sup> νοῦς Theog. 1185; νοῦν Theog. 350, 898; Sol. 2713, νοῦν, ῥοῦν 41. It may be noticed in passing that Cobet's εἶνοι ὄντες in Lysias VIII 19 is at fault. εὔνοος, found in a Palatine MS., is proved by Attic inscriptions to be correct.

C. I. G. 1838<sub>6</sub>, Korkyra). In Herodas 1<sub>68</sub>, 4<sub>75</sub> we find νοῦν, 3<sub>27</sub> αἶνον. The attitude of the κοινή towards such forms as πλόος has not received deserved attention. That the κοινή admitted only those forms which had already suffered contraction in Attic, is an entire misconception of the nature of this phase of Greek. πλόος in a Lykian inscription in Le Bas, 1311, was not newly constructed by the κοινή. In fact in its literature this 'dialect' contrives to effect a union of the living language with imitations of the dead language. In this light many of the open forms collected by Lobeck, *Phryg.* p. 453, may be regarded as parallel to the Lykian πλόος. Cf. also Lobeck, *Path.* p. 300.

νόος, ῥόος, πνόος, -χροος, ἀθρόος, generally are found in the resolved forms in the pseudo-Ionists.

In composition: σκηπτοῦχος Sim. Am. 7<sub>63</sub>, Ἀθηναίη Πολιούχ[ωι Eryth. 200 (epigr.), and so Roberts, I p. 64; Πολιούχον Paros, 64<sub>16</sub>, and Hdt. I 160; τιμοῦχοι Teos, 158<sub>26</sub> (τῆμος in Aischylos); Ἀριστοῦχον Ross, 148; εὐνοῦχος Hippon. 35<sub>3</sub>, [σ]αμβαλούχην Hrd. 7<sub>19</sub>.

2. οἶο.

Σαπφóος, Λητόος, called Ionic by Herodian II 338<sub>15</sub>, 755<sub>21</sub>, and ἡοῦν by Greg. Korinth. § 35, are supported by no such formations in the existing monuments of the dialect. Hdt. has Λητοῦς, Λητοῦν, &c., and φλοῦν; ἡοῦς Orop. 18<sub>46</sub>. On the retention of -οιο < ο(σ)ῖο, see under O declension.

In διπλόος, ο + ο was probably not separated by *F* but by *yoI*, though Hdt. has the open form. The pseudo-Ionists have διπλόος, though they avoid the open forms in the compounds in -πλόος. See on E + H.

3. In verbs in -οω, ου, and never ευ, arises from ο + ο whether *yoI* or *sigma* intervened. The examples of ευ collected by Merzdorf in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 218, show the confusion as to the character of the Herodoteian dialect in the minds of the diasceuaists.

4. *Crasis*. ο + ο = ου in τοῦνομα; ου + ο = ου as in τοῦρνιθος Hrd. 4<sub>30</sub>.

267.] O + Ω.

1. οῦω.

χῶν Keos, 43<sub>9</sub>, fifth century; cf. π[ρ]όχουν Naukratis, § 266, 1. The MSS. of Hdt. keep νόω, συμπλόων, σόων uncontracted. In the dative -οω is generally kept open in the MSS. of Hdt., though contraction ensued by the fifth century.

2. οσω.

Always contracted, e. g. in gen. plural, O declension.

3. οἶω.

Contracts in verbal forms (δικαιῶ). ζῶμεν Sim. Amorg. 3<sub>2</sub>,



from ζώμεν < ζώομεν (so the MSS. 1<sub>4</sub>), and ῥιγῶ Hipponax, 16<sub>2</sub>, 17, from ῥιγόω < ῥιγώω, cf. ῥιγῶσα Sim. Am. 7<sub>26</sub>; λαγός Hipponax, 36 < -οως, from -ωους (Hdt. uses λαγός), if we extend the limits of *metathesis quantitatis* beyond those ordinarily set up for Ionic.

4. προώσας becomes πρῶσας Hippokr. VII 314.

268.] Ω + O.

1. ωφο.

ῥηρος, Μίνωος Hdt.; ζῶος<sup>1</sup> Hdt. Meliss., 17, &c., Tyr. 10<sub>30</sub>, with ω preserved before a short vowel by the interposition of f; ζοοῦ<sup>2</sup> is the correction of Porson for the traditional reading ζωοῦ Archil. 63. Σῶος Styra, 19<sub>23</sub>, 309.

2. ωιο.

ἔζωον Hdt. IV 112, ζῶντων I 86, but ζῶνια *ibid.*, ζῶσα IV 205. The latter appear to be regular, yet the uncontracted participial forms may be defended. See B. B. XV 170, 175, and M. U. I 8. On ζῶμεν, see § 267.

269.] Ω + Ω.

ωιω.

ωω preserved in ζῶω, Hdt. ζῶων, Kallinos, 1<sub>19</sub>, Demokr. 206. Anan. 5<sub>5</sub> λαγῶν is either from Hom. λαγῶός or Hdt. λαγός.

270.] I + I.

1. ιῖι.

The Ionic dialect permits, but does not require, contraction: Δί Paros, 65, a late inscription, Mylasa, 248 C 6 (fourth century), both examples probably Attic; Δί Eretria, 14 (fifth century), Samos (?) in Roberts, 157, Asiatic-Ionic, Bechtel, No. 260. Hdt., Pherekyd. Leros, &c. have Δί. I do not find either form in the poets. Δί is doubtless from analogy to Δίός, Δία.

2. On ī in the dat. sing. of *iota* stems, see under *Declension*. In the optative of roots ending in *iota*, contraction of ι + ι is pan-Hellenic.

271.] Before passing to the concurrence of unlike vowels, we may here treat of *v* + *ι*, strictly not a diphthong, but a phonetic combination, the *v* of which was probably *ii*. On the treatment of the *υ* of *υίος*, see § 229. In the forms from which *ι* is absent, Causer held (Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 275) that *v* and *ι* had been fused as in δύνη, *v* 286. Whether δύνη was the model for ἐκδύνειν, or whether the length of the *v* is due to the fact that *υῖ* in the ground-form \*ἐκδυῖμεν was followed by a consonant, cannot be made out. ἰσχύι, νηδύι, as edited by Herodoteian scholars (cf. -εῖ in the dat. of -ες stems), probably do not represent the pronunciation current in the fifth century.

<sup>1</sup> ζῶος Greg. Kor. 57.

<sup>2</sup> ζοός Epicharmos and Theokr.

## II. Contact of Unlike Vowels (horizontal and vertical vowels).

### 272.] A + E.

#### I. *ǎFε*.

(a) Uncontracted in *ἄέκων* Theog. 371, 467, 471, 1379, *ἀεκούσιος* Theog. 1343; both forms in Hdt. and in Lukian. Hippokr. III 216 has *ἄέκων*, Aretaios, 58 *ἀεκουσίον*. *ἄέκων* may be read in every case in Homer. The contracted form is best supported in Homer in τὼ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην. In Attic the form is open in the law of Drakon (C. I. A. I 61<sub>31</sub>), but contracted before the middle of the fifth century in *ἀκούσι[α]* C. I. A. I, 1 B 1. In Ionic, contraction must have taken place in Herodotos' day.

*ἄεθλον* Archil. ep. 104, Tyr. 12<sub>13</sub>, Mimm. 11<sub>3</sub>; *πενταεθλεύων* Xenoph. 2<sub>2</sub>; Hdt. *ἄεθλον*, *ἄεθλοφόροι*, *πεντάεθλον*, &c. (*ā*?). Contracted *ἄθλα* Theog. 971, 994, 1014, Hrd. 1<sub>51</sub>, Hippokr. II 64; *πενταθλεῖν* Xenoph. 2<sub>16</sub>; *ἄθλοισ* Roberts, I 174, Kyme, and in *ἄθλον* Kolophon, *Mitth.* 1889, p. 317; *ἄελπτος* Arch. tetr. 74<sub>1</sub>, Solon tetr. 35; *ἄελπτῆ* Arch. tetr. 54<sub>3</sub>; *ἐξηκονταέτης* Mimm. 6<sub>2</sub>; *ὀγδωκονταέτης* Sol. 20<sub>4</sub>; *πενταέτης* Hdt., cf. Attic *πενταέτης* and *πεντέτης*; *ἐκάεργος* Tyr. 3<sub>2</sub>, Solon, 13<sub>53</sub>; *ἀεργός* Theog. 584, 1177, *ἀεργοί* Hippokr. VI 22, but *ἀργός* Hipp. tr. 28, Hdt. III 78; *ἄέξω* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>85</sub>, Sol. 27<sub>5</sub>, Theog. 1031, 1276, Sim. K. 84<sub>5</sub>. Hippokr. *αὔξω*, *αὔξάνω*, Mimm. 2<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 362 *αὔξεται*, Sol. 11<sub>3</sub> *ἠὔξήσατε*, are from *ǎF(ε)ξ-*.

*αἰέλουρος*, not *ἄελ-*, is the Herodoteian form.

(β) Contracted *ἄρθεις*, preferred by MSS. of Hdt. to *ἀερθείς* (Bredow, 193, Merzdorf, Curtius' *Stud.* VIII 186), is undoubtedly the genuine form. Anakreon, 19 *ἄρθεις*. See on *αἰέρω*, § 305.

*ἄλής* in Hdt. from *ǎFελής*, not from *ἀολλέες* as Wilamowitz claims (on Eurip. *Herakles*, 411); cf. *ἀλίζω* in Hdt., *ξυναλισθῆ* Hippokr. VI 102.

Contraction of *ǎFε*, both in *α* privative and other forms seems to have been possible at least as early as the sixth century. In the ordinary speech of the people many forms were doubtless contracted which were kept open by the artifices of poetical expression.

In the inf. active *α* + *-Fεν* (or *-Fεν*), e.g. *ἔσορᾶν*; see § 305. Hippokr. MSS. have often such apparent Doric forms as *ὄρῆν*, *μελετήν*, *συνορῆν* (but *-ᾶν* II 440 in 4) which are due to the supposed tenacity of *η* after *ρ* in Ionic. *ὄρῆν*, once created, was the cause of the creation of a *μελετήν*. On *τεθνάναι* Amphip. 10<sub>10</sub>, and Mimm. 2<sub>10</sub>, as the MSS. read, or *τεθνᾶναι* < *τεθνα* + *εἶναι* (cf. *γεγον-εἶναι*), see § 700, 3.

## 2. ἄσε.

=ā in λαρινοῦ Xenophan. 52, as in Homeric λαρός. ἄριστον, breakfast in Hom., Hdt. III 26 is from \*ἄν(σ)εριστον.

## 3. ἄιε.

Always contracted in verbal forms: ὀράτε, ὄρα, ὦρα, ὀρᾶσθαι, βιάται, διεπειράτο, ἐφοίτα; Hdt. χρᾶσθαι from χρᾶ + εσθαι, Keos, 43<sub>12</sub>, χ[ρ]ῆσθ[αι]<sup>1</sup> from χρῆ + σθαι, or from \*χρηίωμα<sup>2</sup>. χρῆσθαι is found in all MSS. of Hdt. I 47, 210; in I 196 χρέεσθαι B<sup>2</sup>C, χρῆσθαι reliqui. Cf. §§ 167, 687.

In the MSS. of Hippokrates such Doric forms as ἰῆται, ἰῆσθαι, ὑποθυμήσθω, ὀδυνῆται II 424 (but correctly -ᾶται in A) come to light. In the forms after ι, the error was caused by such forms as ἰητρός, after ρ, by the analogy of ὥρη.

4. Crasis of α + ε in τὰν Chios, 174 C 19 = τὰν 174 C 22; τὰμά Theog. 346, Archil. tr. 50, Hdt. 52, but often kept apart: τὰ ἐμά Hdt. VIII 101. θάτερα IV 157, according to the MSS., is doubtful. θάτερα θάτέρων Hippokr. IX 30. αἱ + ε in κάσθλοῖσιν Theog. 355; κάκφέρη Hippon. 29; καγώ (?) Amorg., Rob. I 160 A; κάμοι, κάπειτα, κάκείθι, κάκείνον Hdt. (see § 564 on κείνος); κάπιτετριφθαι Sol. 337; κάγδικασάντων Chios, 174 B 22; κάπι-ελπτα Archil. 745; κάπιπειθείη Sim. A. 16; κάπαέξεται Sim. Am. 785. Herodas has (1) Ionic καγώ Class. Rev. V 481 (2), κάπί 390, κάφ' 226 and five similar forms, and (2) Doric forms, e.g. κῆγώ 28, 613, κῆπί 454, κῆτέρων 7124 and ten other examples of καί + ε = κῆ-, all of which must be ascribed to the native Doric of the poet. In 480, 93, 53 (?) the scriptio plena occurs. καὶ ἑκατόν Anakr. 83, by synizesis.

κ' ἐν l. 6, but κάμοι on an archaic papyrus, Philol. XLI 746, cf. κένκαύσιος Epidauros, C. D. I. 3325<sub>266</sub>.

## 273.] A + H.

## 1. ἄφη.

Open in ἀηδόνος Archil. 156, contracted in Δανᾶ Hekat. 358; on the other hand in Δαναίη Miletos, 99, a glide *iota* has been generated between α and η, as in Παμφαίης from Παμφάης; cf. Δανάης Ξ 319. αφη = α also in ἀδής· ἀτερπής Hesychios, cf. Phryn., Bekk. Anecd. I 22, 3: οἱ Ἴωνες τὴν ἀηδίαν συναλείφοντες τρισυλλάβως γράφουσι. See under O + A.

## 2. ἄη.

In verbal forms: τιμᾶ, τιμᾶτε (Doric η). Νικᾶν Thasos, 728 < Νικάνη; cf. ἱερῆ < ἱερείη. μνᾶς Hippon. 20 < μνᾶῆς, Attic μνᾶς from μνᾶās.

3. Crasis of καὶ + ἦν = κᾶν, Ephesos, 1453, 4, Chios, 174 C 5 (in both inscriptions ἦν, not ἐάν or ἄν); Hippokr. καὶ ἦν V 594,

<sup>1</sup> Blass reads χρεῖσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt follows Baunack in deriving χρῆο- from χρῆφεσιο.



606, as Hrd. 3<sub>91</sub> (κῆν 2<sub>54</sub>, 7<sub>102</sub>), κῆν V 646, 692, 698, 720, II 48, &c.; κῆλειφόμην Sim. Amorg. 16; χῆμέρη Theog. 160, κῆμέρης Anan. 5<sub>10</sub>, cf. Hrd. 7<sub>112</sub>, who has also κῆπιώ 46, χῆρακλῆς 2<sub>96</sub>. Where crasis might take place in the inscriptions it is omitted in καὶ Ἠγήσανδρος Miletos, 93; καὶ Ἡρακλείοισιν Teos, 156 B 33; καὶ ἡθμόν Prokon. 103<sub>8</sub>.

# 274.] A + I.

ᾗφι.

= *ai* and *ai*. *παῖς*<sup>1</sup> occurs in but one passage in older Ionic poetry (Archil. tetr. 70 *παῖ*). Renner (Curtius' *Stud.* I 189) seeks to find an excuse for the *se jure* irregularity of the Archilochian *παῖ* by assuming a 'poetic diaeresis.' No such license can be admitted; and these forms find their explanation, in comparison with Hipponax' *παῖδα* I, *παῖδας* 14<sub>1</sub>, and *ai* in Solon, in the fact that the disyllabic *ai* in nominative and vocative and the monosyllabic *ai* in oblique cases are an inheritance from Homeric times. *παῖς* is, however, not an archaism whose observance was enforced. Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>1</sub> has *παῖ*, Hipponax, 38 *παῖς*. Anakreon has *παῖ* 1<sub>2</sub>, 4<sub>1</sub>, 62<sub>1</sub>, 63<sub>1</sub>; *παῖς* 21<sub>13</sub> (? *vulgo* *παῖς*, Herm. *παῖς* ὁ), *παῖς* 24<sub>2</sub>. Oblique forms: *παῖδα* Hipp. 1, *παιδί* Anakr. 17<sub>3</sub> (*ai* possible, Wilamowitz conj. *παρ' Ἰάμβῃ*); *παιδες* Anakr. 45; *παιδων* Mimn. 2<sub>13</sub> (*ai* possible); *παισίν* Mimn. 1<sub>9</sub>, 3<sub>2</sub>; *παῖδας* Hipp. 14<sub>1</sub>; Hdt. *παῖς*. This shows clearly that *παῖς*, and not *παῖς*, was the form as pronounced in the fifth century; and with this knowledge falls the view that vowels originally separated by *F* remain open as a characteristic of Ionic. *παῖς* is nowhere necessary in Herodas.

*κλαῖων* Archil. 13, is possible, *κλαίω* 20, necessary; *πυρκαΐης* Anakr. 100<sub>2</sub>, el. (*ai* possible); *αἰδηλος* Tyrt. 11<sub>7</sub> (cf. *v. l.* E 757, Δ 897), *αἰστώσει* Hdt. III 69, *ἡίστωσε* III 127. See § 160 on *Ἀΐδης*. *αἰδρις* Theog. 683; *αἰδρή* Solon, 9<sub>4</sub>; *αἰδρηή* Hdt.; *αἰκίζοίμεθα* Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>24</sub>, from *ᾗφι*- rather than *ᾗφει*-. So too in the case of *αἰκέλιος* Theog. 1344. On *αἶω*, see § 275.

In suffixes: *δαῖζω* Tyrt. 11<sub>17</sub>; *παῖζω* Anakr. 53, but *παίζω* 75<sub>5</sub>; *σαλαῖζω* Anakr. 167, Hippokr. *ραῖζει* VII 122, *ρήίζει* VIII 38, *ραῖση* VIII 20, 266 and 34 in θ, *δαιδός* VIII 22, *δαιδίοισι* VIII 50, but *δαῖδος* VIII 92, *σφαδαῖζει* VIII 92 (θ, -*ai*- Littré), cf. § 182; *ἀγλαῖζομαι* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>70</sub>; *Σαῖτων* Arch. el. 6; and in the suffix -*ai*kos in Hdt. Hrd. 2<sub>35</sub> has *δαῖδας*.

# 275.] Ā + I.

ᾗφι.

*Πολυπαῖδη* Theog. 25, 57, 61, 541, from *παῖ*, § 169, or due to the ictus and = *παν*; *Ἀριστολαῖδης* Hdt. I 59.

<sup>1</sup> *παῖς* Ionic, Drakon 157<sub>6</sub>, cf. 161<sub>2</sub>.

Αἶδης is probably the Ionic form of the fifth century. See § 160.

αἶδιον Iasos, 104<sub>6</sub>, Melissos, 9, Diog. Apoll. 3, may be a later form, built out of αεί. The length of the *a* in αἶδιος is attested but rarely, *e.g.* Hymn 29<sub>3</sub> where it may be due to the ictus, *i.e.* = *av*. αἶδιος contains the suffix -διος.

ἐπαίω in Hdt. III 29, Herakl. 73, 107 should be read ἐπάω if the *a* is long, as it is generally in Attic. See Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 253 ff.; αἶω Xenoph. 6<sub>5</sub> may be a present derived from the aorist.

Ἀχαῖη Sim. Amorg. 23<sub>1</sub>, where αἰῆ might be expected. Hrd. 5<sub>61</sub> has ἀχαῖκας *fetters* (?). Since the reduction of *au* to *ai* in Attic ensued as early as the fifth century (Φωκαῖδε[s] C. I. A. I 199<sub>7</sub>), the traditional reading in Sim. may be correct. See § 209, on *a* from antevocalic *ai*.

### 276.] Â + H.

Original *ā* + *η* did not remain in Ionic; see H + H.

### 277.] A + O.

On the theory that in primitive Greek *a*, when followed by an *o* sound, became *eo*, see under Contract Verbs, § 688.

#### 1. *ǣfo*.

αἶνυαος Hdt.; σαόφρων Phok. 9, as in Homer, but σωφρονεῖν Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>108</sub>, σῳφρων Theog. 756, σωφρονέστατον Hippon. 45<sub>2</sub>, need not contain a contraction. These forms are placed here tentatively, as it has not been shown that *f* intervened between *a* and *o* in σάος. Certainly Roehl's reading σαφοῖ, in his No. 532, is too much a matter of dubitation to be admitted in proof. Perhaps σάος stands for \*σασος. See Ruehl in *Philol. Anzeiger*, 1886, 14, note 8, and § 294.

θυρωρός Anakr. 52 < θυρά + Φορός as θεωρός < θηφαΨορός. On Doric θεᾶρός see Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXXI 289. θυραφορός, or -φορός, occurs in Kyprian. Fick derives θυρωρός from θυρεωρός < θυρηφορός. Since, however, τιμωρός not τιμεωρός is the only correct form, τιμαΨφορός (and θυραΨφορός) must be the ground-form. Cf. Ἀλκάθοος.

#### ἀγλαός:

(1) Not contracted: ἀγλαόν Kallinos 1<sub>6</sub>. Ἀγλαοκύδης Thasos (Louv.) 20 A 8 (about 175 B.C.); Ἀγλα(ό)νικος Styra, 19<sub>433</sub> (fifth century). The preponderance of names in Ἀγλω- has made Bechtel question whether we should not read Ἀγλώνικος. Ἀγλαοκύδης shows that Bechtel's statement (that Ἀγλω- is the invariable rule in Ionic inscriptions) is not accurate. It must, however, be confessed that this form of the name is, if Ionic, an obsolete form for its period. Ἀγλα[ο]φῶν Kyzikos, C. I. G. 1780

is late. A noteworthy feature of the naming system of the Ionians is their fondness for names compounded with *ἀγλαός*, whereas in Attic these are not very frequent. Adjectives containing *ἀγλαός* were too elevated for the *sermo familiaris* of the classical period. The open form is found in Boiotian, Ἄγλαος C. D. I. 413<sub>35</sub>, Ἀγλαοφαῖδαο 478.

(2) Contracted: Ἀγλώχαρος Amorgos, 227 (sixth century); Ἀ(γ)λωθέστης Amorgos, 37 (unc. date); Ἀγλόνικος Keos, 50, II 11 (fourth century); Ἀγ]λωφῶντος Thasos, 78 A 2 (beginning of third century); Ἀ[γ]λωφῶντος Thasos (Louv.) 6 B 14 (third century); Ἀγλωγένης Delos, 55 I 7 (282 B. C.); cf. also Ἀγλῶν Thasos (Louv.) 21<sub>4</sub>. We find Ἀγλωφάνης Thera, C. I. G. 2460 (late).

φάος Archil. tetr. 74<sub>3</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 119, Skythinos, 1, Theog. 569, 1143, Herakl. 77; on the oblique cases of names in -φῶν, e. g. Ἡροφῶν Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 22, see Spitzer, *Lautil.* p. 41, Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 16.

### 2. ᾶσο.

Archilochos 116 γήραος; also in Hdt. III 14, in the phrase ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ, with the unusual form on account of the stereotyped nature of the expression. Hdt. generally has -εος in -as nouns. -ασο, or more strictly, -ασφο, in the second pers. sing. of imperfect and aorist middle: Archil. epod. 94 ἐφράσω, 101 ἐδέξω, where Hdt. has ἐξεργάσαιο I 45 and Xenoph. 5 ἥραο. It is scarcely doubtful that αο had become ω in the dialect of people before the time of Hdt.

### 3. ᾶιο.

On the relation of -ᾶω to -ᾶω (-ηω) verbs in ὥρεον = ὥραον, &c., see § 688. αῖο becomes ω in the Ionic verb (ἔωμεν, ἀρριχῶμαι), despite fluctuations in MSS. of Hdt. in the direction of εο.

On αο, written for -αν, see § 243.

4. *Varia.* Ὠσπραόννῳ Halik. 240<sub>43</sub>, is non-Hellenic; Μάοψος Roberts, I 193 D, is of uncertain connections (ΜΗόψος? cf. Μείζιος).

5. *Crasis.* κῶμφαλός, Hippokr. VII 326 = καὶ + ὁ + ὀμφ. καὶ + ὁ + α = κῶ in κῶπόλλων Hippon. tr. 31, according to Bergk's reading, which is doubted by Renner, p. 199; Hrd. 4<sub>3</sub> χῶπόλλων. τῶμματα VIII 84, Hrd. 6<sub>68</sub>, κῶμμασιν 332, χῶστις Sol. 13<sub>37</sub>.

### 278.] ᾶ + Ο.

ᾶο became ηο and underwent all the changes incidental to the history of ηο (§ 288). On the retention of ᾶο in λαός, see §§ 140, 4, 160, 170.

### 279.] Α + Ω.

#### 1. ᾶϜω.

παρεστῶς Tyrt. 12<sub>19</sub> and Attic ἐστῶς are probably not from



Hdt. ἐστεῶς, but from -αῤῶς, as πυλωρός, Doric πυλαρός, < πυλαῤῶρός. Also in proper names in -φῶν, and in Ἀγλῶν Th. (L.) 2<sub>14</sub>, § 277. Cf. Ἀγλάων Boiot., C. D. I. 418<sub>3</sub>, 534<sub>8</sub>. Συλοσῶν Hdt.

2. ᾗω.

For the treatment of -ᾗω verbs, see § 688. The contracted forms alone seem genuine Ionic. When verbs in -εω exist side by side with those in -ᾗω, this -εω is uncontracted.

3. α privative; ᾗωρος Amorgos 35, ᾗωρίη Hrd. 3<sub>29</sub>.

4. Crasis of αι + ω in χῶς Sim. Amorg. 24 (but καὶ ὦς Halik. 238<sub>44</sub>).

280.] Ἄ + Ω.

1. ᾗω.

Ποσειδάων Theog. 692; -ᾗωνος in Arch. eleg. 10, by conjecture, the MSS. having ω. Is -ῥωνος correct? See § 140. If Attic Ποσειδῶν is from -έων, this instance deserves note as being a rare case of contraction of vowels originally separated by F (ῥως, βασιλέως). Attic πρῶν, παιῶν (Παιῶνος Solon, 13<sub>57</sub>), Ἴωνες, arose directly from -ᾗων-, -ᾗον, not through -εων (Bechtel, B. B. X 283). See on πρῶν, Hom. πρῶων, Hsd. πρηῶν, Chandler, *Accent*, § 569.

On the treatment of pre-Hellenic ᾗο, see under E + O and E + Ω. On the relation of verbs in -εω parallel to those in -ᾗω, see § 688.

281.] E + A.

ε before a vowel does not become ι in Ionic.

1. εῤῥ.

Remains open in feminine of adj. in -υς (δασέαν Miletos, 100<sub>2</sub>, &c.), in Κλέαριος Thasos (L.) 4 A 13; Κλέανδρος Styra, 19<sub>220</sub>; Λεάνακτος Thasos (L.) 3 B 7; Λεάδης Styra, 19<sub>242</sub>; Πρεάνθης Keos, 50, IV 65. Cf. πρηῦς and the Thasiote Πρηῦλος; ἑᾗσεις Anakr. 56, ἑᾗσον 57 (§ 165).

ἦνδανε, the legitimate form for the Ionic of the fifth century, is preserved in Hdt., though in IX 5 ἔανδανε comes to light.

βασιλέᾗ = Attic βασιλέᾗ (βασιλῆ Teos, Ditt. *Syll.* 165<sub>18</sub>, about 261 B. C.); νῑᾗ = Attic νᾗν, βασιλέᾗς = Attic βασιλέᾗς (Curt. *Stud.* IX 213). After a vowel, ᾗ as in Ἐρετριᾗς, Ἰσστιαῖᾗς Eretria, 15<sub>17</sub>, 18, cf. Θεσπιᾗς, Ἑστυαῖᾗς in Attic inscriptions of fifth century. Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεα Hipp. 85 (patronymic in -αδευς, as Μαῖαδεῦ Hipp. 161), from εα (or εᾗ?). κενεά Dem. *Mor.* 18, Luk. *vit. auct.* 13.

2. εῤῥ.

In the MSS. of Hdt. ἑαρος, ἑαρι, &c. (12 times), as in Homer, ἦρος not appearing till Hymn Dem. 456. Hdt. I 77 has however ἦρι in the MSS. except C (Stein ἑαρι). Hipp. ἦρος II 44, 46, 54, 598, 616, 668, III 70, 76, 80, 94; ἦρι II 24, 42, 44. In

II 598 both Ermerins and Littré have ἦρος, the former reading ἔαρ (*bis*) on the same page, the latter ἦρ; Littré reads ἦρ (*v. l. ἔαρ*) III 68 (ἔαρ Erm.) ἦρ II 640 (*v. l. ἔαρ*). In III 98 Littré must adopt ἔαρ. ἦρ II 42, 44, 616, VI 594 (*θ, vulg. ἔαρ*), 600. There can be no question but that Littré has gone too far in adopting the contracted form, which seldom occurs without a variant. Variations similar to that between ἔαρι and ἦρι occur in MSS. of Attic authors, though contraction is properly in place in forms of three short syllables in that dialect. ἔαρ occurs upon an Old Attic vase (Klein, *Vasen*, 133). Ordinarily the fusion of εα was avoided in Ionic. For the κοινή form ἦρος in Arrian, 14, we should expect ἔαρος, cf. *Vita Homeri*, 34. In the poets we find ἔαρι Anan. 51, ἔαρος Mimn. 22. Ἐαρίνης Styra, 19<sub>184</sub> is doubtful. Cf. § 221.

In the -εσ- declension, we find in Homer sporadic occurrences of εα (τεύχεα H 207, ἄλγεα Ω 7, in the sixth foot; τεμένεα λ 185, στήθεα Λ 282, βέλεα Ο 444, σάκεα Δ 113). See §§ 533, 536 for the occurrences of the open and the contracted forms. -εα is not so frequent as -εα in poetry. -εα remains open in the heteroclite accus. of the  $\hat{A}$  declension (which is frequent in Hdt.). This is invariably the case in the -ες declension in Ionic prosaists.

In ἔατε and in the pluperfect, which had the terminations of the sigmatic aorist, we find the open forms (ἔώθεα, ἦδεα).

### 3. εᾶ.

Abstract nouns in εα from εια do not contract: ἐξώλεα, πανώλεα, Bechtel, No. 263.

δοστέα Arrian, 30 (δοσᾶ 29 in MSS. may be an error), Aret. 42, 88, Hippokr. often; ὅστρεα Arrian, 21, 29, 39; ὑπέατι Hdt. IV 70. In adjectives χρύσεα Anakr. 21<sub>12</sub>.

ἡμέας Archil. eleg. 97, σφεας tr. 272, Hdt. ἡμέās.

Blass (Kühner,<sup>3</sup> I p. 210) refers to Hekataios Φαναγόρη < -εῖᾶ, Hdn. I 280<sub>9</sub>, 341<sub>4</sub>, Θυρή, Hdn. I 284<sub>23</sub>, 341<sub>17</sub>, Ψυττάλη, Ζέλη, Ἐρύθη Hdn. I 275, 321, Οἰάνθη Hdn. I 276<sub>5</sub>, 312<sub>17</sub>, Αἰθάλη Hdn. I 275<sub>32</sub>, 320<sub>25</sub>; cf. ἱερή, § 177. Πανάκη Hrd. 46 < Πανά-κεια?

On κατέαται and ὀρμέατο < ηα-, see § 611. εἴρηται Oropos 18<sub>17</sub>, compared with ἐκκεκωφέαται Anakr. 81<sub>2</sub>, κεινέαται Hipponax 62<sub>2</sub>, πεπλέαται Sim. Amorg. 31 A, seems to represent a difference in writing merely. Whether or not the passage from original ηα to η was made in Ionic through εᾶ or εᾷ in the verbal forms is not as yet clear. Analogy would seem to incline in favour of εᾶ, but there are many forms in the perfect where -ηᾶται has become -εᾶται. Here no sound has been lost between ε and α from η + α. See § 612.

ἦν, ἐάν, see Bredow, 38, Merzdorf, Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 143, § 75, 3, and § 716. In Theog. 682, Schneidewin rightly preferred ἦν. ἐπήν Homer, Mimn. 3, Keos, 43<sub>17</sub>, Hrd. 52<sub>7</sub>, 66<sub>1</sub>, 345 (ἐπέαν 330, 43, 584); Hdt. ἐπήν, though ἐπεάν is often met with in the

MSS. and is defended by many editors (Greg. Korinth. p. 465), and ἦν. Hippokr. has ἐπὶ according to Littré.

4. εα from dissimilation from αα in ἐπιστέαται and in -εατο.

5. Elision is frequently avoided in the inscriptions: με ἀνέθηκε Naukr. 139 B, Naukr. I 5, 202, 186, 220, II 777, but with elision I 137, 223, 259, II 778.

## 282.] E + Â.

### 1. εῤῥ̄ :

ἐγχεῖας Xenoph. 42, Anakr. 633, a surprising synizesis, with which cf. χῆς· ἐγχεῖας in Galen's Lex. to Hippokr. The Herodoteian φρέαρ I 68 probably has ā as the Attic word; cf. Hom. φρήαρ. φρέῃτι is found in a puzzling verse (99) of the Hymn to Demeter. εῤῥ̄ in εῤῥ̄ Archil. 51, cf. ἦσεν· εἴασεν Hesychios, and εῤῥ̄ Antig. 95, Oid. Tyr. 1451, εῤῥ̄σον Oid. Kol. 1192.

### 2. εῤῥ̄.

In the inflection of nouns in -εη the accus. plural remains open: κυνέας, μνέας, αἰγέας, &c., § 453. εῤῥ̄ from εῤῥ̄ανς, also in δωρεάς Ephesos, 14715; δωρεά appears to be later than δωρεία in Attic. ἀργυρέα Wood, Disc. at Ephesus, App. 6, No. 1, with Attic ā, but with the absence of contraction in adjectives of material, which is the rule in Ionic even in the imperial period.

In proper names in -ās it has been commonly held that -ās is from -εās. Bechtel on No. 76 (Νοσσηκᾶς) remarks with appropriateness that this is impossible, since Attic names in -εās could not be contracted to -ās. See § 165, note. εās occurs in two names, Ἡγέας Keos 44 B 4; Ἐλπέας 44 B 16. Cf. Hdn. I 5110, II 6571.

On πεπλέαται < πεπλήαται, see § 281, 3, note.

## 283.] H + A.

η before the ā of substantival and verbal inflections is regularly shortened to ε. It is a matter of indifference whether this η = I.E. ē or I.E. ȳ: νέᾱ, νέᾱς; βασιλέᾱ, βασιλέᾱς; κατέᾱται, ὀρμέᾱτο. Traces of this shortening are sporadic in Homer: Τυδῆᾱ Z 222, Καινῆᾱ A 264, εἶαται, εἶατο. In πόλῃας Abdera, 162 (fifth century), η has the quantity of η in βέβλῃαι Λ 380 or of ω in ἡρώος, § 303. In Homer, πόλῃας ρ 486. -ηας in Ἡσιονῃας Kall. 5; βασιλῃας Tyrt. 43. η is retained before α only when F intervened (except Hom. πόλῃας). In Ionic these -ηας forms were obsolescent even at a very early period.

By crasis, τὰ φροδίτηι inser. of a Teian (Naukratis, I, No. 700). On a Naukr. inser. τῇ φροδίτηι II 701 and very often τῇ Ἀφροδίτηι e.g. 707, 710, 794. In 729 τῇ Ἀφρ- (but the ι has probably been omitted by a slip). τῇι φρ- also occurs. ἐπειδάν Hdt. I 193, VIII 144, &c., Zeleia, 11321; Hippokr. V 622, Hrd.



4<sub>21</sub>, 5<sub>14</sub> ἦρα from ἦ ἄρα, also Aiolic. Archil. 86, 95 has ἄρα. Cf. Apoll. *de Conj.* 223<sub>24</sub>, 227<sub>24</sub> Schn. By *synizesis*, μὴ ἀποπέμψης Hippon. 43, ἦ ἀνθρώπου Sim. 7<sub>104</sub>, ἦμιν ἦ ἀλεωρή Hrd. 2<sub>25</sub>.

### 284.] E + I.

#### 1. εῖι.

εῖ in the dative-locative singular of -v- and -εῦ stems had probably been contracted by the fifth century.

#### 2. εσι.

Becomes εῖ in the dat.-loc. sing. of -εσ- stems: except in Hipponax, 11, where ἀγέι is necessary if the long *a* of ἀγεῖ is to be removed<sup>1</sup>: Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>13</sub> Ἄρει (Ἄρη?); ξίφει Tyrt. 11<sub>30</sub>, κράτει Solon tr. 36<sub>13</sub> (or κράτη), Theognis γένει 928, δυσμενεῖ 1219. -εῖ in Hdt. does not represent the stage to which Ionic had advanced in the fifth century. See § 416. In adj. from sigmatic stems εῖ, as in Ἀργεῖη Sim. Am. 27.

3. In suffixes -ιτης, -ινος, &c. In Hdt. Ἀταρνεῖτω, Βορυσθενεῖτης (but cf. Hdn. II 866<sub>40</sub>), ὀστεῖνος, ἰτῆινος, κρανέινος.

### 285.] E + Ī.

εῖ by *metathesis quantitatis* has been assumed by Fick, *B. B.* XI 267, Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* p. 14, in Θρεῖκίων Hipponax, 42, εῖ standing midway between ηι (Θρηῖξ Archil. 32, Θρηκίης Anakr. 96, Θρηκίω Sim. Keos, 120), and εῖ. Fick suggests that Anakr. Θρηκίην 49, Θρηκίη 75 should be read Θρεῖ-. As held above, § 237, this assumption is based on slight foundations. On Θρεῖκίων, see Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 209. Meineke suggests καπὶ Θρηκίων in the passage in Hipponax. In Herodotos the *iota* was probably silent.

### 286.] H + I.

ηι is very common in Ionic, both from ηι = I.E. *ēi* and I.E. *āi*, separated originally by some spirant.

#### 1. ηφι.

(a) ηφι < *ēvi*.

It should be noticed that of the forms which have preserved η before ι most had *F* between the η and ι. The exceptions are all either peculiar forms or are due to the influence of analogy, *e.g.* πόληι Tyrt. 12<sub>15</sub> is a double locative (\*πόλη + ι) and not developed from πολει-ι. See § 481. -ηιος in ἀνδρήιος, &c. is from the analogy of δουλήιος < δουληφ-ιος.

On -ηιος from stems in ην/εῦ, and on the extension of the termination to stems to which it did not originally belong, see § 232. On ηι from ην/ηφ in patronymics, in its relation to εῖ in -ειδης, see §§ 233, 235.

<sup>1</sup> ἐναγεῖ should be read.

Either *Κεῖος*, or *Κήιος*, is Ionic from *Κέος*. Hdt. VIII 1, 46 *Κεῖοι*; IV 35, V 102 *Κήιοι*; Sim. Keos 129 *Κει-*; Bacchyl. 48 *Κηι-*; Timokreon 10 *Κήια*, and *Κείων* *Ἰουλιῆται* C. I. A. II 17 B 22. See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 265, who regards *Κεῖος* as certainly Ionic whatever may be said of *Κήιος* (*\*Κηφιος*, cf. Ionic *λεῖος*, from *\*ληφιος*). *βασιλεῖ* is due to the influence of *βασιλέος*, &c. *Βασιλῆιος*, &c., amply prove that I.E. *ēvi* is represented in Ionic by *ηι*. On *Πριηνῆι*, on a Samian inscription, No. 212, see § 510.

Whether Hom. *χρῆος*, *χρεῖος*, Hom., Hdt. *χρέος* is from *\*χρηφος* or *\*χρηιος* see Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 264, Danielsson, *Grammat. und etymol. Stud.* 52 and *Grammat. Ann.* I 17, § 272, 3 above) is uncertain. *χρηίζω* Hom., Hsd., Greg. Kor. p. 442, Hdt. (MSS.), Phokyl. 7, Theog. 1333 but *χρηίζων* 958, as Hrd. I<sub>31</sub>, 249, 83, *χρεῖζεις* 761. *χρηίζω* is doubtless the correct form in Hdt. *χρηίσκομαι* in Hdt. only. Does Hesychios' *χρήια· πενία· ἢ χρήματα* contain *χρηλή· πενία* (Ionic usually *χρεῖη* Theog. 62, Hrd. 7<sub>124</sub>) and Kretan *χρήια* (*αὐτός τε καὶ χρήια τὰμὰ Dreros*, Cauer 121 B 41)?

*κρήιον· κρεοθήκη* is not necessarily Ionic.

(β) *ηφι* < *āvi*.

This *ηφι* appears in Ionic as *ηι* without exception. Attic differs from Ionic in its treatment of pre-Hellenic *ēvi* and *āvi*, in that the former is generally represented in Attic by *ει* (except in patronymics as *Αιγῆς*, *Νηρῆς*, which was probably also the Ionic form, § 233, 2), the latter by *ηι* (*κλῆς*, *λήζομαι*, *λητουργός*, *ἦθεος*, *προνῆον*) which in the fourth century has become *ει*. Ionic represents both by *ηι*, though *-ηιδης* from *-ην-* stems has been generally supplanted by *-ειδης*.

*γῆνιος* Sim. Am. 7<sub>21</sub> is probably from *\*γηφινος*.

*δηῖος* in MSS. of Hdt., *δήιος* Sol. tetr. 34<sub>2</sub>, Tyrt. 11<sub>18</sub>, 30, *δηιοτήτα* Kall. 1<sub>14</sub>; Theog. 552, Tyrt. 12<sub>12</sub> (*δῆϊων* Bergk), Mimn. 14<sub>9</sub> (*δῆϊων* Bergk) Solon, 13<sub>21</sub>, have *δηῖος*. Homeric *δῆϊοιο* B 415 = *δηιοῖο* or *δηοῖο*. Homer has *δήιος* and *δῆιος*.

*ῆϊθεος* Hdt.

*ῆϊών* Hdt. (An. Par. III 149<sub>1</sub>).

*Θρηῖξ* Arch. 32, cf. *Θρηίκιος*, Anakr. 96, Hippon. 42, 120 *Θρηίκιος*, Anakr. 49, 75 (§ 285). Hom. has *Θρηῖκες* (Nauck *Θρέικες* Ω 234, cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Θράκη*), *Θρηκῶν*, *Θρήκεσσι*, *Θρήκη*; Pind. has *Θρηικίων*. In Hdt. we read *Θρηῖξ*, *Θρηίκιος*, *Σαμοθρήικες*, *-θρηίκιος*; *ηι* sometimes occurs in the MSS. Hekat. 116 (*Θρακῶν*), with Attic *α* in Steph. Byz.

*κληῖω* Hom., Hdt. (Greg. Kor. § 3); *κληῖδες* in Hdt. V 108 is accented *κληῖδες* or *κλήιδες*; *κληῖδα* Hippokr. II 272. *κλήιθρα* hymn Merc. 146; *κλήθρα* Hdn. II 535<sub>6</sub>, Et. M. 518<sub>11</sub>, An. Ox. II 232<sub>14</sub> (Choir.). *εὐκλείσας* Tyrt. 12<sub>24</sub>, from *κληίζω*, is not Ionic.

*ληῖη* (Greg. Kor. 69), Hdt., Hrd. 2<sub>45</sub>, *ληιστής* Hdt., Dem. 209, Teos, 156 B 21, *ληιστύς* Hdt., *ληίζομαι* Hdt., Sim. Am. 6, Teos 156 B 20. Arrian, 40 *ληισταί*. *ηφι* becomes *εῖ* but once in Homer (*λεῖσθή* I 408).

λήιον Hdn. I 361<sub>5</sub>, λήιτον, *council-hall*, Hdt.

Μηονιστί Hippon. 1<sub>2</sub> with η as in Hom. Μήων (cf. Hdt. I 7) and Μηονίς; Μήονες and Μήιονες Hdn. II 550, Μήονες Herakl. ap. Eust. 365<sub>25</sub>.

νηί. ἐπίνειον Hdt. VI 116 must be incorrect (cf. Προνηή and Attic προνήον). See Causer in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 248. νήιον Hdn. I 361<sub>5</sub>.

Ποσιδηίων Anakr. 6.

ρήιδιος (Apoll. Adv. 567 = Schn. 1574), Theog. 239, 524, 592, 1027, 1034, but ῥήιδιος 574, 577 (cf. ῥάιδιον 120, 1220, Solon, 9<sub>5</sub>, where Diod. Sik. ῥαίδιον; ῥᾶον Theog. 429), ῥήτερον 1370 (Hom. ῥήτερος), cf. §§ 182, 555. Hdt. has ῥηιδίως IX 2 in MSS., but ῥηστῶνη III 136.

Τήιος Bechtel, 155 an archaic inscription, Teos, *Mith.* XVI 292, is probably from \*Tāfios, because of Τέως. On THIIOI on an Attic inscr., to be read either Τήῖλοι or Τήῖοι, see § 231. See Hdn. II 881<sub>23</sub>.

2. ηι < ασι.

ῥια Sim. Am. 32, see Baunack, *K. Z.* XXVII 561. With ῥια, cf. εἶον, Hdn. I 356<sub>2</sub>, II 457<sub>11</sub>. εῖα has been read ε 266.

## 287.] E + O.

The earliest testimony to an Ionic contraction of εο is the existence in Homer of εο and of a few cases of ευ. In the older periods of the Greek dialects whenever the contraction of εο to ευ appears, it is to be regarded as Ionic. ευ is but sparingly attested in earlier Aiolic, but more frequently in later Doric sources (Ahrens, II 213 ff.). The grammarians frequently give the name Doric to forms in ευ found in Ionic authors, cf. Choir. 528<sub>11</sub>. Kallimachos' hymn to Demeter has θεύς l. 58. τεύς is called Boiotian for τεός, Apoll. *Pron.* 135 B.

As regards the genesis of εο from ηο, it should be stated that Merzdorf's<sup>1</sup> distinction between pre-Hellenic *āo* = Ionic ηο = Ionic εω, and pan-Hellenic *ēo* = Ionic ηο = Ionic εο, a distinction accepted for many years, can no longer be upheld, at least in its entirety. Unaccented, pan-Hellenic ηο may become εω in Ionic. In the gen. of the *Â* declension, we have -ευ < ηο = *āo*. The occurrence of εο (ευ) makes it appear that the combination ηο is treated in three different ways in Ionic. (1) ηο may be retained as an archaism, see below on H + O, (2) ηο becomes εω, and (3) becomes εο. In Ionic no difference can be detected in the treatment of

<sup>1</sup> Merzdorf in Curtius' *Stud.* VIII 163 ff., IX 226 ff.; Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 262; Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 297; Osthoff, *Philol. Rundschau*, I 933; Erman, *Stud.* V 294; Brugmann, *Gramm.* § 19; Bechtel, *B. B.* X 280, *Ion. Insch.* p. 69, 107, 109; Johansson, *D. V. C.* 153; *B. B.* XV 167; Fick, *B. B.* XI 259 ff.; Karsten, 19-22; Blass, *Aussprache*,<sup>3</sup> 72.



long vowel + short vowel whether separated by *F*, *yod*, or *sigma*, though the dialect bears traces of the fact that the labial spirant disappeared later than either of the others. In Attic *metathesis quantilatis* seems to have occurred even when *sigma* or *yod* were expelled, though the cases are rare.

To a large extent the question whether *eo* or *ev* should be written, is an orthographical question merely. At one and the same time the same word is written with *eo* or *ev* in the same portion of Ionic territory. In general, however, the inscriptions preserve the form *eo*. In early inscriptions of the same date *eo* occurs both = *ev* and = earlier *ε + o*. The *eo* of *φεόγειν* makes it possible that the *eo* of *γεγωνέοντες* is not disyllabic, but a species of diphthong. Cf. *eo* for original *ev* and *ao* for *av*. *εov* is occasionally found (*Εὐρυσθένεους* Samos, 217, *Ἀριστοκλέους* Thasos, 72<sub>1</sub>). See § 247. The writing *eo* shows that *ev* was not pronounced *eü*. *eo* especially in the *-es* stems becomes *ev* from about 350 B.C. There can be no doubt that *eo* was pronounced like *ev* more frequently than it was written. Whenever in Ionic lyric poetry *eo* must be read *υυ*, it is an archaism. In the earliest lyric poets it is better to write *eo*, in the later *ev*. The difference between *ev* and *eo* is not greater than that between *εα* and *η*. How far the contraction prevailed in the ordinary language of the people is not easy to say. Perhaps one class of words was treated differently from another class. Thus in the case of *-κλεος*, where hyphaeresis had been at work, the open form would be more probable than in other names; and syllables following or preceding the accent would be more likely to be contracted than accented syllables. The variations of the MSS. of Hdt. and of the other prosaists reproduce the fluctuation in orthography between *eo* and *ev*. I hold it likely that Hdt. himself may have been inconsistent in this and other cases, where the diphthongal pronunciation was not graphically expressed. Usually in the MSS. the *eo* form prevails. In the literature<sup>1</sup> and inscriptions of the imperial

<sup>1</sup> In the pseudo-Ionists *eo* was carefully preserved. From Lindemann, *de dial. Ionica recentiore*, p. 53, I construct the following table:—

	eo	ev		eo	ev
Dea Syria	112	0	Eusebios	4	0
Vit. auct.	6	0	Euseb. Mynd.	55	4
Astrol.	49	0	Ep. Thales	1	0
Arrian	118	2	Aretaios, I, II	39	13
Abydenos	4	0			

period there existed a preference for open forms, which is evidenced also in Attic (*νεομηνία* and *Θεο-* in proper names for the older *νου-*, *Θου-*). Most forms of this kind represent a fashion in writing, not genuine survivals of the older speech.

# 1. εFo.

Becomes in Ionic εο or is contracted to ευ. In the case of -τέος, contraction never occurs in Ionic or any other dialect.

Names with νέος, κλέος, as first parts of a compound name show both forms.

νεο- in *Νεοπολιτέων*<sup>1</sup> Neapolis, 4<sub>2</sub>, *Νεοκλείδης* Styra, 19<sub>265</sub>, -κλίδης 19<sub>266</sub>; -μήνιος Olbia, *Jahrb. für Philol., Suppl.* vol. X, 26, No. 8, Maroneia, 196<sub>14</sub>, Halik. 240 B 29, D 38; -μανδρος Thasos (L.) 17<sub>2</sub>. Cf. νέους Arch. 55; νέοι Kall. 1<sub>2</sub>; νεοθηλέα Anakr. 51; Hdt. νέος, &c.; νεότητος Dem. 52; νέον Samos, 220<sub>25</sub>; νέωτα Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>9</sub> < νεFoFata (see E + Ω).

νευ- in -πολίτης 4<sub>3</sub>, Neapolis (350-300); -πολιτών 4<sub>4</sub>, Neapolis (350-300); Νε[υ]μηνίου Olbia, 131<sub>9</sub>; Νευμην[ίου] Halik. 240 B 7. Cf. Νεοβούλης in Archil. 71, νεόπλυτον Anakr. 21<sub>6</sub> and νεομηνία Pind. *Nem.* 4<sub>35</sub> = ευ; also νευμηνία, later Kretan, and νευμεινίη Boiot. C. D. I. 951. *Νομμήνιος* Iasos 104<sub>22</sub>, 48 (about 350 B. C.), and upon coins of Maroneia and Olbia, is Attic. On the conclusions as to the (partly) expiratory character of Greek accent to be drawn from the difference between Attic νέος and νουμηνία, see Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX 138.

Κλεο- in -μαχος Styra, 19<sub>119</sub>; -μβροτος Keos, 44 B 10, Thasos, 77 B 12; -δικος Styra, 19<sub>222</sub>; -πάτρα Delos, 55, VII 27; -κρίτου Thasos, 75 B 4; -νίκου Smyrn. 153<sub>19</sub>; -ρρος Styra, 19<sub>239</sub>; -μῆδεος Th. (L.) 1; -μέδων Th. (L.) 3 A 10, 6 C 6; -[λο]χος Th. (L.) 6 C 15; -φάν[ης] Th. (L.) 11 C 5; -κύδεις Thasos, 77 A 10; -γένης Thasos, 77 B 5; -τίμου Chios, 177<sub>10</sub>; -δημος Naukr. 775, Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 23.

Κλευ- in *Κλεομάνδρου* Arkesine, 34 (fourth century), epigram. *Κλεύβουλος* Anakr. 2<sub>9</sub>, 31, 2, 3 (not εο by synizesis). Κλευ- in prose is written in -πάτρα Delos, 55, III 34; -νίκη Pharos, 87; -κρίτη Siphnos, 89; -δώρου Hyele, 172<sub>2</sub>. Cf. *Κλεόδαμον* Pind. *Ol.* 14<sub>22</sub>, the names in Κλευ- in later Kretan and Rhodian documents.

-εος in the genitive of -v|ευ stems is closed in *ἄστρεος*, Simonides of Amorgos 7<sub>74</sub>, but ordinarily kept open, as is evident from the fact that these genitives are never written -εως, as may be the case in the declension of stems in *sigma*. Open -εος from ηv- stems in *βασιλέος*, &c. (on -ηος, see H + O), on νέος, see § 517, 2. -εος < ηFοτς in *τεθνεός* Hdt. I 112 (*Studien*, IX 242); *Γελεῦντες* Perinthos, 234 B 13; *Λεοντίσκος* *ibid.* 234 A 4.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Νεήπολις* 4<sub>1</sub> = Attic *Νεα-*. In Attic inscriptions the forms in νεα- outlive those in νεο-, which obtain from 454 to 356 B. C.



ἴλεος, probably Herodoteian (cf. IV 94, VI 91), from ἰληFos. Cf. Kretan ἰλέος (accus. pl.). ἴλαος is also Ionic, Archil. 752. See § 139.

On πλεῦνες, see § 219, 3.

Adj. in -αλεος : μυδάλεος Arch. 182; on ἀδελφεός in Hom., Hdt., Lat. II 97, Pantikap. (fifth cent.), see under ε + η.

εῦ from εο = εω :

θευροί Thas. 72<sub>2</sub>, = θεοροί; cf. ἐθεόρεον Thas. (L.) 7<sub>2</sub>, with θεορ- from θεωρ-. See B. B. X 282, K. Z. XXXI 289; cf. Λευτυχίδης Hdt.<sup>1</sup> and πυλευρός, in Hesychios, from πυλεωρός. Bechtel has proposed to account for this εῦ for εω as follows. Final -εω in the genitive of *Â* stems having become -εο (by a change unparalleled in the dialects), was written -εῦ (§§ 245, 427), and this εῦ forced its way into a medial syllable. Brugmann's (Gr. Gr. § 19) attempts to escape from the difficulties in the way of accepting such a change are artificial, and he cannot explain θεωρός and πυλευρός. The correct explanation is still to be found.

Joh. Gr. 241, 241 B, Greg. Korinth. p. 447, Gramm. Meerm. 654, August. 669, Birnb. 678<sub>36</sub>, Vat. 699, Eust. 1908<sub>59</sub>, say that the Ionic form is ὀρτή, which appears in Anakr. 54 and in Herodotos<sup>2</sup>, Herodas 585, 617 (ὀρτή 446 is a conjecture). That this statement is only partially true is evident from ἑορτή Oropos 1834. That a purely prosthetic vowel should have the *asper* is irregular (cf. Ἑόρτιος in Attic, Roberts I 52), hence Bury's attempt at etymologizing ἑορτή has at least the vantage ground of suggesting an explanation for its presence by attributing to the longer form an initial *F*: ἑορτή = *F*εFορτή, *F*ρ<sup>Y</sup>Fορτή, as *uvrāta* from *vrvāta*; ὀρτή on the other hand is = *vratā*. Cf. B. B. XI 333. ἑροτις is doubtless to be kept apart from ἑορτή.

## 2. εσο.

Yields either εο, εο, or εῦ; rarely εεσο = εου (?) as in δέους Hippokr. VI 384, cf. Hom. δείους, Hdt. ἐδέου VII 161. In the Ionic poets: Archil. ἀγάλλεο 66<sub>4</sub>, ὀδύρεο 66<sub>5</sub>, ἀπάγχεο 67, χαρίζεῦ 75, ἀλέξεῦ (-εο?) 66<sub>3</sub>, γενεῦ 75<sub>2</sub> (MSS. -οῦ) Anakr. 2<sub>9</sub>; εὔχεο (or -εῦ, MSS. -ου) Phok. 38, ἱκεο, or -εῦ Anan. 13 (MSS. -ου). εο in Λυκάμβεος Archil. 28; θέρεος Sim. Amorg. 73<sub>9</sub>, παλιντριβέος 743. Παιρισάδεος Pantikap. epigram, Kaibel, 773, which form occurs in prose, Bechtel, No. 119. Cf. the Attic Παιρισάδους No. 120, Παιρισάδου No. 122. εῦ is written in Hipponax, 19<sub>2</sub> δίγεῦς, 49<sub>2</sub> τριήρεῦς, and may be regarded as the successor of εο in Sim. Amorg. But tradition is worth little in such cases, as εῦ did not come into vogue at the stroke of twelve. The open forms

<sup>1</sup> Λευκ[ά]ριος Styra 19124, regarded by Merzdorf and Wackernagel as containing Λεῦ- = Λεω-, is an hypocoristic name for \*Λευκόκαρος (Bechtel).

<sup>2</sup> ἑορταί Luk. Syr. 10, v. l., with ὀρταί in the better MSS. The MSS. of Anakr. 54 have ἑορτήν.



still hold their ground in the Ionic elegiac poets: πολυανθέος Mimn. 2<sub>1</sub>; ἄνθεος Xenoph. 1<sub>6</sub>, cf. § 532. In the language of the people εο, when contracted, was contracted long before the time of Hdt., who either preserves the open vowels in verbal forms or permits contraction, e.g. ἐπηγγέλλεο, ἐτράπευ, πείθεο and τέρπευ, ἐπείκεο and βάλευ. For a complete chronological list of -εος, -εως in the genitive of κλεῖεσ- stems in inscriptions, see § 527 ff. Herodas has εὔντων 2<sub>85</sub>, εὔσαν 15<sub>16</sub> with an ευ that occurs nowhere else in this participle.

In derivatives from θεός<sup>1</sup>, Θεο-, in Θεοφῶν Thasos, 83<sub>5</sub>; -[κλ]ίδης Keos, 44 B 6; -κύδης Keos, 46; -δωρος Thasos, 77 B 8, Olbia, 131, 3, Halik. 240<sub>31</sub>, Samoth. 236; -δοσιδης Miletos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 328, -κρίνης 331; -δοτος Iasos, 105<sub>1</sub>, Klazom. Head, II. N. 491, Sam. 221<sub>4</sub>, Chios, Pasp. 13; -δοσίη Phanag. 164, 166, Theodosia, 127 (Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1866, p. 128), Lat. II 36; -γείτων Teos, 159<sub>1</sub>, Chios, Pasp. 3. Cf. *Jahrb. für Philol., Suppl.* V 487, No. 47, X 29, No. 21. -γένεως Thasos, 78 C 5, -τιμίδης 78 C 4, -τιμος Styra, 19<sub>376</sub>. -προπος Chios, 174 C 21, Iasos, J. H. S. IX 342; -φάνης Eryth. 206 B 63 (l. 21, 24 have Θεω-); -φρων Eryth. 206 C 11 (cf. Θε[ι]όφρων Eryth. 206 C 12); -πομπος Th. (L.) 6 C 10.

In Attic we often find Θεο- in proper names in sixth, fifth, and fourth century inscriptions parallel to the same names in Θου-. See K. Z. XXIX 138.

The ε of θεο- is sometimes omitted (Θόκλος 19<sub>206</sub>, Θοδίων 19<sub>378</sub>). Cf. Κλόδεινος 19<sub>221</sub>, and Megarian names in Θο-, *Mith.* VIII 189, 190. In reverse direction ο is omitted in Θεκλίδης 19<sub>209</sub>. See Baunack's *Studien*, I 229, § 138, and *Aiolic*, § 188, 16, 3.

#### Names in Θεω-:

-μαρ[ης] Eretria, 16 B 25 (340-278); -βουλος Naxos, 28; -δωρος Delos, 55, 330, Keos, 169<sub>5</sub>, Eryth. 206 B 42, Eryth. 207, Olbia, 131<sub>17, 21</sub>, Teos, 161 (also Θεω- in *Jahrb. für Phil., Suppl.* IV 478, No. 16; IV 484, No. 45; X 31, No. 3); -προπο(s) Miletos, 102<sub>3</sub>; Θεωπροπίδου Smyrna, 153<sub>28</sub>; -δοσίη Pantik. 119, 120, 122, Phanag. 165, 167, 168; -γνητος Smyrna, 153<sub>12</sub>; -τιμίδης Smyrna, 153<sub>19</sub>; -ξενίδης Smyrna, 153<sub>29</sub>; -ξενος Eryth. 206 B 24; -δάμας Keos, 169<sub>2</sub>; -δοτος (Et. Gud. 139<sub>52</sub>) Eryth. 206 A 26, which is an almost Attic inscription; -κριτος Eryth. 206 A 29; -πομπος Eryth. 206 B 21; Θεύγνιδος Theog. 22. Cf. θεός Sim. Amorg. 71, θεοῦ 71<sub>04</sub>, and elsewhere θεός in poetry. On coins in Imh.-Bl. G. M.: Θεύπορπος (Chios, No. 390), Θεύπορπος (Miletos, p. 646, correcting *Monn. gr.* 97). In the

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann, *Berichte d. königl. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.* 1889, p. 41, compares Skt. *ghōrās*. In this paper Brugmann mentions all the etymologies that have been proposed of the much disputed word θεός, except the one which I have here provisionally adopted (θεός = \*θφεος = Lith. *dvēsti*).

fifth century we find the names of immigrant Ionians upon Attic inscriptions, *e.g.* Θευγόνης C. I. A. I 324, D 8. In genuine Attic names the contraction (ov) varies with the uncontracted form as early as the sixth century. After 200 B. C. we find  $\epsilon + o = \epsilon v$  sporadically even in Attic words; Θευδόσιος C. I. A. II 445 E 16 (160 B. C.). Eustath. 775<sub>48</sub> and 1387<sub>27</sub>, Et. M. 448<sub>31</sub>, An. Par. III 242<sub>28</sub>, Choir. 421<sub>28</sub>, make mention of a  $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\nu$  (Ἄρτεμιν) without specifying the dialect. Cf. Kallim. frag. anon. 125, and  $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  VI 58. In Kretan we find Τευφίλω *Mus. It.* III 617, l. 10.

### 3. $\epsilon\iota o$ .

$\epsilon o < \epsilon\iota o$  in *verbal* forms is generally contracted in old Ionic poetry, the contraction being written  $\epsilon o$ . MSS. of the lyric poets vary between  $\epsilon o$  and  $\epsilon v$ , the Attic *ov* sometimes having been brought in by the copyists in the case of the earlier poets. In Theognis' later parts the *ov* is original. See under *Conjugation* for the parallelism of  $\epsilon o$  and  $\epsilon v$  forms. All instances of *ov* in pure Ionic documents must be regarded as foreign to the character of the dialect. In Ionic prose  $\epsilon o$  varies constantly with  $\epsilon v$ , the former being perhaps the more common<sup>1</sup>.  $\epsilon o$  in verbs in  $-\epsilon\omega$  parallel to those in  $-a\omega$  is scarcely ever contracted in the prose writers ( $\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\nu$  Hdt. III 140 *B<sup>2</sup>d*). On the genesis of this  $\epsilon o$ , see § 688.

On  $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}o\mu\alpha\iota$ , see § 167.

In *adjectival* forms:

In adj. of material the orthographically old form is preserved till the latest times; cf. under  $E + \Omega$ ,  $E + OI$ .

Hdt.  $\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon o\varsigma$ ;  $\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon o\nu$  114 E 8, Zeleia, Wood, *Discov. at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1, Aphrodisias, 254, of the imperial period, Olbia, 129, 12; Latyshev, *Inscr. antiq. orae septentr. Ponti Euxini*, I, Nos. 50, 54, 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 70 (after Christ), Samos 220<sub>18</sub>.

$\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon o\varsigma$  Hdt. III 47;  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  I 195, but Attic  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu o\upsilon\varsigma$  Samos, 220<sub>15</sub>,  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu o\upsilon\nu$  220<sub>25</sub> (despite  $\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon o\nu$  l. 18). The same inscription, dating from the middle of the fourth century, has  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda o\gamma o\upsilon\varsigma$  l. 23,  $-\acute{o}\upsilon\nu$  l. 22, 30 (cf. Plato, *Timaios*, 68 C).  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\epsilon o\nu$  appears in Pherekydes of Leros, 33 *h*, Hellan. 149, which fragment also contains  $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa o\upsilon\varsigma$  and  $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\eta$ .  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\epsilon o\nu$  Samos, 224, an inscription otherwise Hellenistic.  $\tau\acute{\omega}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\nu$  Hrd. 46<sub>2</sub> is a unique form.

$\acute{\alpha}\phi\nu\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  Theog. 188, 559,  $\pi\acute{\lambda}\epsilon o\varsigma$  in Hdt. with some of the oblique case forms in  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\nu$ - (see § 219, 3, and Bredow, p. 154),  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\eta\delta\epsilon o\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon o\varsigma$ ,  $\beta\acute{o}\epsilon o\varsigma$ ,  $\chi\eta\acute{\nu}\epsilon o\varsigma$ , adj. in  $-\lambda\epsilon o\varsigma$  are uncontracted; § 263, 3 *b*; 311.

*Nouns*:  $\acute{\omega}\epsilon o\nu$  Sim. Amorg. 11;  $\delta o\tau\acute{\epsilon} o\nu$  Hdt. probably from  $*\delta o\sigma\tau\epsilon i o\nu$ , cf. Skt. *ásthi*.  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon o\varsigma$ , by-form of  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota o\varsigma$ , with the same inner hiatus which has prevented  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon o\varsigma$ , &c. in Attic from

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Korinth. 14 quotes only forms in  $\epsilon o$ .



being regarded as direct descendants of the gen. -εἰος (nom. -ῖς). χρέος, ἀξιώχρεος are not beyond peradventure for \*χρηFος. If we assume χρη-ιος, we have the ablaut χρα- in χραισμέω. Cf. § 286, 1.

*Pronouns*: ἐμεῦ Mimn. 14<sub>2</sub>, Archil. 92; μεν Hippon. 62, Anakr. 76, 81; τευ Archil. 110. Herodoteian MSS. have both ἐμέο and ἐμεῦ. The forms in -ευ are to be adopted. See under *Pronouns*. On ἐμεῦ, &c. in Homer, see van Leeuwen, *Mnem.* XIII 188 ff., 400 ff. δτεύνεκεν occurs in Hrd. 7<sub>102</sub>.

σου, found Hippon. 76, μου 83, ἐμοῦ Arch. 111, are Atticisms to be removed in favour of the forms in ευ or εο. ου in Solon is correct. In Theognis both forms occur, and so in the later elegy and in the Anthology.

### 288.] H + O.

The Ionic dialect early developed an objection to η followed by ο. ηο is sometimes preserved when F originally separated the two vowels. It is indifferent whether η = I.E.  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{e}$ . Such forms as do not show *metathesis quantitatis* are to be regarded as archaisms: ληόν Hippon. 88; παιήονα Arch. 76<sup>1</sup>; νηός Arch. 4; παρήορος Arch. 56<sub>5</sub> (Hdt. and Attic μετέωρος). Are παρηρία· μωρία and πάρηπος (MSS. πάρερος)· ὁ μωρός in Hesychios Ionic? Ἄρηος Tyr. 11<sub>7</sub> (Ἄρηο Arch. 48, according to Fick, for Bergk's Ἄρεω)<sup>2</sup>. On Fick's restoration Ἰόληος, &c., see § 160. Elsewhere ηο, whether = I.E.  $\bar{e}vo$  or  $\bar{a}vo$ , suffers change to εω or εο (ευ): Arch. 58<sub>4</sub>, πλέως(?); Anakr. 94, πλέω; Hdt. πλέος (πλεο-); § 219, 3. It is not true that ηο <  $\bar{a}o$  became only εω in Ionic, and ηο = pan-Hellenic ηο, only εο. γηοχέοντι Hdt. VII 190 is unusual.

### 289.] E + Ω.

It is a noticeable feature in the history of εω in Ionic, that in early lyric poetry it is not dissyllabic in a single instance, a fact that leads us to doubt whether the pronunciation in ordinary speech was invariably  $\epsilon\omega$  and not diphthongal<sup>3</sup>. εω in Ionic, when originating from ηο, may at least in certain cases ( $\epsilon\omega$ ) be regarded as a diphthong with three moras: though its ω probably did not contain two moras, as the ε on the other hand may have had greater weight than a simple vowel containing a single mora. That εω is not a pure dissyllable is furthermore evidenced by the fact that it passes into a monophthong when actual contraction results after a vowel, as in the  $\hat{A}$  declension (§ 429, 2). The prose monuments of the dialect, and to a large extent the

<sup>1</sup> Solon, Παῖωνος 13<sub>57</sub>. Elsewhere παιών, see § 280. Hrd. 4<sub>11</sub> has Παίηον, cf. 4<sub>81</sub>; Παίων 4<sub>26</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> F is here in each case the intervening consonant. πόλλος alone lies outside of this category. On this form, see § 445. In ἀλῆον Naxos 23 H = open ε.

<sup>3</sup> The view upheld by Bechtel, that ε in εω must have been pronounced because ε appears in -ευ which originated from -εω (§ 287, 1), cannot be accepted until it has been shown that final -εω actually did become -ευ.



inscriptions, often unite in preserving the writing  $\epsilon\omega$  till a late period of the history of the dialect. The later writers in Ionic retain with considerable consistency the writing  $\epsilon\omega$ .

$\epsilon\omega$  in Ionic comes into existence from  $\eta\omicron$  = pan-Hellenic  $\eta\omicron$ , and from  $\eta\omicron$  = Aiolic and Doric  $\tilde{a}\omicron$ . As both  $\eta\omicron$ 's become  $\epsilon\omicron$ , so may both appear under the form of  $\epsilon\omega$ . Cf. the remarks on E + O. On the retention in Ionic poetry of  $\eta\omicron$  where the later dialect adopts  $\epsilon\omega$  or  $\epsilon\omicron$ , see under H + O.

1.  $\epsilon\omega$  after expulsion of F.

$\epsilon\omega$  may originate from  $\epsilon F\omega$ ,  $\eta F\omega$ , the  $\omega$  of which is either original or due to contraction; or it may arise from  $\eta F\omicron$  or  $\eta F\omega$ .

$\epsilon\omega$  from  $\epsilon F\omega$  appears in  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Anacr. 100<sub>3</sub>,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$  Ephesos 147<sub>7</sub>,  $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  and in all genitives from  $\epsilon\nu/\nu$  stems, and the corresponding adverbs ( $\pi\rho\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  Hippokr. II 676),  $\Pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Iasos 104<sub>50</sub>,  $\text{Κλυτιδέων}$  Chios 183 A 7.  $\text{Κλεώνυμος}$  Smyrna 153<sub>19</sub>, Thasos 82 B 9 is from  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon F\omicron + \omega\nu\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ; on  $\text{Ἡρακλεώτης}$  Eryth. 206 A 38, Halik. 241, see § 219.  $\epsilon\omega$  is from  $\epsilon + \omicron f\alpha$  or  $\epsilon + a f\omicron$  in  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\tau\alpha$  Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>9</sub> <  $\nu\acute{\epsilon} f\omicron f\alpha\tau\alpha$ , not from  $\nu\epsilon f\omicron f\epsilon\tau\alpha$ ;  $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  Theog. 805, Samoth. 236, from  $*\theta\eta\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  <  $\theta\eta f\alpha f\omicron\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ .  $\text{Λεώδεις}$  Thas. 77 B 4 <  $\Lambda\eta\omicron + a\delta-$  ( $\text{Λεάδης}$  Styra 19<sub>242</sub> is =  $\Lambda\eta(F\omicron) f\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$ ).

$\epsilon\omega$  from  $\eta f\omicron$  <  $\tilde{a} f\omicron$  generally remains open.  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$  Arch. 83, while Mimm. 12<sub>3</sub> has the obsolescent  $\text{Ἡώς}$ ;  $\nu\epsilon\omega\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  Samos 222;  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$  Hdt., Hippokr., and Attic,  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  Hom. In connexion with this word we may mention  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\rho\tau\omicron$  in Hesychios =  $\eta\omicron\rho\tau\omicron$ , for which we find  $\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\tau\omicron$  Γ 272, T 253. Furthermore in  $\lambda\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}$  Arch. 88, with which cf. Hesychios'  $\lambda\alpha\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\Sigma\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ , and see below p. 265, note.  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  Hdt.,  $\text{Ἀρκεσίλεως}$  Styra 19<sub>15</sub>,  $\text{Λεώβριμος}$  19<sub>38</sub> show that  $\lambda\eta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  was antiquated in the time of Hipponax (fr. 88). The change of  $\tilde{a}$  to  $\eta$  precedes in time the *metathesis quantitatis*.

Diphthongal  $\epsilon\omega$  appears in  $\text{Λεώφιλος}$  Archil. 69. Cf. names in  $\Lambda\epsilon\nu-$ , § 160.  $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha$  Hippon. 43<sub>4</sub> <  $*\kappa\upsilon\kappa\eta\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (cf.  $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\acute{\omega}$  Λ 624),  $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  Theog. 1192, Hom.  $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , Hdt.  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ .

$\epsilon\omega$  is derived from pan-Hellenic  $\eta f\omicron$  in  $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  Anacr. 94, and perhaps Arch. 58<sub>4</sub>; and in  $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega$  Olbia 128<sub>23, 33, 51</sub>, from the nominative  $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>,  $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$  Attic and Hdt. III 141 (contracted in (Attic?)  $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$  Eryth. 206 A 40). It also appears in the genitive of  $\eta\nu$  stems (with pan-Hellenic  $\eta$ ), where Homer has  $-\eta\omega\nu$ . Later Ionic has  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ , Homer  $-\eta\omega\nu$  and a few cases of  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ .

$\omega$  perhaps from  $\epsilon\omega$  (original  $\tilde{a} f\omega$ ).

$\xi\nu\nu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\eta$  Arch. 86<sub>2</sub> =  $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\nu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  is from  $\xi\nu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  =  $\xi\nu\nu\acute{\eta}\omega\nu$ , Hsd. Th. 595, 601 =  $\xi\nu\nu\tilde{a} f\omega\nu$ , Doric  $\xi\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  and  $\xi\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , Attic  $\xi\nu\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$ .  $\text{Ποσειδῶν}$  is found Archil. 114, to which  $\text{Ποσειδέων}$  is to be preferred (Herod. π. μ. λ. 11, 6, Renner, p. 190).  $\text{Ποσειδάωνος}$ , by conj., Archil. 10; Hdt. has  $\text{Ποσειδέων}$ .

2.  $\epsilon\omega$  after expulsion of  $\sigma$ .

The Ionic genitive in  $-\epsilon\omega$  = Homeric  $-\tilde{a}o$  is represented on the Naxian inscription, No. 23, by  $\eta o$  ( $\Delta\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta o$ ), where  $HO$  is a diphthong, whose  $\eta$  is not metrically equivalent to Homeric  $\tilde{a}$  in  $-\tilde{a}o$ .

$-\epsilon\omega$  in the Ionic elegiac and iambic poets is a monosyllable: in Hdt. we have  $\beta o\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  for  $\beta o\rho\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\omega$ , on which see § 429, 2. Upon inscriptions in the fifth century we find only  $-\epsilon\omega$  and  $-\omega$ ; in the following century  $-\epsilon\nu$  comes to light as well as the forms from analogy to the  $-\epsilon s$  declension.  $-\omega$  from  $\epsilon\omega < \eta(\sigma)\iota o$  appears in the forms  $\text{'}\Lambda\nu\nu\iota\kappa\tilde{\omega}$  Chios, 174 C 13 (fifth century),  $\text{'}\text{A}\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$  *ibid.* C 27,  $\text{P}\nu\theta\tilde{\omega}$  *ibid.* D 4,  $\text{A}\nu\sigma\tilde{\omega}$  D 17, which are the result of the contraction of  $\epsilon + \omega$  reduced from  $\epsilon\epsilon\omega$ . With  $\text{'}\text{A}\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$ , cf.  $\text{P}\alpha\nu\sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\omega$  Abdera, 163<sub>16</sub>. These genitives, as Bechtel has shown (*Ion. Insch.* 109, *B. B.* X 280 ff.), do not represent a different period of the dialect from those in  $-\epsilon\omega$ . Those in  $-\epsilon\epsilon\omega$  are probably grammatical figments. Since upon the same inscription (*e.g.* 240) the forms in  $-\epsilon\omega$  and  $-\tilde{\omega}$  occur, since  $-\epsilon\omega$  is a diphthong, and finally, since the  $\epsilon$  of the genitive had not disappeared from the Ionic genitive in the third century B. C.,  $-\epsilon\omega$  and  $-\tilde{\omega}$  must be mere graphical variations of one and the same ending.  $\text{M}\nu\chi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omega\nu$  Naxos, 27,  $\text{'}\text{E}\rho\mu\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omega$  Chios, 180, and  $\text{'}\text{A}\gamma\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omega$  Olbia, 131, 11, are thought by Bechtel to owe their existence to the workings of analogy. As in Attic  $\text{'}\text{A}\lambda\alpha\iota\tilde{\alpha}s$ ,  $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\pi\tilde{\iota}\alpha s$  are older than  $\text{'}\text{A}\lambda\alpha\iota\acute{\epsilon}\alpha s$ ,  $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\alpha s$ , so  $\text{'}\text{A}\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$  is older than  $\text{'}\text{E}\rho\mu\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omega$ ,  $\tilde{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\iota\tilde{\omega}\nu$  older than  $\text{M}\nu\chi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omega\nu$ . Cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XVI 185.

In  $\text{P}\alpha\nu\alpha\mu\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  Halik. 238<sub>12</sub>, 240 A 11;  $\text{P}\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  Myl. 248 C 3, 13;  $\text{'}\text{A}\rho\chi\alpha\gamma o\rho\tilde{\omega}$  Halik. 240 B 3;  $\text{M}\iota\kappa\iota\nu\nu\tilde{\omega}$  240 A 38;  $\text{B}\rho\acute{\omega}\omega$  Ditt. *Syll.* 6 D 22, we have the contraction. After  $\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$  is fused in verbs, *e.g.* in the future.

$\epsilon\omega$  from  $\eta\sigma\omega$ .

$\epsilon\omega$  is diphthongal in the gen. pl.  $\tilde{A}$  declension.  $\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\theta o\nu$  Naxos 23, I regard not as  $=\eta o\nu$ , as Fick takes it, *B. B.* XI 268, but as  $=\epsilon\omega\nu$ , the H expressing the open quality of the  $e$  sound (cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XV 229; Blass, *Aussprache*,<sup>3</sup> 24 ff.). There appears to be no warrant for deriving  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$  from  $-\eta o\nu$ , attested at best in this single instance.

Attic  $-\omega$  arises from  $-\epsilon\omega$  (either from pan-Hellenic  $\eta o$  or Attic-Ionic  $\eta o$ ) when either  $\epsilon$  or  $\omega$  was tonic. Ionic resisted the operation of this law until a late period in its history. Whether accent position ( $\text{—} \eta o\text{—}$ , or  $\eta o\text{—}$ ) should have produced  $\epsilon o$  is not clear. It is, however, certain that unaccented pan-Hellenic  $\eta o$  became  $\epsilon\omega$ . Cf. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 169.

$\epsilon\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$ , from  $\epsilon\sigma\omega$ .

$\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Amorg. 35, epigram, Mimn. 3;  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\nu$  Xenoph. 2<sub>11</sub>. Adverbs in  $-\epsilon\omega s$ <sup>1</sup>:  $\tilde{\alpha}\delta\eta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega s$  Chios, 174 B 12; Theog. 406,  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega s$  (so

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. 451, Vat. 697, Hdn. II 388<sub>26</sub> = schol. § 485.



Demokr. *Mor.* 22, Herodas V), σαφηνέως 963; νηλεώς Anakr. 75<sub>2</sub> (< νηλεέως) as Hdt. ἀκλεώς V 77, ἀδεώς I 216 (-έως?); ἀσφαλέως Archil. 58<sub>4</sub>, 66<sub>4</sub>; ἐμμελέως Anakr. 40<sub>2</sub> if glyconic (but see Rossbach, *Metrik* 563); Hdt. τελέως, ἀληθέως, σαφηνέως, &c. Hippokr. ξυνεχέως, ἀτρεμέως (-ῶς occasionally in MSS.), Protag. νηπενθέως, Diog. Apoll. 6 ἀτρεκέως (*sic* Simpl., who has however ἐμφανῶς in fr. 5), &c. Cf. -ῶ in the genitive from -εω.

εω, εῶ, from εσω in other forms.

In the future of liquid verbs we find εω, never ω, in Herodoteian MSS. Archil., Hipponax and Theognis have ἐρέω. In the participle Hdt. has ἀγγελέων, &c. εἰδέωσιν Halik. 238<sub>21</sub>, Demokr. 87, Attic εἰδῶσιν Ephesos 147<sub>17</sub> (300 B. C.).

θεῶν Arch. tr. 25<sub>3</sub>, Mimn. 2<sub>4</sub>, 9<sub>6</sub>, Xenoph. 1<sub>24</sub>, Solon 4<sub>2</sub>, 13<sub>3</sub>, but θεῶν 13<sub>30</sub>, and Archil. 84<sub>2</sub>, Hipponax 30 A, Anakr. 65<sub>4</sub>. The form with synizesis is found as early as Hesiod, *Th.* 44. In the genitive plural of nouns of the sigmatic declension both -εων and -εων occur in poetry, see § 537. The prose form is always open.

3. εω after expulsion of *yod*.

From -ηιο- we have εω in διψέων (-υ-) Archil. 68, διψέωντα Anakr. 57, according to Fick (*B. B.* XI 265), for διψῶντα.

χρέωμαι, the genuine Ionic form (whatever be made of Hdt.'s χρέομαι in *P* from II 77 on) is = \*χρηιομαι. See §§ 167, 687. Hdt. has χρέωνται, ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενος. From χρῆν, *pronounce*, χρῆσθαι, *interrogate an oracle*, we have in Hdt. χρέωσα, χρεώμενος, ἐχρέωντο (*P* here too ἐχρέοντο V 82, VII 141). From σμῆν, *διασμέωντες* II 37 (Stein, Kallenberg, -σμώντες); hence ἐξέσμεων III 148. If νῆν is the Herodoteian form, we would expect ἐπινέωσι IV 62; if νεῖν, then ἐπινέουσι.

εῶ from εω in verbs remains uncontracted in the MSS. of the prosaists, though contraction may have ensued by the year 500 B. C. In the poets εω is a monosyllable or is actually contracted. Under the head of *Contract Verbs* are given the forms in εω, εῶ, ω. A few verbs in -αω become -εω (εἰρωτέω, ὀρέω, φοιτέω), § 688. Here too are to be classed participial nouns: προμαχέων Hdt. (προμαχῶνες Teos, 159<sub>9</sub>, Attic form); Ἀρκέων Styra, 19<sub>17</sub>; Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος Thasos, 73.

ὀστέων Archil. 84.

πόλεως (occurrences under § 486), a genuine Ionic form, from πόλῃος. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 169, proposes to explain the εω of πόλεως on the theory that if the accent fell upon a syllable preceding or following ηο, εω and not ω, is the result. Cf. Attic γεω- < γη(ι)ο- in λεπτόγεως, γεωμετρία, Hdt. γεωπέινης (Greg. Kor. 114), γειωπέινας, γεωρυχέω, γεώπεδον (γηοχέω VII 190). -εως from -ηος in the ι decl. is not contracted in any dialect.



Adjectives denoting a material retain the uncontracted<sup>1</sup> form until far into the imperial period. ἀργυρέω Olbia, 129<sub>13</sub>; χρυσέωι Ephes. 147<sub>9</sub>, Latyshev, *Inscr. antiq. orae septentr. Ponti Eux.* I, No. 67, Wood, *Discov. at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1. But χρυσέω Mimn. 11<sub>6</sub>, and one case of -ώι, Latyshev, *l. l.* No. 57. Adjectives in -λεος with but a few exceptions fail to contract any form: ἀργαλέω Tyrt. 12<sub>28</sub>. See § 263, 1, b.

In superlatives from stems in -εο-, e.g. τελεωτάτη Demokr. 128. On Ἡρακλεώτης, &c., see § 219.

In the pronominal declension we find ἡμέων, υμέων: see Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 96.

*Suffix* -εων in ἀνδρεών, ποδεών (Bekk. Anecd. I 8<sub>15</sub>), φαρετρεών, &c. in Hdt., cf. πυλεών Demokr. 60.

4. εω where no consonant intervened:

ἀφέω Hipponax, 75, from \*ἀφήω, cf. Hdt. ἀποστέωσι. In Hdt. the εω of the aorist passive is not contracted (ἀπαιρεθέω, ἐσσωθέωμεν, φανέωσι).

Hyper-Ionic -εων occurs in the gen. of consonantal stems, of οὔτος, in πεπέων Arét. 290, &c. See § 480.

## 290.] H + Ω.

ηω is preserved as an archaic form; e.g. in Ἡώς<sup>2</sup> Mimn. 12<sub>3</sub>, 10, and in Hdt. through the protection offered by F (ἥως from \*ἄυσως, K. Z. XXX 422, note 2). On Archil. 83 ἔωθεν, see Bartholomae, K. Z. XXIX 522. Elsewhere H + (F, ι, σ) + Ω becomes εω, whether η = ā or pan-Hellenic η.

## 291.] E + Υ.

The elegy still preserves ἐϋ-, if the possibility of this reading may be regarded as a criterion (ἐνπλοκάμου Arch. 11; ἐνφροσύνη Xenoph. 1<sub>4</sub>; ἐνστεφάνου Theog. 1339; cf. 548, 574), while εὔ is permitted (Archil. 19, Theog. 639, 845, &c.). Iambic poetry records εὔ in εὔφρων Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>99</sub>, εὔτυχέι 7<sub>83</sub>, εὔ 1<sub>17</sub>. In Anakr. εὔθειρα 76.

## 292.] O + A.

1. of ᾶ.

αὐτώδης according to Apoll. Dysk. *Pron.* 94 C, whereas we read αὐθαδέστεροι Hdt. VI 92<sup>3</sup>. Compounds of ἄναξ: χειρωναξιέων Hdt.; Σιμώνακτος Hippon. 55 B; Ἰππώνακτος Hippon. 13, cf. An. Ox. II 225<sub>34</sub> (Choirob.); Ἀριστώνακτο Chios, 177<sub>15</sub>; Ἐρμώναξ Iasos, 104<sub>14</sub>, Eryth. 206 B 13; Δημώνακτος 206 B 21, Thas. (L.)

<sup>1</sup> χρυσέω, ἀργυρέω are quoted from Homer as Ionic by Joh. Gr. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Et. M. 440<sub>55</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> αὐθαδής is from αὐτα-αδής (ἄδος) or αὐτα + ηδής (ἥδος) not, as Aristotle and some moderns think (cf. Wilamowitz, *Herakl.* 1243) from αὐτοαδής. See K. Z. XXVIII 130.

4 B 10, 14<sub>3</sub>, Thasos, 81 B 4; Τιμῶναξ Thasos, 75 B 4, Ἀνδρῶνα(ξ) Imh. Bl. *G. M.* 377 (Chios); Μανδρῶναξ Klazom. *l. l.* 257, Ποσιδῶναξ Ephesos, *l. l.* 279 A, Head, *H. N.* 491. It seems not easily credible that in most of these compound proper names the termination -ωναξ should be due to the influence of such names as Πυθῶναξ (which depends upon Πύθων); and that there should be merely an echo of the vocative ὦναξ in the names of the Ionian aristocrats. See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXIX 143, who would even set aside χειρῶναξ as an example of the contraction of *ofa* to ω.

πρῶτος from \*προφatos (or perhaps from \*πρωφatos), Keos, 43<sub>16</sub>, Styra, 19<sub>47</sub>. Other examples of *ofa*=ω are κυματώγη Hdt. IV 196, IX 100, ὦσί Anakr. 21<sub>4</sub> < \*ῶατσι, Hom. οὔατ- < οὔσατ-. οὔασι Sim. K (?) 85<sub>1</sub>. See § 255 and Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 407. On Hippokr. ὦτις (ὀτίς) VI 356, see Littré.

o(*f*)a uncontracted in ἀκήκοα. νεοάλωτοι Hdt. IX 120 is felt to be a compound.

## 2. οσα̃

=ω in κακίω Archil. 6<sub>4</sub>; κρέσσω Anan. 3<sub>3</sub>; ἀμείνω Theog. 409 [πλείω 907, not certain]. Hdt. has ἐλάσσω, καλλίω, ἀμείνω, πλέω, &c., as well as the ν forms. Hdt. αἰδῶ I 8 (Greg. Korinth. § 35, says αἰδοῦν is Ionic); ἦω Hdt. II 8.

3. *Crasis* (cf. Greg. Korinth. § 29): ὀπόλλων Hippon. 45, τῶντικνήμειον Hippon. 49<sub>6</sub>, τῶρχαῖον, ὠνήρ, τῶγαλμα, τῶληθές in Hdt., ὠνθρωπος often in Hippokr. render ἄμ, Thasos, 68 A, very noticeable, if Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, 126) is correct in regarding it as=δ ἄμ. o + a results in a in Eleian, Argolic, Korinthian, and in other dialects of the Doric class. In Attic we find a in Ἀθηναῖος, τᾶγαλμα *Mith.* III, p. 230, 5 (before 343 B.C.), and also ω in πρῶτος<sup>1</sup>, τῶγάλματος C. I. A. I 322 A 75 (transcribed by Kirchhoff τοῦ(ᾶ)γ-). The parallelism of Attic and Ionic makes it probable that o + a may become ω and a. Ἀμοιβίχου=δ Ἀμ- Abu-Simbel (Roberts I 130) cannot be cited as evidence, since the name is not that of an Ionian. Absence of crasis is frequent upon the inscriptions; e.g. τὸ ἄδος Halik. 238<sub>19</sub>.

oi + a in ὦλλοι: ὦλλοι μὲν ῥα αἱ τοιαῦται συναλοῖσθαι τῆς δευτέρας εἰσὶν Ἰάδος, ἢ Ὅμηρος οὐκ ἐχρήσατο<sup>2</sup>: Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 998, 1081 refers the form to the νεωτέρα Ἰάς. Cf. Theokritos, XVIII 17. ὦλλοι Hdt. I 48, ὠνθρωποι VII 11, ὠνδρες IV 134; ou + a in τῶπόλλωνος Chalkis 13<sub>12</sub>, Halik. 238<sub>36</sub>, Naukratis, e.g. I 6, 68-70, 72, 74, 76-79, 81-83, 139-141 (but τᾶπόλλωνος 156-158, 250, 257-258, &c.); τῶγῶνος Teos 156 B 32; but τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος

<sup>1</sup> Unless πρῶτος is for \*πρωφatos.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hdn. II 344 = Et. Mag. 821<sub>29</sub>. The form ὦλλοι is found in MSS. of Homer, and was read by Zenod. B 1, K 1, but rejected by Aristarchos in favour of ἔλλοι because of his belief as to the absence of the article from Homer; see § 258 on Aristarchos' ὥριστος.



Amphip. 10<sub>13</sub>, Eretria 15<sub>15</sub>, Milet. 98, τοῦ Ἀφυσίος Halik. 238<sub>14</sub>. With τὰπόλλων[os] in the inscriptions of Naukratis, cf. ἄμ above. τὰνθρώπου in *PRd* Hdt. II 121 (ζ) and τὰληθές in *PR* VII 139 are not easy to defend. In Hrd. 4<sub>12</sub> τοῦ ἀλέκτορος is *scriptio plena*.

### 293.] O + Ā.

In accus. pl. of Ā stems o + ā < avs remains uncontracted.

### 294.] Ω + A.

Σῶνδρος Amorg. 32 is rather from <σων=σω before vowels (Spitzer, *Lautl. des Arkad.* 43, 44) than from σασο. See § 277. Ὠρίων Miletos 93 (Pindar Ὠαρίωνα) and in Homer, though Nauck proposes to substitute Ὠαρίων- for Ὠρίων-. Cf. Menrad, p. 13. ζῳάγρια Hdt. III 36 recalls Σ 407; elsewhere ζωγ- with accented ω.

The MSS. of Hdt. have both ἥρωα, μήτρωα, and, by analogy to the vowel declension, ἥρων, πάτρων.

By *crasis*: ὦνθρωπε Hdt. I 35, Theog. 453; ὦναξ Anakr. 2, Hdt. IV 150, 155, VII 141, ὦνδρες Hrd. 2<sub>61</sub>; τῶπόλλωνι Miletos 96, 97, Naukratis, Roberts I 132 *ter*, and very many times in the inscriptions discovered at Naukratis; τῶκινάκη Anakreon 136 (Et. Mag. 514<sub>28</sub>). The article does not coalesce with the following word in τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι Naukr. I 2, 345-6, Milet. 93; τῶι Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ωι Halik. 238<sub>45</sub>, an inscription that refuses to adopt *crasis*.

*Synizesis*: ἐγὼ Ἀμφυταίην Hrd. 54.

### 295.] O + E.

1. ofe yields oe and ou in the poets. Arch. ἱμερόεντα 8, σπουρόεντα 9<sub>1</sub>, αἱματόεν 9<sub>8</sub>, χρυσοέθειρ 121; Mimn. ἀλγινόεσσαν 11<sub>2</sub>, αἱματόεντος 14<sub>7</sub>; Anakr. ἐρόεσσαν 17<sub>2</sub>, δακρνώεσσαν 31, δακρνώεντα 94<sub>2</sub>, κεροέσσης 51<sub>2</sub>; Xenoph. ἀλγινόεσσαν 2<sub>4</sub>; Phokylides ἱμερόεντος 38. ἀνθεμεύντας (ou?) Anakr. 62<sub>2</sub>, χαριτεῦν 44 (ou? or, preserving χαρίεν, read χ. γὰρ ἦθος (ἰσχεις)), Βατουσιάδης Arch. 104<sub>2</sub> < Βατοῦς = Βατοείς, are the only examples of contraction in forms of -οεις; see § 314. In Homer -οεις does not become -οῦς, hence Aristarchos' λωτοῦντα M 283 is suspicious. There is evidence making for the late date of the passage.

In the compound τε(σ)σερακαιεβδο[μη]ροντούτης Paros 58, ofe is contracted; cf. Arrian's τεσσαρακούντεες 9<sub>5</sub>, τριακοντούτεες 9<sub>7</sub>. In the adjectival and participial formations: Τειχιού(σ)σης Miletos 28 (Τειχοφετιης); Μαραθοῦντα Eryth. 201<sub>26</sub>; θανοῦσαν 264, Adesp., στέγουσαν Keos 47<sub>12</sub>; Φοινικοῦσαι Hek. (Steph. Byz. s. v.), Ἐρμώνοσσα Chios 174 A 2, 4 has been read by Blass -νουσσα, but is properly an example of vowel assimilation; in Hdt. Οἰνοῦσαι, Σελινούσιοι, Ὀπούντιοι, Συρακούσιοι (on Συρακόσιοι see above, § 255). oe remains open in Μολόεντα Hdt.



IX 57, Μυρικόεντα Hek. 209, Σολόεντος Hdt. II 32, Αἰγιοέσσα I 149, μελιτόεσσα VIII 41, Σκολοπόεντα IX 97, τριηκοντοέτιδας VII 149, but these are all forms out of date in Hdt.'s day. οε also remains open in εὐνοέσπερον Hdt. V 24, Hrd. 6<sub>72</sub>.

The concurrence of a stem in ε/ο and -εργο- or -φεντ-, as the latter member of a compound, is dealt with in the dialects in different ways. The original ablaut form, -Forγός, gave way at an early period to -Φεργός, as is shown by Homeric δημοεργός ρ 383. See Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 213; §§ 149, 150 above; *A. P. A.* XVIII 95, 158; Meister, *G. D.* II 41, to whom I owe much of the material given below; Bennett 28 ff.; Johansson *D. V. C.* 19 ff.

#### I. The vowels are uncontracted.

ὀβριμοεργῶν Kallin. 3; ἀγαθοεργῶν Hdt. I 67, ἀγαθοεργίην III 160, ἀγαθοεργίαι III 154 in *PR*; δημοεργοί VII 31, and so the editors in IV 194, despite all the MSS. It is not easily credible that the Ionic of the fifth century should have differentiated between ἀγαθοεργός and κακοῦργος. Either the forms were open or they were closed. But exceptions might be made in favour of ἀγαθοεργοί, δημοεργοί if used as technical expressions. λυκιοεργέας Hdt. VII 76 (*sic* Athenaios; *PR* λυκοεργέας, *reliqui* λυκερ-; cf. below III B); Σ]ελινόεντ[ι] Selinus C. D. I. 3045 A 9; Ὀπόεντι Lokris, C. D. I. 1478 B 33; Μυρικόεντα Hekat. 209; παντοέρκτεω Herodas 5<sub>42</sub>.

#### II. The vowels are contracted.

(A) ο + ε becomes ου.

On forms in Hdt., see above.

παραλουργέα Xenoph. 33; Λυκοῦργος Styra 19<sub>15</sub> and Chios (Paspatis. p. 39); κακοῦργος, κρεουργηδόν, ὑπουργέω, ξυλουργέω Hdt: (Stein, *Preface*, liii); ἐπικαινουργεῖν Dem. *Mor.* 20<sub>17</sub>; ἐριουργῆσαι *Vita Hom.* 4; ξοανουργίης Luk. *Syr.* 34; μουσουργίη *Astr.* 10, *Vit. auct.* 3; λειτουργοί, δημιουργικόν Arrian 12<sub>1</sub>; ὑπουργήματα Euseb. *Mynd.* 10; κακούργων Hipp. III 238; ὑπουργῆσαι Hipp. ep. 14<sub>1</sub>. Τηιουργός, Μιλησιουργίης, Χιουργίης, in the inventory of the temple of the Delian Apollo (*B. C. H.* VI 29 = Ditt. *Syll.* 367) are too late (185–180 B.C.) to be cited as evidence. So too in North-West Greek, δαμιουργός Phokis (Ditt. *Syll.* 294<sub>33</sub>), of the second century B.C., Argolic, *l. l.* 389<sub>26</sub>, δαμιουργήσας Kameiros in Rhodes, *Revue Arch.* XIV 336, No. 59; Lokris, Ὀπούντιοι C. D. I. 1503, 1504, A 2, B 2, 1505, 1509 B, 1510 (Hdt. VII 203), Ὀποῦντι 1502<sub>3</sub> (all late inscriptions); Σελινοῦντιος C. D. I. 3044, Megara (so Bechtel edits, but in his note suggests Σελινοντ-). The Megarian dialect contracted ο + ε to ου even in an early period (the inscription is written βουστροφηδόν). The uncontracted form too held its ground in Selinus (above I).

Contraction to *ευ* has been assumed on the strength of *Καρικευργέος* Anakr. 91, as written by Bergk for Strabo's *Καριοεργ-*. This contraction belongs in the same class as *ἐδικαίειν* with hyper-Ionic *ευ*, § 690. The form is handed down with *-οεργέος* by Eust. 367<sup>25</sup>, 707<sup>61</sup>, Et. Gud. 297<sup>43</sup>, schol. Iliad Θ 193 (where *καριοεργέος* is also read, see III B below); cf. Et. Mag. 489<sup>39</sup>, where Flor. adds *καριοεργ-*.

*λεουργός*, Doric according to Photios for Attic and Ionic *λεωργός* (Archil. 88, *Prometh.* 5, Xen. *Mem.* I 3, 9), is a mistaken form. With *λεωργός* compare the adv. *λέως* which the grammarians called Ionic. Archil. 112 has *λείως* = *τελέως*.

(B) *ο* + *ε* becomes *ω* according to some scholars (Roehl, G. Meyer, Blass) where syllabic hyphaeresis and lengthening of the first vowel are preferable. *ω* is however certain in: *ἀμπελωργικά* Herakl. Tables II 43; *Τελφῶσσα*, a spring in Boiotia (Ahrens I 173) and elsewhere (see Pape). But the usual form is *Τελφούση*, and *ου* appears in *Τελφούσιον* St. Byz., *Τέλφουσα* in Arkadia, *Τελφούσιος*, &c.

III. In the following forms it has been thought that either *ε* or *ο* has been expelled. Some of the cases of the supposed loss of *ε* may be explained as arising from *-ο + Forγ, ὄργ* being lightened to *οργ*, as *ὄντ* to *-οντ*<sup>1</sup>.

(A) *ε* is expelled in *ἄλοργήν* Samos 220<sup>15, 16, 19</sup>, *ἄλοργά* 220<sup>36</sup>, *ἄλοργούς* 220<sup>23</sup>, *ἄλοργοῦν* 220<sup>22, 30</sup>, *ἄλοργάς* 220<sup>28</sup>, *παραλοργές* 220<sup>21</sup>, *δημιοργοῦ* 220<sup>29</sup>. *ἱοργίαι* is the reading of *ABC* in Hdt. V 83, where *ἱουργίαι* is usually edited. *δημιοργῶν* Samos, *R. M.* XXII, 313, l. 1. In the other dialects we find *δαμιοργός* Andania, Cauer 47<sup>116</sup>, first century; Megara, *Mitth.* VIII 191, No. 5, Cauer 104<sup>19</sup> (Aigosthenai, third century); Knidos, Cauer 166<sup>7</sup> (first cent.); Kameiros, Cauer 187<sup>1</sup> (conj.)<sup>2</sup>; Astypalaia, *B. C. II.* VIII 26 B 7, 8 (in an inscription from Amorgos); Telos, Cauer 169<sup>2</sup>; Argos, Cauer 48 (conj., fifth cent.); Arkadia, *C. D. I.* 1181<sup>9</sup> (third cent.), *B. C. H.* VII 489; Boiot., *Mitth.* VI 304<sup>3, 9</sup>; Achaia (Ditt. *Syll.* 182<sup>13</sup> (second cent.), 242<sup>21</sup> (second cent.)), *B. C. H.* II 97, l. 16; Lokrian, *C. D. I.* 1476<sup>2-3</sup>; Oianthea, *C. D. I.* 1479<sup>15</sup> (fifth cent.), 1480 (fifth cent.), Pamphylia, *C. D. I.* 1260 (late), 1261 (late). Cf. Dumont, *Cér.* 138 ff. Also in *Ὀλόντιοι* in Krete, *C. I. G.* 2554<sup>3</sup>, *Ὀ]ποντίων* *C. D. I.* 1478<sup>11</sup>, cf.<sup>14</sup> (fifth cent.), as we find *ΟΠΟΝΤΙΟΝ* on the older coins (*Ὀπόεντι*<sup>33</sup>); *Σελινόντιος*, as Bechtel proposes to read *C. D. I.* 3044, Selinus instead of *-ουντιος*.

(B) *ο* is expelled.

*δαμιοργός* Nisyros, Ditt. *Syll.* No. 1959 (about 200 B.C.);

<sup>1</sup> This lightening of long vowel before the two consonants is here not due to the operation of the old principle which effected this change. In the late dialectal period of the language the old principle was resuscitated after having fallen into abeyance.

<sup>2</sup> For *δαμιοϜΤήσας*.



λινεργής Lykophr. 716. Both are doubtless due to the influence of ἔργον. Cf. § 149. On Καριεργέος, see II B, note.

1. In infinitives of -οω verbs, ο + *ἔν* (or *σεν*) or ο + spurious *ει* has invariably yielded *ου*. ὀρκοῦν Halik. 238<sub>26</sub>; βεβαιοῦν 240<sub>4, 5</sub>; also ο + *ἔν* = *ου* as in δοῦ(ν)αι Priene 144<sub>8</sub>; διδοῦν Oropos 18<sub>21, 33</sub>, Thasos 72<sub>11</sub>. ῥιγοῦν Hdt. V 92 (η) = Attic ῥιγῶν (ῥιγω + *εν*); ῥιγοῦν occurs after Plato. We should expect ῥιγῶν in Hdt.

2. οσε.

Becomes *ου* regularly; e.g. μέλους Xenoph. 34; ἀμείνους V 78, πλέους II 8 (πλείους R. A.) 120 (πλείους in all MSS.) are the only contracted forms in Hdt. of the nom. pl. of these comparatives. Compounds of ἔχω (-οχο-) are always contracted, e.g. πατροῦχος Hdt. VI 57.

3. οξε.

In verbs in -οω, οξε invariably becomes *ου*. See under *Conjugation*.

4. Κλεομπόρου Lampsakos 171 is from κλεο + ἔμπορος.

5. *Crasis*: in lyric poetry: προῦθηκε Arch. trim. 38; τοῦπίθημα Hippon. trim. 56; προῦπιεν Hippon. trim. 39<sub>3</sub>; προῦδωκα Theog. 529; *προ-* is not contracted in the Ionic of Hdt. Lukian, *Syr.* 24, Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>34</sub>, Herodas 3<sub>12</sub> have προῦ-; but Arrian, *Ind.* 22<sub>2</sub>, 34<sub>4</sub>, Euseb. Mynd. 21, 41, Hippokr. ep. 27<sub>19</sub>, *προε-*. *Crasis* occurs also in οὔτερος Hdt. I 34, 134, III 78 (*R* ὁ ἐτ-); τοὔτερον Hdt. I 32, 186, τοὔτέρου Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>113</sub>, and also in Hippon. 18<sub>3</sub>, where in Vit. 2 it is glossed by ἰωνικῶς (a striking example of the *crasis* of ἔτερος in Attic is οὔτερά in Aristotle's *Ἀθην. πολιτ.*); τοὔργον Herodas 4<sub>32</sub>, 7<sub>121</sub>; τοῦναντίον Euseb. Mynd. 2; but τὸ ἐλάχιστον Hdt. II 13, τὸ ἔσχατον VII 229, τὸ ἔδαφος VIII 137, though *crasis* is probable. *ου* + *ε* in τοῦρμοκράτεος Prokon. 103<sub>2</sub>; οὔνεκ' Sol. trim. 37<sub>5</sub>, Theog. 854, 1349, οὔνεκεν Herodas 1<sub>84</sub>, 2<sub>21</sub>, 6<sub>15</sub>; τοὔνεκα Theog. 488, Luk. *Syr.* 33, 39, 54, τοὔνεκεν Xenoph. 2<sub>19</sub>. This *ου* is not a diphthong.

6. *Aphaeresis* occurs in ποταμοῦ 'πανέρχομαι Anakr. 23, κοῦ 'στιν Herodas 5<sub>9</sub>. *Synizesis* in προεκεπονῇ Sim. Amorg. 22.

296.] O + H.

1. οφη.

οφη is always uncontracted in compounds the stem of whose first member ends in -ο, e.g. κακοηθίη Demokr. *Mor.* 22, according to Stobaios, χειροήθης Hdt. II 69, νοῆρες Hrd. 7<sub>3</sub>.

οφη also remains open in ἀθρόην Arch. 35, &c. ζόη Hdt., Hrd. 4<sub>34</sub>, 6<sub>8</sub>, Aiolic ζοῖα < ζω-.

οφη = ω in ὀγδωκονταέτη Sol. 20<sub>4</sub>. The vocalic sequence in ὀγδοήκοντα not lending itself to the verse, the poets use ὀγδώκοντα, e.g. B 568, Sim. Keos 146<sub>2</sub>, 147<sub>6</sub>; cf. ὀγδοῦκοντα Kaibel *Epigr.*



120<sub>3</sub>. Hdt. has ὀγδῶκοντα and so Arrian 10<sub>6</sub> (-σηκοντα Dübner). On this form in Ionic, see Eust. on B 568. The contraction ensued through the influence of ὀκτώ: cf. τετρώκοντα, πριῶ (πριόη) in the Herakl. Tables. See § 207.

In the verbs βοάω, νοέω: Hippon. trim. 1<sub>1</sub> has ἔβωσε (cf. Hesych., Suid.) for ἐβόησε of the MSS.; Anakr. 60 ἐπίβωτον, Hdt. βῶσαι, ἐβώσθη, Hrd. βῶσαι for βώση 323, βῶσον 441, 45. In Homer we find ἐπιβώσομαι, βώσαντι: in Theokr. XII 35 ἐπιβῶται: Hesychios records βωθέοντες, βώσομαι. From νοέω (Greg. Kor. § 94, Eust. on B 568, Et. M. 601<sub>20</sub>): Hdt. ἐννώσας, -αντα, νωσάμενος Theog. 1298 [νώσωνται was a former conjecture in Sim. Am. 1<sub>17</sub>], νενώμενος Anakr. 10. Demokr. νώσαιο is attested by Philodemos *De Ira*. According to the monuments the contraction is sporadic, Anakr. 100<sub>2</sub> (eleg.) having ἐβόησε, Hdt. βοητός, Teos βοηγιδῶν, *Mitth.* XVI 292, Sol. 13<sub>67</sub> προνοήσας, 16<sub>1</sub> νοήσαι, as pseudo-Hippokr. περὶ τέχνης and often in Hdt., who has also νόημα, νοήμων: Lukian, *Astr.* 17 has ἐπενοήσαντο.

There is no ground for the contention that there are themes in νω and βω comparable to Homeric and Herodoteian ζώ-ω, and that these, not the contracted νοη and βοη, are the base of the forms adduced above. See Merzdorf in Curtius' *Studien*, VIII 221.

βοηθέω (or βοηθοέω) = Aiolic βᾱθόημι seems to be genuine Ionic despite the Hesychian βωθεῖν (βωθέοντες) which Kirchhoff holds to be the proper form. See Veitch s. v. Hdt. has βοηθείεις (-εῖς?) βοήθεε (-ει?) ἐβοήθησε: Erythrai 204<sub>15</sub> (middle of fourth century B.C.) has βοηθήσω. βοηθεῖ occurs in pseudo-Hippokr. περὶ τέχνης.

Kratinos and Aristophanes have preserved instances of the contraction of βοάω in the common, every-day speech of Athens. βο[ι]ηθήσαντες in C. I. A. II 121<sub>23</sub> (338 B.C.) contains the glide ι (§ 220). In later Greek (Ptochoprodromus II 104) βῶθα is read.

## 2. οἰη.

Contracted in ἀλλογνώσας Hdt. I 85, perhaps through influence of ἀγνώμων, ἀγνωμοσύνη. μισθῶτον is from μισθόητον: but μισθοῖς, μισθοῖ are indic. forms used as subj. Hdt. uses neither διπλόη nor διπλῇ, but Hippokrates has διπλόη as a substantive (cf. Bekk. *Anecd.* I 25<sub>12</sub>).

## 297.] Ω + E and Ω + H.

### 1. ωφε.

ἥρωες in Samos 225, and in prose literary monuments, represents a class of forms that is never contracted.

ῶεον Sim. Amorg. 11. Cf. ῶιον in Sappho 112; ῶόν in Hdt. II 68 (Stein, though many MSS. omit the *iota*); Hesychios quotes ὠβεα as Argolic.

*Aphaeresis* occurs in ῶ ταῖρε Arch. tet. 85, ῶ ῥαννέ Anakr. 93 (cf. Sappho 77, 88), τῶ ῥέρω Hrd. 373.

2.  $\omega + \eta$  in  $\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\nu$  Hrd. 562 as in Kallimachos. Homer has  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\eta\nu$ , Hdt.  $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\eta}\nu$ .

### 298.] O + I.

#### 1. $o\acute{f}\iota$ .

Becomes  $o\ddot{i}$  and  $oi$  in Ionic poetry:  $\delta i\acute{\zeta}\acute{\upsilon}s$  Arch. 52,  $\delta i\acute{\zeta}\upsilon\rho\hat{\omega}\nu$  Theog. 65; and so we generally read in Ionic prosaists.  $oi$  in  $\delta i\acute{\zeta}\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$  Sim. Amorg. 750,  $\delta i\acute{\zeta}\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  Hrd. 731;  $\tau\rho i\sigma o i \acute{\zeta}\upsilon\rho\eta\nu$  in Archil. 129 shows that about 700 B. C.  $o\ddot{i}$  could become  $\bar{o}i$ .  $\kappa o\ddot{i}\lambda\acute{\omega}\tau e\rho a$  Anakr. 92 (cf. M. Schmidt, *Rh. Mus.* XX 304).

$o\acute{i}\omega\nu\acute{o}s$ , not  $\delta i\omega\nu\acute{o}s$  in Theog. 545, Solon 1356 and Hdt. That  $\delta\acute{i}\omega$  in Homer has no trace of any meaning but 'think' is an objection to Hinder's etymology (*K. Z.* XXVII 607), which refers  $\delta\acute{i}\omega < \delta\acute{f}\iota\omega$  to  $\delta\acute{f}\iota s$  *bird*, a word that lies at the base of  $o\acute{i}\omega\nu\acute{o}s$ .

$o\ddot{i}s$ : monosyllabic nouns that contain a diphthong, separated originally by  $f$ , are in Homer generally dissyllabic in the nominative and accusative cases, but refuse to admit the diaeresis in the oblique cases. This holds good in Ionic poetry as late as the sixth century, at least in the case of  $\pi a\acute{i}s$ .  $\acute{o}i s \acute{o}i e s$ ,  $\acute{o}i\nu \acute{o}i s$ , are the rule in Homer; but in the other cases both  $o\ddot{i}$  and  $\bar{o}i$  occur. For the later Ionic it is difficult to say which form should have the preference, on account of the paucity of poetical forms.  $\acute{o}i o s$  is a conjecture of Schweighäuser adopted by Bergk in Anan. 56, where Casaubon read  $o\acute{i}o s$ ; otherwise we have no evidence.  $\delta\acute{i}$  is called by Aristoph., *Peace* 930, an  $\acute{\iota}\omega\nu i\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu \rho\acute{\eta}\mu a$ . Stein (*Preface*, liii) maintains that  $\acute{o}i s$ ,  $\acute{o}i e o s$  are the correct Herodoteian forms, and Bredow (p. 173) writes  $o\ddot{i}$  in all cases, even in  $\delta\acute{i} s \pi\eta$ ,  $\delta\acute{i} \acute{\epsilon}\eta s i$ . If  $\pi a\acute{i}s$  is the Ionic form of the fifth century, it is difficult to see why Bechtel's  $o\acute{i}\nu$  Thasos 68 A is not correct.

$\delta\acute{i} s \tau\acute{o}s$ <sup>1</sup> is written in Hdt. by Bredow and Stein, but incorrectly as I think;  $\Lambda\eta\tau o\acute{i}d\eta s$  Theog. 1120, where  $-o\acute{i}d\eta s$  is metrically possible;  $\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho o\acute{i}\zeta o\mu a i$  Archil. 60, 104.

$\kappa a\tau a \pi\rho o\acute{i}\xi e\sigma\theta a i$  Hdt. (cf.  $\pi\rho o\acute{i}\sigma\sigma o\mu a i$  Arch. 92, 130);  $\pi\rho o\acute{i}\kappa a$  Mykonos 92<sub>15</sub>, 21, 22, &c. (Makedonian period). Ionic is  $\pi\rho o\acute{i}\kappa a$ , according to Et. Mag. 495<sub>33</sub>, An. Par. IV 55<sub>12</sub>; the form  $\pi\rho o\acute{i}\zeta$  is read in the spurious Hipponaktian fragment 72<sup>2</sup>. Cf. also Orion 82<sub>21</sub> who accents the form  $\pi\rho o\acute{i}\kappa a$ .

#### 2. $o\sigma i$ .

$a\acute{i}d o\acute{i}\eta\nu$  in an epigr. in Bechtel's collection, adesp. 264<sub>2</sub>;  $a\acute{i}d o\acute{i}o s$  Archil. 63<sub>1</sub>.

### 299.] $\Omega + I$ .

Except in suffix syllables ( $-\omega\acute{i}o s$ ),  $\omega$  before  $i$  is preserved as an

<sup>1</sup> Tzetz. *Ex. Il.* 101<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> On the relation of  $\pi\rho o\acute{i}\sigma\sigma o\mu a i$  to  $\pi\rho o\acute{i}\kappa\eta s$ , see Ascoli *Krit. Stud.* p. 332<sub>11</sub> (Germ. ed.), Fick, *B. B.* VIII 330.



archaism in the earlier phases of Ionic poetry by the echo of the lost *F*, as in *λωίων* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>30</sub> (the personal use, which is not epic); *λώιον* Theog. 424, 690, as in Homer; *λώιος* 800, *λώια* 853, but *λωᾶ* 96 (see Bergk on v. 800); *θωῖή* Arch. 109 = *θωή*, Attic *θωά* (cf. Lokrian *θώϊ* ἔστω, or *θωιήστω*, in ΘΟΙΕΣΤΟ, C. D. I. 1479<sub>9</sub>; *ἀθώιον* Thasos 71<sub>6</sub>); *ζώτων* Sim. Amorg. 13<sub>2</sub>, the only instance of the open form (cf. *ῶιον* in Sim.), elsewhere *ζῶον*, as in Hdt. Some MSS. have *ζῶιον* or *ζῶον*: cf. Lukian, *Astr.* 6, 10, where *ζῶα* is read, and see *M. U.* I 8. *φῶιδας* is, according to Renner p. 186, to be read in Hipponax 59; Bergk's *φῶδας* is however the correct form. The fact that all Attic inscriptions before 100 B.C. have *σῶζω* renders more surprising the fact that in the MSS. of Hdt. the *iota* does not appear. In Homer we have *σῶζων* (ε 490). There can be no doubt that in Hdt. *σῶζω* is to be read.

Adjectives in *-ῶιος*: *πατρῶιος* (Greg. Korinth. p. 441, quoting Homer) Theog. 521, and in three epigrams on inscriptions (Delos 53<sub>3</sub>, 264 unc. loc., Latyshev II 37); *πατρῶας* Theog. 888, 1210, and so often in MSS. of Hdt. though *ωῖ* is ordinarily held to be genuine Ionic of the fifth century. In Naukratis II 743 the open form *Ζωιλος* or *Ζωίλος* is certain. The absence of the additional *iota* in the case of *Τρωίλος* 816 and *Ζωίλος* 825 does not show that the combination *ωι* of these forms was differently pronounced from that in 743. Thus we read *πατρῶιος*, *μητρῶιος*, *ἡρώιος* in Hdt. (Bred. 175); *ἡρώιον* Eryth. 201<sub>6</sub> (cf. *ἡρωῖ*): *πρωῖην* Hdt. VIII 6 (Attic *πρώην*, but Herodas *πρῶν* 562), as *πρωῖ* Hdt. IX 101, Hipp. II 682. From the MSS. of Hdt. it is impossible to determine beyond doubt whether *-ῶιος* or *-φος* was the actual form. Most editors write the forms as given above, while for *φ* a preference of the MSS. may be made out in the case of *ἡφῶς* Hdt. VII 157 (= *ἡοῖος* IV 100, 160), a poetical word used by the historian, *Ἀχελῶος*<sup>1</sup>, *Τρφάς*, *Κῶος* (on *Κέος*, see above, § 286), *φόν*. In Homer we find *Τρώιος* (but *Τρωή*), *Ἀχελῶιος* (cf. C. D. I. 1199). Is *πρώϊρα* Et. M. 692<sub>33</sub> (Hdn. *πρώειρα*) Ionic?

### 300.] I + E.

*ισε* does not contract in *ιερ-* in Hdt.'s *ἀρχιερεύς*, *καλλιερῶ*, *ἱερώνυμος*. As regards *ιερός* the MSS. of Hdt. have *ιε* in the majority of instances, but *ῑ* in some cases without any variant. Hekataios 284 has *ιρή* but immediately before *ιερόν* (both in the MSS.), Herakl. *ἀνιερωστί* 125, Hellan. *ιερόν* 150. The closed form derives a weak support from Greg. Korinth. (§ 66)<sup>2</sup>, who states that *ιε* = *ῑ* in Ionic, but in § 67 quotes *ιερῆας* from Hdt.

<sup>1</sup> Perinthos 234 B 23 and a Samian coin in Brit. Mus. *Num. Chron.* 1882, 255 (Head *H. N.* 517), have *Ἀχελῶιος*.

<sup>2</sup> *ιρεύς*, *ιρηξ*; *ιρός* Joh. Gr. 241 B, Gram. Meerm. 654; *ιρεύς* Eust. 515<sub>37</sub>, cf. 162<sub>361</sub>; *ιρηξ* Eust. 920<sub>41</sub>, 1248<sub>48</sub>, 1734<sub>17</sub>; Phavor. on *ιστία*.



The text of Herodotos, in reproducing the occurrence of both Homeric forms, cannot *per se* be held to guide us to the genuine Ionic form in use in the fifth century. Arrian has *ἱερήια* 18<sub>12</sub>. Hippocratic MSS. generally prefer *ἱερός*, and Littré regards this as the correct form; *ἱρός* (*εἱρός*) however occurs (cf. *R. M.* XLII, 439, note 1) in *περὶ φνυσῶν* 14 (VI 110) in *A*, and often in *περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου* in *θ*. The testimony of the poets is without great weight: Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>56</sub> *ἱρά* with *v. l.* *ἱερά*, though *υ υ* for *-* is not here permitted according to Fick; 24<sub>2</sub> *ἱρωστί* is nothing but a conjecture; Anan. 1<sub>3</sub> *ἱεῶν* (a very obstinate passage), *ἱερ-Archil.* 18, Solon 4<sub>12</sub>, Theog. 545. Apoll. *Adv.* p. 162<sub>9</sub> (Schn.) says that *ἱρωστί* was the form used by Anakr. (149). Here *A* has *ἱρωστί*, *b* the form with *ἱρ-*, cf. Trypho frag. 69. Immediately below in Apoll. *ἱρωστί* is to be read with *Ab*, not *ἱρωστί* with Uhlig. In 124 *ἱερόν* occurs, but the frag. does not belong to the Teian poet; in 16<sub>3</sub> the MSS. have *ἱερόν*, for which *ἱρόν* is now read. Herodas has *ἱρ-* 47<sub>9</sub>, 83, 87, 94. In the inscriptions we find but few cases of *ἱρ-*, but these occur in the three geographical divisions of Ionic: *Ἰρομνήμων* Abdera 163<sub>7</sub>, before 400 B.C.<sup>1</sup>; *Ἰρή*, or *Ἰρή* 267 adesp., cf. Il. IX 150 and An. Ox. IV 412<sub>10</sub>; Amphip. 10<sub>13</sub>, *ἱρόν* (367 B.C.), a sure proof that *ἱρο* is Ionic; IHPON, for HIPON = *ἱρόν*, Thasos 70, *ἱρόν* 71<sub>9</sub>, (*ἱ*)*ρεῖ* 71<sub>11</sub> (but *ἱερά* l. 7). *ἱερ-* or *ἱερ-* is far more frequently attested:—

500–400 B.C.: Eretr. 15<sub>14, 19</sub>, Oropos 18 (18 times), Miletos 100<sub>4, 6, 7</sub>, Amorgos 230, Halik. 238<sub>3, 36</sub>.

400–300 B.C.: Keos 48; Thasos 71<sub>7</sub> (also *ἱρο-*); Miletos 102, 2; Iasos 104<sub>14, 16</sub>; Zeleia 113<sub>37, 38</sub>; Pantik. 119, 122, 123; Theodosia 127; Ephesos 147<sub>14</sub>; Eryth. 201<sub>5, 24</sub>, 204<sub>23, 32, 33</sub>; Samos 221<sub>37</sub>; Mylasa 248 B 8, C 4, Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195, l. 20, and Paspates 9.

300–200 B.C.: Thasos 72<sub>10, 11, 14</sub>; Olbia 128; Eryth. 206 very many forms. In still later times: Teos 158<sub>15, 16, 22</sub>, Ephesos 150 (Hadrian), the form *ἱερῆ*.

From this evidence we cannot but conclude that both forms existed contemporaneously in Ionic, and that it is vain to attempt to draw a sharp line between them. As long as the only form that we have from Chalkidian has *ι*, and as long as the genuineness of the Thasian and the Abderite *ι* is unassailed, it is beyond the lines of sound argument to hold with Fritsch that *ἱρός* in Herodotos is borrowed from the epic, and that *ἱρός* in Homer is Aiolic. If evidence of inscriptions and MSS. is to be taken for anything, Hdt. used both forms as he used *κείνος* and *ἐκείνος*.

The pseudo-Ionists fluctuate to such a degree that their testimony can scarcely be brought into court. There appears to

<sup>1</sup> This disproves Erman's statement, *Stud.* V p. 297.

be a slight predominance of the open form, which is the only form accepted by the *Vita Homeri*.

Whether ἴρηξ is contracted from ἰέραξ, or whether it is the older form, is still uncertain.

The explanation of ἴρος from \*ἰσρός is shattered by the Aiolic ἴρος : ἰσρός would have become, and remained, in that dialect, ἴρρος. The Homeric ἰερός appears to be due to the ictus. Of the tragedians Euripides is the first to permit himself perfect freedom in the choice between ἰερός and ἴρος. Dindorf's procedure in adopting ἴρος in the tragic poets cannot be defended. It is found in the MSS. of Soph. but once (O. K. 16). Hoffmann, *D. M. G.* p. 22, suggests that ἴρος is the descendant of \*ἰσῖρος, whose medial ι is the *schwa* or minimum vowel = Skt. *a* in *isharás*. Prellwitz, *Deut. Litt.-Zeit.* 1890, p. 1538, proposes to account for ἰερός (parallel to \*ἰσῖρος) by the assumption of an ablaut-form *iséros*. This would be the more probable if the word had dactylic measure (cf. ποικίλος for ποικιλός). But see Allinson, *A. J. P.* XII 49 ff.

### 301.] I + H.

πολίτης with primitive ἴτης is of course not contracted from πολιήτης, e.g. Anacr. I<sub>8</sub>, Demokr. 215, as was formerly held; a view as incorrect as that of the pleonasm of the η (Bekker, *Anecd.* II 524<sub>5</sub>). μυθῖται, read by Bergk in Anacr. 16<sub>1</sub>, is not from μυθιῆται (Apoll. Lex. Hom. 114<sub>3</sub>). The latter form is to be adopted, the metre being *ionici a minore*. On ἴτης see *K. Z.* XXXI 343. ιῤη in μελιήδης, &c.

### 302.] Υ + Ι.

υῖ in the dative of υ stems must have become υι by the fifth century (ἰλυῖ Theog. 961, as Homeric δίζυῖ), though written with the diaeresis by editors of Hdt. υῖ could not be fused in πολυῖδρείησιν Theog. 703, &c.

## III. Combination of Vowels and Diphthongs, and Diphthongs and Diphthongs (*crasis*).

303.] The combinations of vowels and diphthongs will be treated in the following order :

<i>a</i> + <i>αι</i> ,	<i>a</i> + <i>ει</i> ,	<i>a</i> + <i>οι</i> ,	<i>a</i> + <i>αυ</i> ,	<i>a</i> + <i>ευ</i> ,	<i>a</i> + <i>ου</i> .
<i>ε</i> + <i>αι</i> ,	<i>ε</i> + <i>ει</i> ,	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.
<i>ο</i> + <i>αι</i> ,	<i>ο</i> + <i>ει</i> ,				
<i>η</i> + <i>αι</i> ,	<i>η</i> + <i>ει</i> ,				
<i>ω</i> + <i>αι</i> ,	<i>ω</i> + <i>ει</i> ,				

Combinations of *αι* + *αι*, *αι* + *αυ*, &c., are placed under the head of *a* + *αι*, &c.



## 304.] A + AI.

$\alpha\iota + \alpha\iota = \alpha\iota$  in *καίετός* Arch. ep. 86<sub>2</sub> (v. l. *καὶ αἰετός*).

## 305.] A + EI.

I. *aFει*. A. *a* + genuine *ει*.

*ἀεικῆς* Hdt. III 33, VI 98, &c., Hippokr. II 316, Sol. trim. 36<sub>11</sub>, eleg. 54, Theog. 811; *ἀεικέλιος* Sol. 425. *ἀεικές* in the epigram in honour of Kimon (Plutarch, *Kim.* 7) is Ionic, not Attic. Hence the epigram itself was composed by an Ionian (Kirchhoff, *Hermes* V 57). *ἄικῶς* XXII 336 does not show that *ᾱ + ει* can become *ᾱ + ι*; but that *ᾱ + ι* (*ἄφικῆς*) may remain open or be contracted, as in *αἰκιζοίμεθα* Sim. Amorg. 124, *καταικίσασα* Herodas 512 (cf. also 241 and 246). Neither *ἀικῶς* nor *αἰκιζοίμεθα* can be derived from *ἀεικ-*. Hence Fritsch's contention (*V. II. D.* 20) that the contraction of *αει* to *αι* had ensued in Herodotos' day is at least inexact. The existence of the shorter form and the character of the composition of the word may have prevented *ἀεικ-* from being contracted to *ᾱκ-*. *ἀείδω* is not a parallel instance. *αἰκέλιος* Theog. 1344 may be a parallel form to *ἀεικέλιος* (cf. Smyth, *A. J. P.* VI 439). Lukian has both *ἀεικῆς* and *ἀεικέλιος*.

*ἀείδω* Hdt., Arch. tetr. 57, Anakr. 65<sub>3</sub>, Sol. eleg. 20<sub>3</sub>, Theog. 533, 939, a line that may belong to Mimnermos (Schneidewin *ἀείδ-*, MSS. *ᾷδ-*), 1065, &c., Herodas 171 (?). *a* + genuine *ει*, when contracted, can yield only *ᾱ*, never *ᾱ̄*: Archil. 123 *ᾷδων* (Schneid. *ἀείδων*, cf. Theog. 533), Anakr. 45<sub>2</sub> *ᾷδω* (though here we might read *μέν γ' ἀείδω*: *ᾷδω* is a conj. of Valckenaer). Theog. 243 has *ᾷσονται*, as Hymn V 2; Herakl. 59 has *συνᾷδον* and *διᾷδον*. The contraction of *a* + genuine *ει* (*ᾱ*)<sup>1</sup> is as old in Ionic as that of *a* + spurious *ει* (*ᾱ̄*). *ἀείδω* in Hdt. is perhaps due to the *μετα-χαρακτηρισμός* which affected archaic forms. In compounds the MSS. unite in having *-ῶδος*, but as regards *ἀείδω* they disagree. *ᾠοιδός* has a technical colouring and preserves the archaic form. Lukian has the open *ἀείδω* in every case, while Arrian has *ἐπᾷδονται* (101).

B. *a* + spurious *ει* either remains open or is contracted in Ionic to long *a*. Ignorance of this fact has led to great confusion in the minds of dialectologists and editors of Herodotos as to the propriety of admitting *αἶρω* into the text of the lyric poets and of Herodotos. Homer has both *αἶρω* and *αἶρω*, and both forms must be accepted as genuine Ionic. That the MSS. of Hdt. prefer *αἶρω* to *αἶρω*, and that *ἀείδω* and *ἀεικῆς* are always read in the text of the historian, have led Dindorf and Stein to adopt *αἶρω*, though its *ει* has nothing in common with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *α* in Attic from *αιφι*, § 169.



that of ἀείδω or ἀεικής. Archil. 94<sub>2</sub> has παρήειρε; Luk. *d. d. S.* § 36, 52, *Astr.* 11, Abydenos 5, Euseb. Mynd. 9, 33, have αει, and so Aretaios, 216, 224, 265 (elsewhere the other form). The contracted forms are ἄρειεν Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>60</sub>; ἐπάρει Ephesos 145 A 2; ἐπάρας 145 A 9 (fifth century)<sup>1</sup>. αἶρω is found in Hippokrates, II 660, V 618; ἐπήρται V 648, ἐπήρθη II 688, 706, ξυνήρει II 628; in Polybos' περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρ. 7 (VI 48) A has αἶρεται, the other MSS. αειρ-. Arrian's *Ind.* has the contracted forms. See § 165.

ἀείρω and αἶρω are to be separated, so far as their genesis is concerned, the former representing ἀ-φέρ-ω, the latter Φρ-ω (Brugmann, *K. Z.* XXVII 197, Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 355). In Attic αἶρω got the upper hand. Though the desire to rescue open forms in the Ionic of Herodotos, and to exclude contracted forms from his text, has led to the exclusion of αἶρω, the genuine interrelation of the forms offers no obstacle to its acceptance. Whether ἀείρω has been inserted by copyists on the strength of the chief Homeric form, is another question. It is, however, probable that both forms have a claim to existence in the Ionic dialect of the fifth century.

*a + ei* is uncontracted in δαείς Solon, 13<sub>50</sub>, and Κάειρα Δ 142 and Hdt., the masculine form of which is derived from Κᾷήρ Κᾷερός, &c. (Lugebil, *B. B.* X 303). *a +* spurious *ei* becomes *ā* in Hom. φαεινός, Attic φᾶνός (Lukian φαείνομαι *Syr.* 32), and perhaps in infinitives in -ᾶν; see *K. Z.* XXVII 197.

2. αει (*ei* genuine) becomes *ā* in ὄρᾱς, τιμᾱ (Doric τιμῆ) and in the 'Attic' futures διασκεδᾶς, ἀποδοκιμᾱ. Herodoteian Ionic has no form in -εει < -αει in the *verba contracta*, these forms being reserved for pseudo-Ionism.

By *crasis*: κεί Hrd. 483.

### 306.] A + OI.

1. *afoi* remains open in ἀοιδός Hdt., Xenoph. 5<sub>4</sub> (ἀοιδοπόλων), Solon 29; ἀοιδή Hdt., Theog. 251, 792, since these words are heirlooms; ἀοίκητος Hdt.

Contraction ensues in ᾠδή Sol. eleg. 1<sub>2</sub>, Hippokr. II 686, as Hymn IV 495; ῥαψῳδός Bechtel 260, found at Dodona, but ultimate provenance unknown.

2. αιοι is contracted to *ω* in all optatives (νικῶεν, νικῶτο).

3. Crasis of *a + oi* is omitted, *e.g.* in τὰ οἰκ[ι]α Halik. 238<sub>25</sub> = τῶκία Hippon. 20<sub>2</sub>.

AI + OI in κΟ[ι]νοπίδης Chios, 174 C 21-22 according to Blass, where others read κ' Ο[ι]νοπίδης; καὶ οἰκίων Halik. 238<sub>29</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. MSS. have ἀρθεῖς more frequently than ἀερθεῖς. The latter form occurs in Anakr. 19 and Luk. *Astr.* 15.

## 307.] A + AY.

Crisis occurs in ταῦτά Eryth. 204<sub>13</sub>, Hdt. III 72, &c.; but there are many cases of τὰ αὐτά in Hdt., e.g. IV 114. So Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>; Zeleia 113<sub>27</sub>.

AI + AY. αἱ αὐταί Hdt. V 69; καυχένα Theog. 536; καὐτά-γρετοι Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>19</sub>; καὐτός Teos 158<sub>15</sub>, in the ancient papyrus *Philol.* XLI 748 l. 6, and Herodas 2<sub>83</sub>; but there are several cases of καὶ αὐτός in Teos 156 A and B and Amphipolis 10.

## 308.] A + OY.

τιμῶσι Ionic-Attic (ον spurious). In some cases the MSS. of Hdt. show in the third plural traces of the appearance of the -εω forms from the -αω type of verb; § 688.

AI + OY: κοὺ Anakr. 88<sub>1</sub>, Herodas 6<sub>70</sub>, κοὺκ Anakr. 89, Theog. 1342, Sol. 13<sub>60</sub>, Hippon. tetr. 83, papyrus *Philol.* XLI 948 l. 15, Herodas 2<sub>39</sub>, 4<sub>16</sub>, 5<sub>40</sub>, 7<sub>77</sub>, κοὺχί 2<sub>49</sub>, κοὐδέ 1<sub>24</sub>; on κοὐνομάκλυτον Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>87</sub>, see § 252.

## 309.] E + AI.

1. εῖαι in Κλεαίνετος Naukratis 139 C; [συγ]χέαι Halik. 238<sub>3</sub>.

2. εἰ remains open in several instances in the poets (see §§ 606, 608). The closed forms are, however, so frequent as to convince us that an uncontracted ε(σ)αι in Hdt. in the present and future middle is probably an archaism, certainly after a vowel (χαριῇ). The only case where εἰ may be defended as probable is when it is derived from -εεἰ, e.g. in φοβέαι VII 52 (*P* φοβέεαι). -εεἰ in Hdt. cannot be defended. δινέαι is found in Anakr. 12 B and derived from δινέεαι. I have not observed an instance of 2 pers. sing. pres. mid. (Attic βούλει after 378 B.C.). In the future the editors now read κομιεῖ, χαριεῖ. Dindorf's χαριέεαι displays the tendency of the scholar who has largely brought about the current conceptions of the nature of Ionic.

3. εἰαι in adj., even in those denoting a material, = αι in λιναι Samos 220<sub>21</sub>. In these adjectives -εωι remains open. In nouns Hdt. has μνέαι; γέαι Zeleia 113<sub>40</sub>, γαλαῖ Hrd. 7<sub>90</sub>. See on *Declension*.

## 310.] E + EI.

1. εῖει remains open in ῥέει Mimn. 5<sub>1</sub>, πλέει, πλέειν, ῥέει Hdt.; is contracted in δεῖ Hdt., Hippon. 6, Anakr. 98, Teos, 158<sub>8</sub>. (See on the Verb.) Hdt. has εἴκοσι and not the epic εἰκοσι, as Xenoph. 7<sub>3</sub>. ε + spurious εἰ becomes εἰ in Κλενοφάνης Keos, 44 A 11; Κλεν[ο]γένης Keos, 45; Κλείνανδρος Thas. (L.), 16 A 5; κλεινός in Solon, 19<sub>3</sub>.

2. *εει* is found in the open forms in Herodotos and the other writers in Ionic prose, *e.g.* in *εω* verbs (Greg. Kor. § 14) and even in the pseudo-Ionic *ὀρέει*, *φοιτέεις*. In the MSS. of Hdt. *-εει* is generally contracted after a consonant, but after *οι* it usually is open. In direct opposition to this writing is the language of the inscriptions (see *-εω* verbs). The only examples in the poetry<sup>1</sup> of native Ionians where the contraction is not graphically expressed are *κερτομέειν* Arch. 64, *φιλέειν* Arch. 80, *δοκέει* 1, Sim. Amorg., where the metre in each case calls for *εῖ* or *έει*. In the future of liquid verbs Herodoteian MSS. have *-έει*, *-έεις*, though contraction is well established in pre-Herodoteian times. After *ι*, *-εειν* is always contracted in Hdt. in the future infinitive. Stein's adoption of *R*'s *θεσπιέειν* VIII 135 is out of the question. An aorist *-εειν* (*ιδέειν*, &c.) does not exist in Ionic prose (§ 604).

*ἀδείη* Hdt. VIII 120, &c. < \**ἀδεείη*.

### 311.] E + OI.

1. *εφοι*. Hdt. *πλέοι*, *ἐμπλεοι*; Anakr. 84 *ἐοικότες* (Hdt. *οἴκα*, &c., without reduplication).

2. *εσοι* in *θεοί* (§ 287, 2) Hipponax 93, Theog. 142, but elsewhere *θεοί* Archil. eleg. 95, Solon 139, 55; *θεοῖς* Archil. tetr. 561, *θεοῖσι* 55, Tyrt. 51, Solon 112, 35.

3. *εοι* in *-εω* verbs is contracted in lyric poetry and in inscriptions, except in *ἄνωθεοίη* Teos 156 A 11 (47<sup>9</sup>/<sub>8</sub> B.C.) with obsolete orthography. In the seventh century the form in *-εοιη* must have been usual. Hdt. has both forms (*καλέοι*, *φρονέοιεν*; *ποιοῖ*, *ἐπιχειροῖεν*, *φοβοῖτο*), the latter representing the ordinary Ionic of the fifth century. Other Ionic writers in prose usually have the open forms. See under § 651.

In adjectives of material *εοι* is thus written, even in the imperial period: *ἀργύρεοι* Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1; *χρυσέοις* Latyshev, I 22 (Olbia)=C. I. G. 2059. See § 287, 3. Adjectives in *-αλεος* rarely contract; *αὔχάλεοι* Xenoph. 35, but *γηράλεοι* Anakr. 432.

### 312.] E + OΥ (spurious).

1. *εφου*.

*πλέους* Hdt. I 194, *κενεοῦ* Melissos 14; *πλέου*, read by Mullach in Melissos 14, has no MS. support. (*Κλεουμπόρου* Lampsakos 171, has its first *ου* from *ο + ε*.)

2. *εσου*.

*εούσης* Mylasa 248 C 5, &c., *μεδεούση* Phanag. 164, Samos 216 (see § 74). *θεοῦ* Sim. Amorg. 7104.

<sup>1</sup> Elegiac poetry, though under the influence of the epos, has in almost every case the contracted form. In Theog. 221 *δοκέει* is certain.



## 3. εἰου.

εἰου < εἰουτ- is generally contracted in verbs in -εω in the poets. The MSS. of Hdt. vary: εἰου is often retained, but sometimes εἰ appears after a consonant. -εἰου in the other prosaists is more frequent than εἰ. The writing εἰ for εἰου shows that ε + ου was treated like εἰ = εο, and that no regard was paid to the difference in quantity.

## 313.] O + AI.

οἶαι in κροαίνω, Homeric and Archilocheian (fr. 176). Arch. uses the word in the sense of ἐπιθυμέω according to the scholiast on Z 507. Cf. An. Par. III 2847.

## 314.] O + EI.

1. οἶει is uncontracted in μῆνοειδής, ἀνθρωποειδής Hdt.; τροχοειδής Hdt., Theog. 7; ἰχθυοειδής Hdt. VII 61 is a different formation from ἰχθυώδης VII 109 (with -ώδης borrowed from εὐώδης?); ἀποειπών Theog. 89. ο + spurious εἰ in -οεις in Σολόεις, &c.; also in ἀλοργοῦς Samos 220<sub>23</sub>, § 295. ζόειν, Porson's reading in Sim. Am. 1<sub>17</sub>, is probably from ζώειν, the vulgate reading, found also in Herakleitos 86, 92. See §§ 200, 657, note 1.

2. οἶει becomes οἰ in verbal forms: διδοῖ Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>54</sub>, Mimn. 2<sub>16</sub>; on μισθοῖς, μισθοῖ indicative and subjunctive, see § 296, 2. We have ο + spurious εἰ perhaps in μισθοῦν; see § 295, I at end.

## 315.] O + OI.

οἰοί = οἰ in μισθοῖμεν. οἶοι in ἀθρόοι Hdt. III 109, σόοι, &c. By crasis we have τοῖκ[ό]πεδον Chios 174 D 18, which is the crasis to be expected in Attic. In τῶκίδιον, the usual reading in *Clouds* 92, the vowels would seem to be fused quite irregularly, and this has been regarded as a unique exception, where the form has called forth any comment at all. But here *Rav.* has τωκίδιον, while over the ω an οἰ is written; in *V* we have τὸκίδιον.

## 316.] O + AT

in ὦντός (or ὠντός)<sup>1</sup>, τῶντό, when fused (Attic ταῦτόν Herakl. 57), ἐμεωντοῦ < ἐμέο αὐτοῦ, σεωντοῦ, ἑωντοῦ in Hdt., Hippokr., and their imitators.

In Hdt. VIII 43 we find τὸ αὐτό. οἰ + αἰ in ὦντοί II 168; but οἰ αὐτοί I 182, VII 168; sometimes even ἑωντοί<sup>2</sup> appears.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ὠντός E 396, according to La Roche. Good MSS. have ὦντός; (cf. Joh. Gr. 242 ὠντός). Herodoteian MSS. generally place the *coronis* on the ω. Bywater writes ὦντός Herakl. 127 (whereas Clemens has ὠντός), and ὠντή Herakl. 69 is thus read in Hippolytos. Greg. Korinth. p. 419 had the absurd notion that ὠντός *sic* stood for αὐτός. Analogy went so far as to coin ἡ ὠντή (*sic*), ἡ ὠντή, τὰ ὠντά, τὰ ἑωντά, ἡ ἑωντή in the text of Aretaios.

<sup>2</sup> ἑμαντός in Pherekrates is a poor support for this form of the pronoun.

ου + αυ in τῶντοῦ Hdt. (Greg. Korinth. § 46), upon a single occasion (III 72). Elsewhere τοῦ αὐτοῦ, *e.g.* V 52, IX 101. ου, it will be remembered, is not diphthongal here.

Similar forms occur in Pindar (τῶντοῦ Ol. XIII 38, τῶντο Ol. I 45) and in Theokritos (ἄντος XI 34, τῶνλίων XI 12). Cf. also *Acharn.* 790 τῶντῶ. In the above passages the *coronis* is placed upon the υ.

### 317.] O + OΥ (spurious).

1. οφου. Ἰπποθόου Chios 177<sub>2</sub>; but Πολύθρου Teos 158<sub>27</sub> (late); ζοοῦ Archil. 63 is due to Porson, who thus corrected the vulgate ζωοῦ; νόου Theog. 223, Arch. tetr. 56<sub>5</sub>; περιρρόου Hdt. I 174, καλλιρόου Anakr. 28; ἀντιξόους Hdt. VII 150; but εὔνου VI 105 in all MSS., as ἔσπλου VI 33.

2. οἶου < οἶοντ = ου in μισθοῦσι, &c.

3. ο + ου becomes ου by crasis in τοῦνομα Hdt., often written τὸ οὔνομα. οι + ου in οὔροφύλακες Chios 174 A 14-15, 19.

### 318.] H + AI.

ησαι becomes η in βούλῃ Thasos 68 and so in ἴδῃ Hdt. IV 9. Synizesis occurs in μῇ αἰ Hrd. 790.

### 319.] H + EI.

ηφει in ἥειραν Hdt. IX 59, ἀπήειραν VI 99 (conj., MSS. -ῆραν); παρήειρε Arch. 94<sub>2</sub>. See § 305. ὑλήειν Arch. 74, the conj. of Bergk, is hazardous, though the word is found Choirob. II 717<sub>23</sub> (who quotes also ὀφρήειν) and though τιμήειν is attested by Hdn. II 275<sub>2</sub>, 632<sub>36</sub>. The lengthened -οειν, by false analogy from -οεις, has no better support than Apoll. Rhod.

### 320.] H + AY, OY.

δηῦτε Archil. 60, 104, Hippon. 78, Anakr. 13 B (conj.), 141. 19, 47, 61<sub>1</sub>, 63<sub>6</sub>, 68, 89, 91<sub>1</sub>; ἡ αὐτή Hdt. IV 38, Herakl. 50. So too τῇ αὐτῇ, never with crasis, despite ὠντός, τῶντό. Aretaios' text offers ὠντή 52, and even ἡ ὠντή 158 and often. Synizesis occurs in ἡ οὔρους (MS. ὄρους) Hrd. 253.

### 321.] Ω(I) + AY, &c.

in τῶντῶ Hdt. I 5, but τῶ αὐτῶ VI 58 (*P* τῶντῶι, *R* τῶῦτῶ). No example as yet has been found upon inscriptions. In ἐγὼ αἰτίῃ Hrd. 91<sub>4</sub>, ἐγὼ εἰμι Hrd. 51<sub>5</sub> (as *Philokt.* 585), we have examples of synizesis of ω + αι and ω + ει.

### *Apocope.*

322.] Apocope in Greek is found only in the case of prepositional prepositions which were originally adverbs of place. Only those Hellenic dialects that developed a literary prose are averse

to the admission of the apocopated forms. Apart from the license of poetry<sup>1</sup>, Attic literature can show but a trace of the admission of the forms in question. So too in Ionic, the development of an artistic prose has destroyed whatever chance of life this process may originally have possessed. Even in the poetical monuments the instances are extremely rare. See on *ἀνά* and *κατά*. In Ionic as in Attic inscriptions there is not a single instance. In Herodotos we have *ἄμπωτις* II 11, VII 198, VIII 129 (see § 715), *ἀμβολάδην* IV 181, *ἀμπαύεσθαι* I 182, *ἀμπαύονται* and *ἀμπανστήριοι* I 181, *ἀμβώσας* I 8, *ἀμβώσαντες* III 38.

The attitude of the language towards apocope is one of the most marked characteristics of the dialects. Doric, Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, &c., are here separated by a great gap from Ionic-Attic.

### *Sentence Phonetics*<sup>2</sup>.

#### *Elision.*

323.] Ionic inscriptions are tenacious to a considerable degree of the *scriptio plena* in the matter of elision or non-elision. The following table, drawn up from the inscriptions in Bechtel's *Inscripfen des ionischen Dialekts*, will give an approximate idea of the frequency with which elision occurs. The prepositions, conjunctions and particles, and also the pronouns, have been the guide posts which directed to the study of the frequency of the occurrence of this phenomenon. It may be noted that in but two cases, outside of poetry, is there any elision of the final vowel of a substantive [Amphip. 10, l. 11 and 22]. In the following list metrical occurrences are starred.

#### *Euboian Ionic.*

#### *Island Ionic.*

	ELISION	NON-ELISION		ELISION	NON-ELISION
Olynthos . . .	2	1	Naxos . . . .	4*	1*
Amphip. . . .	3	0	Arkesine . . .	1*	0
Other Chalkid..	2	0	Keos . . . . .	1	2
Eretria . . . .	2	1	Paros . . . . .	3*	1*
Oropos . . . .	2	4	Thasos . . . .	5	8
Adespota . . .		No. 22	Pharos . . . .	0	1

<sup>1</sup> Most frequent in Aischylos. Kirchhoff believes that the instances of apocope in the Attic poets are survivals of a period when Attic had not yet developed an artificial objection to its presence.

<sup>2</sup> See also on *Movable nu* § 340, and on *Assimilation*, § 411.



*Asiatic Ionic.*

	ELISION	NON- ELISION		ELISION	NON- ELISION
Miletos . . .	1	4	Abdera . . .	3	0
Iasos . . .	0	2	Chios . . .	7 <sup>1</sup>	0
Zeleaia . . .	1	6	Maroneia . . .	0	6
Theodosia . .	0	1	Erythrai . . .	17 <sup>1</sup>	17
Olbia . . .	0	1	Samos . . .	5 <sup>2</sup>	3
Naukratis . .	0	1	Halikarn.. . .	4	6
Ephesos . . .	0	4	Mylasa. . . .	0	3
Teos . . .	3	9	Uncertain loc. .	No. 261*	

In the text of Herodotos elision is less frequent than in Attic. According to Bredow (p. 202 ff.), elision is more frequent than the retention of the final vowel in the case of ἀμφί, ἀνά, ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, κατά, μετά, παρά and ὑπό. When a relative pronoun follows the preposition, elision is regular. ἀλλά very often suffers elision, and δέ, μηδέ and οὐδέ, εὔτε, ἔστε frequently. It is rare in the case of τόδε, ᾧδε, τε, οὔτε, μήτε, εἴτε. ὥστ' occurs only III 104, and ἔπειτ', τότ' never. Very rare are γ', ᾧρ', τοῦτ', ταῦτ'. ἄμ' is always a preposition, never an adverb. -το in verbs occurs only before ἄν.

Elision is admitted into the text of Herakleitos, except in ὑπὸ ἐνός 91.

*Aphaeresis.*

324.] See under η + ε, ο + ε, ω + ε. In an oracle given by Hdt. VII 220, it is better to read ἦ μέγα ἄστυ ῥικυδές than to elide the υ.

## THE CONSONANT SYSTEM OF IONIC.

325.] Ionic differs but slightly from Attic in the development of its consonantal system. The differences concern chiefly the guttural series. In the following sections, wherever the Ionic form is equivalent to the Attic, and adopted by literature, reference is made only rarely to its counterpart in the other dialects. Thus Ionic γυνή = Boiot. βανά is noticed under BOIOTIAN, βάραθρον = Arkad. ζέρεθρον under ARKADIAN.

<sup>1</sup> One metrical.<sup>2</sup> Two metrical.

**326.]** The ancients held that Ionic permitted the expulsion of an initial consonant or consonants, *e. g.* γ)αῖα Greg. K. 446, An. Bachm. II 365<sub>9</sub>, Gram. Paris. 676; ἀστράπτει, Ionic and Attic, Bachm. II 365<sub>11</sub>, Paris. 676; λ)αιψηρός, Ionic and Aiolic, Herakleides *apud* Eust. 842<sub>46</sub>; λ'είβειν Greg. Kor. 446, Gram. Aug. 669, Paris. 676, Vat. 699, Birnb. 678<sub>32</sub>, An. Bachm. II 365<sub>10</sub>. See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 199; πλ)ευράξ, Ionic and Aiolic, Eust. 842<sub>46</sub>; ἐ)κείνος, Ionic and Attic, An. Bachm. II 365<sub>11</sub>, Paris. 676 (§ 564); τ)ήγανον (§ 191) Eust. 1862<sub>12</sub>, where it is called Doric though used by Anakreon 26 = Athen. VI 229 B, where the form is expressly stated to be Ionic, and as such used by the poet; cf. Eust. 244<sub>46</sub>, 701<sub>18</sub><sup>1</sup>; φθ)έρρω Eust. 842<sub>50</sub>. Though none of the examples quoted can be explained upon the principles of sentence phonetics, or as analogues of such forms as στέγος, τέγος, so inveterate is the error concerning the possibility of this decapitation that some of these instances reappear in modern books, such as Blass' edition of Kühner's Grammar.

### *Liquids.*

On aspirated medial ρ, see § 399 (Amorgos), § 400 (Naxos).

#### **327.] Variation between Λ and P.**

Ἄλαλίη in Hdt. does not manifest the repugnance to the succession of λ's which gave rise to κεφαλαργία, &c. Ἄλερρία was the later name of the Corsican city.

κλίβανος in Hdt. II 92 (cf. Eust. 975<sub>52</sub>) is the equivalent of the Attic κρίβανος (Athen. III 110 C), though κλίβανος may be defended in Aischylos, frag. 321 D. That the form with λ found admission to comedy is evident from κλιβανίτης ἄρτος Ἀμειψίας Ἀποκοτταβίζουσιν (quoted by Rutherford, *Phrynicus*, p. 268). The Et. Mag. 538<sub>19</sub> calls the form with λ Doric, and Athenaios *l. l.* cites κλιβανίτας from Sophron. But Sophron seems also to have used the ρ form, which is vouched for as having been used by Epicharmos.

Ὀροφέρνης Priene, *Anc. Gr. Inscr.* 3, no. 424, 6<sub>4</sub> represents the original better than Ὀλοφέρνευς C. D. I. 3549, 20, Knidos.

The island of Amorgos (Ἀμοργός) was also called Ἀμολγος according to Steph. Byz. *s. v.*, Arkad. 47<sub>17</sub> = Hdn. II 475<sub>5</sub>. The Et. Gud. 311<sub>19</sub> endeavours unsuccessfully to support an Ionic change of ρ to λ in κέκραγα, κέκληγα. On Ionic κλῆρος and Arkadian Κραριῶται πολῖται C. D. I. 1231, see under ARKADIAN, § 32.

#### **328.] Variation between Λ and N.**

Though the change from λ to ν may be supported by examples from Attic vase inscriptions (Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 442) and from other sources, no case has as yet been made out for the

<sup>1</sup> In 842<sub>46</sub> π)ήγανον is given as the undecapitated form.

substitution of  $\lambda$  for  $\nu$ . The only two cases that are uncertain are  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$  and  $\Lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$  Hdt. II 86, 87, recalls Hebrew *netzer*, Lat. *nitrum* (cf. K. Z. XXI 104).  $\nu\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$  is Aiolic but also Ionic. Hippokrates apparently has both  $\nu\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$  and  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\omicron\nu$ , on which form in Attic see Phrynichos (Ruth. p. 361).  $\Lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  Hdt. I 74 = Old Persian *Nabunīta*, Assy. *Nabunahid*.

In the case of these words, it is at least possible the  $n$  has been exchanged with  $l$  upon Semitic soil.

There is no change of  $\nu$  to  $\lambda$  in  $\Pi\rho\iota\eta\lambda\eta\iota$  Samos 212 = Roberts, I 153, in which inscription, though the engraver intended to cut a  $\nu$ , the  $\lambda$  is certain. Hellanikos (cf. Hdn. I 338<sub>5</sub>) gave the name  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta$  to the Aiolic city  $\Nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta$ .

$\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\omega\nu$ , Attic for  $\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\omega\nu$ , the Aiolic and  $\text{Koin}\acute{\eta}$  form, occurs in the oldest MS. of Hippokrates ( $\theta$ ), VI 374.  $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\omega\nu$  was also Epidaurian.  $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\omega\nu$  may be the original form, and that with  $\nu$ , though Homeric, due to the influence of  $\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ . With the confusion between the two forms of this word that had its rise in the dispute about the etymology, we may compare the  $v. l.$   $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  for  $\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  in Luke xii 55; cf. the gloss on Acts xxvii 15<sup>1</sup>.

329.]  $\psi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  *armlet* (Aiolic  $\sigma\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ ), not  $\psi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ , appears to be the correct form in Hdt.  $\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta$  is written with one  $\lambda$  upon Ionic inscriptions. In Iasos 104<sub>3</sub> we find  $\text{Mau}\sigma\acute{\omega}\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$ , though  $\text{Mau}\sigma\omega\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  was deemed correct by Arkadios in Steph. Byz. See Pape-Benseler.  $-\omega\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  is the regular emphatic form of the suffix in Karian names ( $\text{Paranoss-}$ ,  $\text{Ponussos-}$ ), though  $-\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (in  $\text{’A}\kappa\tau\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) and  $-\omega\lambda\delta\omicron\varsigma$  are also Karian.

330.] Consonant gemination appears in the Homeric reminiscence  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\nu$ , Hermann’s restoration for  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\nu$ , Mimm. 12<sub>1</sub>. For this Aiolic form, the genuine Ionic would have been  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\nu$ , formed on the same principle as  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\lambda\omicron\nu\theta\alpha$ . Perhaps such forms as  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\epsilon\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\epsilon\omicron\nu$ , where *sigma* caused the gemination, facilitated the creation by analogy of such poetical forms as  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\nu$ <sup>2</sup>, which hold their ground till long after the birth of Christ.  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\nu$  Archil. 6<sub>2</sub> eleg. is due to epic influence. Apocope of prepositions is very rare in the Ionic poets; cf. Arch. 64, where  $\kappa\alpha\tau\theta\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota$  is read, though  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\theta-$  is possible; cf. Tyrt. 11<sub>19</sub>, Mimm. 12<sub>2</sub>, 14<sub>4</sub>, and see § 715.

### 331.] Rhotacism between Vowels and before Consonants.

Rhotacism is attested in the western branch of Ionic alone<sup>3</sup>. In the dialect of Eretria we meet with the phenomenon, which is unknown in Eleian and Lakonian, of intervocalic  $\sigma$  becoming  $\rho$ . In the inscriptions of Eretria we find the following forms:

<sup>1</sup> I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. J. Rendel Harris.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Baunack’s *Studien* I 222.

<sup>3</sup>  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\rho\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\upsilon}\xi\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  in Hesychios is a gloss of uncertain provenance.



Eretria, Bechtel No. 15: ὁπόραι l. 5, ἄ[ρχ]ουριν 6, ὀμννούρας 10, παραβαίνωριν 11. In No. 16, an inscription found in Chalkis and almost entirely Hellenistic, we read Μίργος (C 14). No. 15 dates from between 410–390 B.C., No. 16 from 340–279. The latter is placed by Bechtel under the head of Eretrian Ionic. Eretrian rhotacism is furthermore attested in the inscription 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1887, pp. 82–110, where thirty names have ρ for σ, while in eighty-two instances σ is preserved. Examples of ρ are: Κτηρίας 73 B, Κτηρίων[ος] 188 C, Κτηριβίου 31 C, 285, Κτηριβιάδης, Κτηρικλείδου 132 B; Κτήσωνος, and seven other examples of Κτησ- occur, and σ before consonants remains unchanged in this inscription. Two Eretrian decrees conferring the rights of proxeny published *l. l.* are free from all trace of rhotacism, which is a phonetic change varying with locality and date, as may be seen by the study of its life in Eleian. For other examples, see Baunack in his *Studien* I 299.

It might seem that rhotacism extended as far as Styra, since on the Styrian lead tablets are found: Κτηρίνος 19<sub>438</sub> and Μίργων 19<sub>25, 71</sub>. Both these individuals must however be Eretrians, since there is no trace of rhotacism elsewhere in Styra: Κτησίνος is found in Styra 19<sub>231-233</sub>, Κτησίων 19<sub>53-60, 234-236, 386</sub>, Κτήσις 19<sub>122</sub>, Κτήσιμος 19<sub>57</sub>, Χαρήσιος 19<sub>94</sub>, &c. In Eretrian we have the form Φιλήσιος, in Bechtel No. 14 = Rob. I 170, an inscription older than No. 15, though the sigma has four strokes. Either the σ of Φιλήσιος is a conscious refusal to adopt the intervocalic rhotacism prevailing at the period of the writing of No. 14, or this inscription is older than the Styrian lead tablets containing Κτηρίνος and Μίργων (which are older than all the other epigraphical documents found at Eretria) and hence dates from a period when the Eretrians had not transformed intervocalic σ to ρ. Assuming that No. 14 contains a conscious archaism, we may place the introduction of rhotacism in Euboea in the middle of the fifth century before Christ. That the Eretrians borrowed their fondness for rhotacism from the Eleians is undemonstrable, notwithstanding the statement of Strabo (X 686) to that effect: ἐποίκουσ δ' ἔσχον ἀπ' Ἡλίδος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τῷ γράμματι τῷ ῥῷ πολλῷ χρησάμενοι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τέλει μόνον τῶν ῥημάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ, κεκωμώδηνται.

In addition to Μίργος and Μίργων above mentioned, there is no other case of rhotacism before consonants attested upon the inscriptions. That Πελαργός was an instance in point, was the view of Phrynichos: Πελαργός Ἐρετριακῶς Πελασγός and Πελαργός οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ Ἐρετριακῶς Πελασγός. Beside Πελαργός, Μίργος and Μίργων we have no examples of anteconsonantal rhotacism, which is thus exceedingly rare. That Μίργος is only a survival of the ancient orthography, and that rhotacism did not

continue to the period of No. 16, is clear from the refusal of *ἐργασίνην* (16, A 4) to adopt the liquid.

By a series of doubtful combinations Bechtel (*Insch. des ionischen Dialekts*, p. 13) derives the Eretrian rhotacism from Thessaly, where, as he claims, it affected the speech of the Phthiotic Achaeans, the inhabitants of the Hestiaiotes and the 'Pelasgians.' We have, however, only one example of Thessalian rhotacism which is found twice: *Θεορδότειος* C. D. I. 331<sub>9</sub>, *Θεορδότειος* 326, II 42. It is hazardous to find in a solitary example of antec consonantal rhotacism the sole survival of a phenomenon that must either have been wide-spread, or, if originally restricted to the antec consonantal position, enlarged in a unique way to embrace intervocalic *σ*.

### 332.] Final Rhotacism.

This is attested, not by inscriptional evidence, but by literature alone: Plato, *Kratylos* 434 C, says: *οἷσθ' οὖν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡμεῖς μὲν φάμεν σκληρότης, Ἐρετριεῖς δὲ σκληρότηρ*; The Eretrian inscription No. 15, which contains four cases of intervocalic rhotacism (all that were possible) refuses to change either antec consonantal or final *σ*. The language of the inscriptions may have differed from the popular speech, in that the latter adopted freely the form of rhotacism prevalent in Eleian and Lakonian. But, as the case stands, Plato's remark is not borne out by the stone-records.

1. In the MSS. *R d* of Hdt. II 70 we find *θηρευτήρ* for *θηρευτής*, which contains merely a different ending. There is no evidence of rhotacism in the Ionic of the Asiatic mainland. As Halikarnassian has been regarded a retrograde inscription in Head (*Hist. Num.*, p. 526): *Φαενορ εἰμὶ σῆμα*, as read by Sir Charles Newton, who took *φαενορ* for the genitive of *Φαινῶ* (*i. e.* *φαενορ* = *Φαινοῦς*). The reading with *ρ* is, however, indefensible on other grounds. See Roberts, I p. 177.

2. Other evidence of Eretrian rhotacism: Diogenianos *paroem. cent.* IV 57, cf. Apostol. *paroem. cent.* VII 89: *Ἐρετριέων ῥῶ' ἐπὶ τῶν κατακόρως τισὶ χρωμένων. κατακόρως γὰρ οὗτοι χρῶνται τῷ ῥῷ*. Hesychios: *Ἐρετριέων ῥῶ' Ἐρετριεῖς τῷ ῥ κατακόρως χρῶνται*. Suidas s. v. *Χαλκιδίξειν*: *ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ῥωτακίσειν, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Ἐρετριεῖς δοκοῦσι τῷ ῥ κατακορεστέρως χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ σ τιθέντες*. Eust. p. 279<sub>31</sub>: *ἐκωμφοῦντο δέ, φασιν, οἱ Ἐρετριεῖς ὥς πολλῶ τῷ ῥ ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλαῖς χρώμενοι. διὸ καὶ αὐτοί, καθὰ καὶ Ἡλεῖοι, βαρβαρόφωνοι ἐκαλοῦντο, ὥς ἐν ῥητορικῷ εὔρηται λεξικῶ, διὰ τὸν πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ῥ*.

### 333.] Metathesis of liquids.

Greg. Kor. p. 434 brings forward *κραδίη*, *ἀταρπιτός*, *τάρφος*, and (p. 489) quotes Homeric *τέτρατος*, *κρατερός*. On Ionic *ρα*, *αρ*, see § 128, on *βότραχος*, *βρόταχος* see § 147. On *τάρφος* see Curtius, *G. E.*<sup>5</sup> p. 224. In the dialect of Herakleia *τράφος* was used for *τάρφος*. With *Θεύπορπος*, which occurs on a Chian coin, Imh.-Bl. *G. M.* p. 656, cf. *Θεύπροπος* Miletos, *ibid.* p. 646, Iasos, *J. H. S.*



IX 342. The Et. M. 83<sub>42</sub> reports from Simonides ἀμιθρός for ἀριθμός (cf. Kallim. 339, ἀμιθρέω). Though it is more probable that the great Simonides is meant, Ahrens proposed to read in Sim. Am. 3 ἀμιθρῶ. ἀμιθρέω is found Hrd. 6<sub>6</sub>, 98 and in Theokritos.

Hdn. II 220<sub>22</sub> = Et. Mag. 188<sub>9</sub> quotes from Hippon. (106) βάραγχος, the equivalent of the Attic and Hippokratic (V 676) βράγχος. βάραγχος contains an example of anaptyctic *a*. See § 127. On Ἀρταφρένης see § 134. Hrd. 6<sub>90</sub> has πρόσω, the form used by Herodotos, &c. Homer has πρόσω and πρόσσω. πόρσω occurs in Pindar and tragedy.

### 334.] ρρ.

πυρρός Hdt. III 139, Hippokr. II 74, VI 74, VII 510, VIII 234, 248, 336, 338 did not originate from πυρσός. The form πυρσός is exceedingly rare in Attic. From the list of the passages quoted by L. & S. in defence of its Old-Attic character, Aisch. Pers. 316 should be removed, and the Euripideian passage (*Phoin.* 32) is cited by Photios with πυρραῖς, instead of the usual reading πυρσαῖς. πυρρός is from πῦρ-ιό-ς, or from πῦρ-φό-ς as in Korinthian, C. D. I. 3119 H 50. Proper names that are connected have ρρ. A suffix -σο- is certainly foreign to Ionic in this word. MSS. of Hdt. often have βορρέης. βορήης is the correct form. The form with one ρ is also Attic (βορέου C. I. A. I 321<sub>29</sub>).

335.] Expulsion of ρ from the second syllable of a word in which it also occurred in the first, is attested in the case of τρύφακτος § 357, 4. A less certain example of the same phenomenon occurs in βάθρακος for βράθρακος according to Roscher in Curtius' Studien IV 193 (cf. § 147). Attic and Doric μάραθρον, which is said to have lost ρ (Hippokr. μάραθρον VI 562, VII 88, with μάραθρον as *v. l.* in *H J*), is probably formed with the suffix -θο-, not with -θορ-. On the interrelation of πατριή and φρατρία, see § 361.

### Nasals.

336.] The nasal is not written, though probably pronounced after a weak fashion, in the following inscriptions of Styra: Πό(μ)πις 19<sub>80</sub>, Πο(μ)πάδης 19<sub>408</sub>, Κόσυ(μ)βος 19<sub>227</sub>, Ὁ(μ)φάλιος 19<sub>196</sub>; in Πά(μ)βις 152, Abu-Simbel, name of a Kolophonian, which is hypocoristic for Πάμβιος, and in Πα(μ)φαίης Th. (L.) 19 A 6. With Νυ(μ)φέων Siphnos 88, Νυ(μ)φόδωρος Smyrna, C. I. G. 3155<sub>8</sub>, and the vase inscriptions Νύ(μ)φης C. I. G. 7760, Νύ(μ)φαι C. I. G. 8185 F, we may compare the forms of



νύμφη which are measured  $\cup$ — in *Antig.* 1115, *Trach.* 857, *Andr.* 140. On the other hand we have Νύμφησιν, Νυμφηγέτη Thasos 68<sub>1</sub>, Νυμφέων Naxos 27, Νύμφιος Th. (L.) 7 B 7. ἀστυνο-  
μου(ν)τος Thasos, Stephani in *Mél. Gr. Rom.* II 20, No. 26, is not another example of the weak nasal<sup>1</sup>. ἀφιδέας Greg. Kor. § 123 may perhaps be explained as having lost its nasal. Ὀλυμπο- is never written without the  $\mu$ , as in the examples cited by Meyer § 294 from inscriptions found in Olympia. We even have  $\mu\mu$  in Ὀλυμμπιάδα Eretria 158.

337.]  $\sigma$  regularly disappears before medial  $\nu$  with compensatory lengthening, e.g. σελήνη, κρήνη. Whenever  $\sigma\nu$  is assimilated to  $\nu\nu$  in Ionic, its  $\sigma$  is not original, but a  $\sigma$  which was reinstated through analogy. Thus ἔννυμι, instead of the older ἐννυμι (§ 224, 10, and cf. Brugmann, *K. Z.* XXVII 591), is due to the influence of ἔσ-σαι, from which a new \*ἔσ-νυμι was constructed.

A notable difference between the older  $\nu\nu < \sigma\nu$  and the younger  $\nu\nu$ , is that the latter does not suffer reduction of the geminated nasal. The new  $\nu\nu$  came into existence at the same period as the following proper names, whose  $\nu\nu$  is from final  $s$  + initial  $\nu$ : Πελοπόννησος, a form that is accepted by the other dialects, Ἑκατόννησοι, Μύοννησος in Hekataios, Προκόνησος, in which form the  $\nu\nu$  is more common than the single  $\nu$ , according to Strabo XIII p. 618. In No. 103 = Rob. I 42 (Prokon.) we find  $\nu\nu$  in the Ionic copy, and only one  $\nu$  in the Attic reproduction of the document, in accordance with the usage of Attic inscriptions antedating 550 B.C. Χερσόνησος in Herodotos is a genuine compound, but Χερσόννησος, which occurs conjointly with Χερσον- in the oration περὶ Ἀλονήσου, is doubtless due to the analogy of Πελοπόννησος, Ἀλωπεκόννησος, &c.<sup>2</sup> See Kühner-Blass, *Gr.* p. 269, Riemann, *B. C. H.* I 192, *Dial. Attique*, p. 156 (*Revue de Philol.* 1881). On the form Διόνυσος, see above § 138.

$\sigma + \nu$  regularly becomes  $\nu\nu$  in Aiolic. In Ionic documents the following forms are due to dialect mixture: χρυσοφαένων Anakr. 25<sub>2</sub>; Φαιέννου Thasos (L) 18 C 5, Φαννοθέμιδος Eryth. 206 A 28, Πελινναῖον in Chios, Ἀργεινον in Erythraian territory. These are Aiolic formations due to the Aiolic element in Chios and surroundings. See under adulterine  $\epsilon\iota$ , § 224, 10.

338.] A nasal +  $\sigma$  + a consonant lost the nasal without com-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the variation in the MSS. of Hdt. V 102, where for ἀντενεπίμπρασαν, B C d omit the  $\mu$ ; in III 85, where for ἐγχρίπτων, R d have the form with no  $\mu$ . Cf. also II 93 (R d, no  $\mu$ ) II 60 (d, no  $\mu$ ) IX 98 (C, no  $\mu$ ). Greg. K. § 41 cites ἐγχρίπτων from Hdt. In IV 172, for σκίπωνα, s z have σκίμπωνα.

<sup>2</sup> On Attic inscriptions we read Πελοπόννησος, Ἀλωπεκόννησος, Προκόνησος, but Χερρόνησος.

pensatory lengthening in primitive Greek. Wherever compensatory lengthening exists, as in *πεῖσμα*, it is due to the formation of a new form (\**πένσμα* in place of the older \**πένθμα*). Exempt from the operation of the above law is the combination *n* + I. E. *s* + *z*, which becomes *νσσ*. This *νσσ* is treated like nasal + final *s* and nasal + *σ* in a medial syllable between vowels, when the sibilant has been developed on Greek soil, *i.e.* the nasal disappears with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. I. E. *s* + nasal in a medial syllable was assimilated to a double nasal in Ionic as in all other dialects. In Ionic compensatory lengthening ensued upon the reduction of the gemination. See Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 60<sup>1</sup>.

*ν* followed by *σ* is retained in Ionic in Hom. *κένσαι* (Ψ 337), for \**κεῖσαι* with the *ν* restored from that of *κεντέω*, cf. *κεστός* < *κενστός*. The *ν* of *ἐλμινς* Hippokr. VII 596, 598 is due to that of the oblique cases. *νσ* is also preserved in *πανσελήνῃ* Hdt. II 47, &c., *παλιωσκήῃ* Archil. 34, where we find the *v.l.* *παλιωσκήῃ*, and after *ἐν-* in composition, &c.

Whether *ἐννεφ'* Hipponax 85<sub>3</sub> (hexameter), *προσεννέπη* Solon 42<sub>3</sub> is from *ἐννεφ-* or *ἐννεπ-* is not certain.

*ν* + *σ* becomes *σσ* in *συσσίτια* Hdt., or *σ* as in *συστρατεύεσθαι*, *συσπείδων*; cf. *τῶσ συμπαντων* Halik. 238<sub>41-42</sub>. *συν* + *ζ-* becomes *συζ-* in *συζευγύναι* Hdt. IV 189.

### 339.] *Varia.*

1. *Metathesis of vowel and nasal* in *κάμπτω* and *κναφεύς*; § 349.

2. There is no *interchange of labial and nasal* in *Μεταγεινίων* (Priene), and *Πεδαγείτινος* (Rhodes, Kos). See under *Prepositions* in *AIOLIC*.

Since *μπ* does not become *ππ* in Ionic, *Πό(π)πος*, for *Πό(μ)πις* (Styra 19<sub>80</sub>), which Meister thinks to defend by citing Boiot. *ἐππασις* as an analogous case, will not hold ground. Cf. § 336.

### 3. *Gemination of Nasals.*

Aiolic gemination of *μ* in *ἄμμορος καύηξ* Hipponax 2<sub>1</sub>, defended by Renner (p. 161) as an Homeric reminiscence, is foreign to the genius of the iambic trimeter as employed by the early Ionic poets. The Hesychian glosses *ἡμμορος*· *ἄμοιρος* and *ἡμορίς*· *κενή*, *ἐστερημένη*· *Αἰσχύλος*· *Νιόβη* (cf. *B. B.* XI 252) create a presupposition in favour of the view that Ionic-Attic once possessed an *ἡμμορος*, which was adopted by tragedy. *φερεμμελίην*

<sup>1</sup> Wackernagel's hypothesis (*K. Z.* XXIX 136) that *νσ* did not become *νν*, when the accent preceded, has not been substantiated.



in Mimn. 14<sub>4</sub> (cf. Hom. ἔϋμμελῆς) and ἔμμορεν in Theog. 234, are not to be adduced as supports of the traditional reading in Hipponax, because of the difference in tone between elegiac and iambic poetry.

The word καῖηξ found in conjunction with ἔμμορος in the Hipponaktian passage, does not appear to be Ionic. See § 242. While it would facilitate our conception of the nature of the Ionic trimeter as the dialect of the people, were ἔμμορος to be regarded as an Ionism, neither Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 86 nor Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* 45, who incline to this view in discussing ἔμμορος and forms of similar texture, has taken into consideration the glosses above mentioned which make for the Aiolic character of ἔμμορος.

μμ is found in πλημμυρίς Hdt. VIII 129, and κρόμμυα IV 17, though Λ 630, τ 233 have the form with one μ.

Ionic ὄμμα is from ὄπμα, and is found *e.g.* in Anakr. 75<sub>1</sub>. ὄππα in Aiolic is not well attested.

Ionic varies, as do other dialects, between ἄνν- and ἄν- in the word for *anise*. Hdt. IX 71 has ἄννησον, as Littré reads in Hippokr. II 274, and VIII 170. The dialects vary also between -σο- and -θο- in the suffix. The latter form appears in Hippokr. VI 558.

The doubling of the nasal in Ἀννικῶ Chios (174 C 13, cf. Ἀννικᾶ on a tetradrachmon from Chalkidike in the *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* XI 43) is due to the fact that the noun is hypocoristic for Ἀνίκητος.

### 340.] N movable.

The inscriptions prove how devoid of authority is the current view in reference to the appearance of the *nu ephelkustikon* in Ionic<sup>1</sup>. If we examine the usage of the inscriptions, it is evident that from the earliest period known to us this paragogic letter was in common use both in prose and poetry, before vowels and before consonants. The earlier documents use the -ν with greater regularity than the later.

From the sixth century we have the following instances of -ν preceding a consonant: Prokonnesos (stelè of Sigeion) 103<sub>10</sub>, Samos 211, Naukratis I 700, II 701. From the succeeding century there are at least nine cases: Thasos 68, Teos 156 B 33 (two examples), Abdera 162 (metr.), Chios 175 (metr.), Chios 174 C 20, Samos 215 (metr.), Halik. 238<sub>21</sub>, 241 (ποίησεν in a

<sup>1</sup> Gram. Aug. 669: ἐν τοῖς τρίτοις προσώποις ἡ νέα τῶν Ἰώνων διάλεκτος καὶ ἐν ταῖς δοτικαῖς πληθυντικαῖς τὸ ν ἐφέλκ. οὐ . . . εἰ μὴ χάριν μέτρου. Absence of the paragogic letter in Ionic is asserted by Aristarchus junior in Bekk. An. III 1400; cf. Bachm. An. (Max. Plan.) II 57<sub>17</sub>, 58<sub>3</sub>. Much of the confusion as to this point may be due to the influence of the *Κανόνων θησαυρός* of the above mentioned namesake of the great Alexandrian critic.



metrical artist's signature). Between 400–300 B.C., there are Olynth. 8 B 8, Eryth. 199<sub>6</sub>, Mykonos 248 C 10, Iasos 104, 105<sub>5</sub>, cf. *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, l. 2, Zeleia 113<sub>1</sub>, 114 B, C, D, E, F, Samos 221<sub>32</sub>, Amphipolis 10<sub>1</sub>, Ephesos 147<sub>1, 12</sub>, and Pantikapaion, Latyshev II 4. And even at a later period: Halikarn. *B. C. H.* XIV p. 91, l. 1, Eryth. 206 B 58 (after 278 B.C.), Teos 158<sub>6, 31</sub> (first century) and in the late archaistic copy of the ancient document from Kyzikos 108 B 2. In the Lykian document No. 263, of uncertain date, there is another example. There are a few examples of the non-occurrence of *nu* movable before consonants, which do not deserve special mention.

Before vowels, and from the fifth century, we find *-v* in Teos 156, B 34, B 36; Chios 173, 174 A 17, 20; Samos 212; Halikarn. 238<sub>10, 18</sub>, 240<sub>39, 45, 63</sub>. From the fourth century: Phanag. 164<sub>1</sub>, Eryth. 200 (metr.), Samos 221<sub>20</sub>, Mylasa 248 C 10. Eryth. No. 206 offers several instances of this use in the third century (B 47, 48, 58, C 45). All the instances of the omission of *-v* before vowels date from a period when the monuments of the dialect are not free from the suspicion of contamination through Attic influence. Examples are: Phanag. 166<sub>2</sub>, 167<sub>2</sub>, 168<sub>1</sub>, Samos 221<sub>17</sub>.

Movable *nu* is not uncommon at the end of an inscription. In early documents we find it (on ἐποίειν Miletos 95, see below): Chalkis 1, Keos 45, 48, 51, Paros 58, Prokon. 103, Samos 215. From a later period: Chios 192, Eryth. 207. Other inscriptions have no such termination, such as Sam. 213, 215 (which has ἀνέθηκε but also ἐποίησεν), Amorg. 228, No. 260 of uncertain provenance, and No. 21, Western Ionic. In the middle of a clause the same haphazard use prevails. Thus in Thasos 72<sub>9, 10</sub>, Samos 221<sub>3</sub>, Ephes. 147<sub>1</sub>, a vowel follows the forms provided with the *-v*. In Teos 158<sub>3</sub> there is no *-v*. In Chios 174 B 6, 17, Zeleia 113 B 2, C 2, E 2, Theodosia 127<sub>3</sub>, the words end in *-v* and are followed by a consonant. Sometimes a clause is terminated by a verb with no *-v*, and the next sentence has in the same inscription, now a vowel, now a consonant to introduce the first word of the following clause (cf. Zeleia 113<sub>9, 13</sub>). The ordinary rule whereby to uncontracted *-εε* of the imperfect *-v* may be added, while the contracted *-ει* may not take the final *-v*, is not without exceptions. The Homeric ἦσκειν Γ 388 finds its analogue in the Milesian ἐποίειν Bechtel No. 95. Cf. *-ειν* in the pluperfect in Aristophanes, Plato, &c., and ἀπῆειν Plato *Tim.* 76 B (before a comma and a word beginning with a consonant).

The supposed absence of the paragogic nasal from the text of Herodotos, and other Ionic writers of prose is generally explained by the assumption that Ionic evinced no repugnance to hiatus.

Now it can readily be shown that the Ionic avoidance of contraction and fondness for hiatus are not so great as is commonly assumed; and Merzdorf has demonstrated that the evidence of the MSS. of Herodotos does not bear out the commonly received view<sup>1</sup>. What Herodoteian usage was, we cannot now discover. Doubtless the historian did not adopt any fixed procedure, and any attempt at uniformity in the manipulation of so delicate an instrument of stylistic perfection cannot be expected before Isokrates. But if contemporary evidence has any claims upon our consideration, the peccant letter must be held to have been used far more frequently than it appears in the MSS. The genuine and the spurious writings of Hippokrates, and the fragments of the philosophers, usually follow the rules which regulate the appearance of the nasal in Attic texts<sup>2</sup>. Eberhard has expelled all cases of *-ν* from Arrian, though there is no doubt that a closer adherence to the best MSS. would free Arrian from this and many other pseudo-Ionisms. Lukian's *Α*, by its omission of *-ν*, shows the influence of contemporary theory. In Eusebios, however, while we find the nasal sometimes omitted before a vowel, it is added even before a consonant.

1. Herodotos never has *-ν* with *πρόσθε*, *ἐμπροσθε*, *ὑπερθε*, *κατύπερθε*, *ὀπισθε*, *ἐνερθε*. Herodas has *πρόσθε* 238, *ὑπερθε* 340, but also *κάτωθεν* and *κἄνωθεν* 260, which Rutherford emends.

2. Herodotos has *τοῦτο*, *τοιούτο*, *τοσοῦτο*; never the *-ν* forms.

3. The only rule that may be formulated for the appearance of so evanescent a phonetic element is that it never appears before *τ*, except in the phrase *ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ*. All our modern rules are drawn from the artificial canons of the grammarians, not from the living language. The perversity of modern rule-making is not so marked in reference to *οὔτω*, *οὔτως*.

4. The nasal is not written in *πάλι* Hrd. 252, as frequently in late poets. Compare *πέρυσιν* and *πέρυσι*.

### *Gutturals.*

#### 341.] The Forms with Π and Κ.

The Ionic dialect possesses both *π* and *κ* as in *πῶς*, *κῶς*, *πότε*, *κότε*, and in all connected forms<sup>3</sup>. In no other department of

<sup>1</sup> It is however correct that movable *-ν* occurs only rarely in all MSS., e. g. I 5 *ἔμαθεν ἔγκυος*, VII 161 *ἀπέπεμψεν ἡμέας*, VIII 118 *οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία*.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the excerptors of early Ionic who have preserved the original dialectal colouring with some consistency fail to follow any other rule than that in vogue in Attic. Cf. for example Demokr. 13, 207, 291, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Gr. 235, 240, 241 B, Greg. K. 412, Gram. Leid. 628, Aug. 668, Vat. 694, Birnb. 678<sub>16</sub>, Et. M. 50<sub>31</sub>, Hesych. s. v. *όκοῖον*, Orion 142<sub>34</sub>, Apoll. D. *Synt.* p. 55 (Bekk.), *Adv.* p. 184<sub>10</sub> (Schn.), An. Ox. I 247<sub>10</sub>. Some grammarians



Ionic does there exist a wider chasm between the language of the inscriptions and that of literature, the former having no case whatever of the  $\kappa$  forms, the latter having both  $\pi$  and  $\kappa$ . In the poets we find both  $\pi$  and  $\kappa$ , if we accept the somewhat dubious evidence of the MSS., and in Herodotos only the  $\kappa$  forms. There is no evidence that Herodotos adopted the dialect of Miletos in his preference for  $\kappa$  over  $\pi$ , nor is there any actual testimony to a struggle between the two sets of pronominal forms in any portion of Ionic territory, though in the MSS. of poets from Amorgos, Thasos (or Paros if we refer Archilochos to the latter island), Ephesos, Kolophon, and Teos we discover now one, now the other form. The instances of the  $\pi$  forms in the lyric poets are not to be regarded as affording evidence of a period in the history of the dialect when  $\pi$  was in course of becoming  $\kappa$  (a phonetic change unknown to Greek). Though it cannot be gainsaid that no poet of Ionic birth could use either  $\kappa$  or  $\pi$  in the same word, we are unable to demonstrate in all cases which was the chosen form. In any event I regard it as problematic whether any of the instances of the  $\pi$  forms in the MSS. of the iambographs and Ionic elegists (though here the evidence is less certain) are retentions of the original. The geographical extension of the  $\kappa$  forms, the history of their interrelation with those in  $\pi$ , and the possibility of Ionic inscriptions of the seventh century containing forms with  $\kappa$ , are questions that do not at present admit of a solution. There is however no doubt that the older inscriptional forms with  $\pi$  are genuine Ionic, and free from all suspicion of being due to the levelling tendencies of Attic. Much of the apparent confusion in our texts may be due to sub-dialectal preferences as regards  $\kappa$  and  $\pi$ . The existence of such preferences is clear from the Samian *Κυανοψιών*, mentioned in § 344.

### 342.] List of Ionic pronominal forms with K for Π.

An exhaustive presentation of all the testimony from the prose literature is not attempted. The poetical and inscriptional forms are given with tolerable completeness. The  $\kappa$  forms are given only when they are supported by MS. authority. Homer has everywhere the labial forms; so too the non-Ionian elegists.

thought the  $\kappa$  forms were Aiolic. *κονεῖν* for *πονεῖν* Schol. Ven. B on  $\Omega$  648 (cf. *ἀκονητί* = *ἀπονητί* Et. Mag. 50<sub>20</sub>) has the appearance of a form made to order, though, if genuine, it would be an interesting illustration of the change which we observe in *πόνος*, *διάκονος*. Demetrios Ixion *apud* Apollon. Sophist. *Lex.* 131, merely says of *πη* that it is Ionic and Homeric.



κου	Anakr. 1 <sub>4</sub> Hdt. Hippokr. II 34 Hrd. 1 <sub>10</sub> , 3 <sub>43</sub> , 6 <sub>19</sub> , &c. (δῆκου 3 <sub>90</sub> , 5 <sub>24</sub> , δῆκουθεν 2 <sub>2</sub> )	που	Amph. 10 <sub>7</sub> , Zeleia 11 <sub>339</sub> Arch. 73, Anan. 1 Hdt. Hippokr. II 282, 362, 676, III 190 ( <i>bis</i> )
ῥκου	Hipponax 51 <sub>2</sub> Sim. Am. 7 <sub>91</sub> , 10 <sub>6</sub> Phoin. Kol. 2 <sub>12</sub> (Schn.) Kallim. 85 Hdt. Hippokr. II 72, 90, 362 (ῥπου in 2253), III 56, 58 Hrd. 3 <sub>13</sub> , 5 <sub>41</sub>	ῥπου	Keos 43 <sub>23</sub> , Thasos 71 <sub>4</sub> , Halik. 240 <sub>44</sub> Vit. Hom. 6
κω	Hippon. tr. 19, (conj. for χω) Anakr. 33 (MSS. κοτε) Hdt. Demokr. (Clem. Alex. 357 P)	πω	Archil. 25 <sub>2</sub> Tyrt. 11 <sub>2</sub> (οὔπω) Theog. 1265 Hippokr. II 34 Hrd. 7 <sub>44</sub>
κῶς, κως	Kall. 1 <sub>12</sub> Hdt. Luk. V. A. 14 (or ῥκως) <i>Dea Syr.</i> 29. Euseb. Mynd. 63 Hrd. 6 <sub>74</sub> , 85	πῶς, πως	Archil. 122 Hippon. 87 Herakl. 27 Melissos 12 (Simpl., Mul- lach κῶς) Hippokr. II 282, III 210 Luk. V. A. 4. Vit. Hom. 14, 19 Hrd. 2 <sub>56</sub>
ῥκως	Sim. Am. 7 <sub>82</sub> Anakr. 63 <sub>2</sub> Herakl. 2, 45, 100 Demokr. 20, 41, 208 Hdt. Hippokr. II 74, III 64, 242 Philip of Pergam. B. C. H. II 273 Aretaios Vit. Hom. 21 Hrd. (17 times)	ῥπως	Thasos 71 <sub>6</sub> (fourth cen- tury) Samos 221 <sub>10</sub> , 18 (after 322 B.C.), cf. Ephesos 147 <sub>17</sub> [ῥπ]ως Sim. Am. 1 <sub>5</sub> Hippon. 85 <sub>3</sub> Vit. Hom. 18 Hrd. 7 <sub>22</sub>
κοῖος	Hdt. Aret. Luk. Arrian 35 <sub>4</sub> Hrd. 6 <sub>48</sub> , 75	ποῖος	Arch. epod. 94 <sub>1</sub> Hrd. 2 <sub>28</sub>
ὀκοῖος	Archil. 70 <sub>2</sub> , 3 tetr. Herakl. 2, 23, 126 Demokr. 47 Hdt. Hippokr. III 42, 236 Aret. Luk. V. A. 4, <i>Dea Syr.</i> 29 Euseb. Mynd. 63. Hrd. 1 <sub>64</sub> , 6 <sub>65</sub> , 350	ὀποῖος	Anax. 6 (Simpl.)

κότε, κοτε	Sim. Am. 7 <sup>99</sup> Kall. 1 <sub>1</sub> , 2 <sub>2</sub> Mimn. 11 <sub>1</sub> Anakr. 33 in MSS. (Bergk κω τόντ) Kallim. 93 Hdt. Hrd. 273, 433, 654, 768, 81, &c.	πότε, ποτε	Amorg. Rob. I 160 A Xenoph. 1 <sub>5</sub> , 6 <sub>2</sub> Tyr. 11 <sub>15</sub> , 12 <sub>31</sub> Mimn. 12 <sub>2</sub> , 14 <sub>5</sub> Theog. 1245, 1256, 1287, 1307, 1331, 1345 Anakr. 85 Hrd. 618, 27, cf. 273 Herakl. 27 Hippokr. II 70, 360, 678, III 44, 90, V 606, 620, 634, 674 Luk. <i>Dea Syr.</i> 29 Arrian 42 <sub>3</sub>
δότε	Herakl. 36, 73 Hdt. Hippokr. II 34, 70, 360, 362 (δότε 2253) Demokr. 47 Vit. Hom. 5	δότε	Kall. 18 (δπότε, cf. note 1) Vit. Hom. 26
κόσος	Hdt. Hrd. 121, 295, 379, 764, &c.	πόςος	Hippokr. II 678
δόςος	Phoinix Kol. 218, 19 Herakl. 2, 5, 18, 64, 91, 104 Demokr. 22, 47, 211 Hdt. Hippokr. II 34, 86, 90 Philip of Pergam. <i>B. C. H.</i> II 273 Aret., Hrd. 132 Arrian 404, Luk. <i>Dea Syr.</i> 29	δπόςος	δπόραι Eretr. 15 <sub>5</sub> Xenoph. 1 <sub>17</sub> Demokr. 13
κῆ	Hdt.	πῆ	Archil. 60
ῥκη	Herakl. 73 Melissos 14 Hdt.	ῥπη	Sim. Am. 1 <sub>2</sub>

Hdt. has also *κόθεν* (Hrd. 6<sub>22</sub>), *δóθεν*, *κότερος*, *δóτερος*. In the case of other words the New Ionic of Hdt. presents no variations from Attic as regards the representation of I. E. *q* as *κ* before *o*, *e.g.* *δποδαπή* V 13, *δποδαπός* VII 218. Xenophanes has *πηλίκος*. In Arrian 42<sub>8</sub> *ῥκου* is to be read. In Herodas the forms with *κ* are much more numerous than those with *π* (*e.g.* 2<sub>28</sub>, 56, 6<sub>27</sub>, 7<sub>22</sub>, 44).

1. Forms with *ππ* are not to be called into question, since there is no such thing as an Ionic *δκότε*. Fick's attempts to expel *δπότε κεν δῆ* from Kallinos 1<sub>8</sub>, on the ground of the inadmissibility of an Aiolic form in that elegist, are wide of the mark. There is an irreducible minimum of Aiolisms in the Ionic elegy. Cf. also Theog. 531 *δπότη' ἀκούσω*.

2. Bechtel's statement, that *ῥπου* in Keos 43<sub>23</sub> is a proof of Attic influence, is misleading. There is no inscriptional instance of *ῥκου* or of any such *κ* form. All we can say is that the Keian *ῥπου* is the earliest inscriptional example of a *π* form. Cf. § 450, 2.

3. A difference between the three divisions of Ionic on the score of the *κ* forms cannot be established. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.*, p. 318, proposes to restore the *π* forms in Archilochos, as a representative of Island Ionic, and because of *ῥπως* upon a Thasiote inscription. In Archilochos the MSS. vary only more frequently in favour of the *π* form than they do in the case of poets of the Asiatic mainland. I see no reason to refer the *κ* forms to the influence of the *μεταγραφάμενοι*. Blass (*Kühner's Gramm.* p. 142) holds that Euboian Ionic also (cf. *δπότερος* Eretria 15<sub>10</sub>) did not adopt the guttural. Our only evidence as to the nature of Euboian Ionic is that derived from inscriptions. If we argue that because no Western Ionic inscription has *κ*, therefore Western Ionic had *π*, a similar line of reasoning would hold good in the case of Island Ionic, and thus call in question the integrity of much of the MS. tradition.

4. The MSS. of Hippokrates varied greatly in regard to these forms according to the express testimony of Galen, who says that Artemidorus Capito edited *ὀπόσησι*, &c. Gomperz, *Apologie der Heilkunst*, p. 86 ff., has illustrated the erratic conduct of the MSS. by reference to the pseudo-Hippocratic tracts *περὶ τέχνης*, *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου*, and *περὶ φυσῶν*. In the latter the later MSS. have the *κ* forms twelve times, *Δ* not once; from which Gomperz concludes that the *κ* forms are the result of meddling on the part of the scribes.

343.] By some imitators of Herodotos the *κ* forms are carefully reproduced. Lukian's only exception seems to be *ποτέ* *Dea Syr.* 29. Arrian has, on the other hand, 34 cases of *π*, but few of *κ* (*ὀκότε* in *Δ* § 42, *κοίῳ* 35 in some MSS., *ὀκόσοισιν* 40). Eberhard adopts Hercher's expulsion of all the *π* forms in Arrian. In the other pseudo-Ionists we find scattered forms containing *κ*:—Abydenos 1 *κοῦ*, *ῥκη*, in the epistles of Pherekydes *οῦκω*, *ὀκοῖον*, epist. of Herakl. *ὀκόσοιοι*, epist. of Hippokr. 40 cases of *κ* to 22 of *π*.

The guttural forms have been given a place even in the Doric of the Pseudo-Timaïos: *ὀκόσος* 93 B, 96 E, 99 C, 100 B, C, D, *ῥκως* 99 A, 101 C.

344.] Other cases of Ionic K=Π are: *Κυανοψιών* in Kyzikos and Samos (*Berlin. Monatsberichte*, 1859, p. 739). *πύανος* and *Πυανοψιών* have *π* where *κ* is strictly in place. See Reinach, *Traité*, p. 489, Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* p. 32, note. On *κτάομαι* or *κτέομαι*=*πάομαι*, see §§ 169, 246.

### 345.] K for T.

Only one case deserves notice. In Archil. 14, we read *ἔσκε* for *ἔστε*, the only instance of this form. See § 716. *ἔστε* was employed by Hdt. and the pseudo-Ionic writers, *e.g.* Arrian, *Ind.* 19<sub>6</sub>.



### 346.] Transposition of Aspiration<sup>1</sup> (X=K).

The shifting of  $\chi$ - $\kappa$ ,  $\theta$ - $\tau$ ,  $\phi$ - $\pi$  arises from so strong an aspirated pronunciation of  $\kappa$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\pi$  that the *tenues* and *aspiratae* represented nearly the same sound. This phenomenon, though not restricted to Ionic<sup>2</sup>, nevertheless obtained in that dialect the dignity of admission into literature, from which it was usually debarred in other dialects. The Ionic forms are usually original, as in the case of  $\epsilon\nu\theta\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ , cf.  $\epsilon\nu\theta\alpha$ . Ionic inscriptions of the best period do not offer instances of the intermediate form with double aspirate such as  $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi\eta\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$  in Attic inscriptions.

$\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ <sup>3</sup> =  $\chi\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  Hdt. II 81, Samos 220<sub>13, 16, 37</sub>,  $\kappa\iota\theta\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  220<sub>17</sub>, cf.  $\kappa\iota\theta\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu$  C. I. A. II 759, II 11. In Anacr. 59 the Attic form is read by Bergk, following the scholiast on Eurip. *Hek.* 934. The form  $\kappa\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  occurs in Sikilian Doric (Sophron 62, Ahrens), and in Attic inscriptions ( $\kappa\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha$  C. I. A. II 764<sub>1</sub>).

$\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\eta$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\upsilon\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  are often cited as Ionic by the grammarians<sup>4</sup>. The MSS. of Hdt. however have  $\chi\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$  V 88, and in Hipponax 25 we find  $\chi\upsilon\tau\rho\omicron\pi\acute{o}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ .  $\kappa\upsilon\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  in Hippokr. VII 394 in  $\theta$  (cf. 396) justifies our writing the Herodoteian and Hipponaktian words with  $\kappa$ . The pseudo-Ionists have  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\eta$ , which appears in Herodas, III 1 (found in Stobaios, *Serm.* 78, 6) though in the recently discovered papyrus  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\eta$  appears (7<sub>76</sub>). Like forms are found in Clemens Alex. and Josephos. In a late inscription from Oropos (Eph. arch. 1889, p. 3, ll. 12, 13) we find  $\chi\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ .

Forms adduced by grammarians are:  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\theta\iota\omicron\nu$  =  $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\iota\omicron\nu$  Eust. 1259<sub>36</sub>;  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\rho\upsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  ( $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ ) Eust. 1446<sub>4</sub>, 1534<sub>47</sub>;  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\omicron\nu$  Greg. Kor. § 28 must be an error for  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\iota\omicron\nu$ , with which he would compare  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ <sup>5</sup>.

### 347.] K for X by Dissimilation.

$\Phi\rho\nu\nu\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$  Thasos (L.) 7 A 4 =  $\Phi\rho\nu\nu\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$  which is found in Hippokr. II 704. Cf.  $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\epsilon\tau\lambda\omicron\nu$  Hippon. 19<sub>4</sub> =  $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\epsilon\theta\lambda\omicron\nu$ ,  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\lambda\omicron\nu$  =  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\theta\lambda\omicron\nu$  and see B. B. I 65, Ascoli *Kritische Studien*, p. 404, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. § 28, An. Ox. I 397<sub>3ff.</sub>, Choir. 635<sub>26</sub>. Even  $\xi\tau\upsilon\kappa\omicron\nu$  is derived from  $\xi\tau\upsilon\chi\omicron\nu$  in An. Par. III 183<sub>31</sub>; similar vagaries occur in An. Par. III 220<sub>14</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Attic  $\phi\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta$ ,  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$  in the Common dialect (cf. Eust. 1259<sub>36</sub>). The fact that the Common dialect adopted the shifting of aspiration renders doubtful the ascription to Ionic of certain glosses, e.g.  $\theta\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ,  $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$  in Hesychios.

<sup>3</sup> Greg. Kor. p. 414 (cf. 341), Gram. Meerm. 649; Bekk. An. II 793<sub>20</sub> ( $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ ), An. Par. III 57<sub>10</sub>, Eust. 468<sub>32</sub>, 746<sub>15</sub>; Hesych.  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\theta\omega\nu$  ( $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ ?)  $\pi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$   $\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\nu$  and  $\pi\rho\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$   $\tau\delta$   $\pi\rho\acute{o}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ .

<sup>4</sup> An. Par. III 57<sub>12</sub>, Et. M. 454<sub>42</sub>, Eust. 468<sub>35</sub>, 746<sub>16</sub>, Choir. 635<sub>28</sub>, Hesych.  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$   $\tau\delta$   $\pi\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma$ . An. Ox. I 366<sub>14</sub>, Greg. Kor. 341 call  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\theta\rho\alpha$  Doric, and Eust. regards the  $\kappa$  form as Sikilian as well as Ionic. Epicharmos has  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\alpha$  according to our sources.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. An. Par. III 57<sub>11</sub>, Meerm. 649, Eust. 468<sub>33</sub>, 746<sub>17</sub>.

Καλχηδόνιος Hdt. IV 85, 144, V 26 is an older orthography for Χαλκ-, which occurs frequently in the MSS. (Bredow, p. 92). In VI 33 all the MSS. except *R* have Χαλκ-. In Attic inscriptions of the fifth century both Καλχ- and Χαλχ- occur.

With the above mentioned words we may compare Ἀγκιθείδης in Delos, Ditt. *Syll.* p. 513, note 26, which name is derived from Ἀγκίθεος as Ἐκέφυλος from Ἐχέφυλος.

### 348.] Other cases of Ionic K varying with X.

δέκομαι<sup>1</sup> with its compounds occurs in New Ionic literature, and is also Aiolic, Doric, and Arkadian for δέχομαι the Attic form which is due to analogy<sup>2</sup>. Attic has retained the original κ in δωροδόκος. δέχομαι is however not unknown upon Ionic soil. καταδέχεται in Amphipolis 10<sub>19-20</sub> may be regarded as offering inconclusive testimony because of its late date (358 B.C.); but Teos 156 B 21, one of the oldest stone records of the dialect, by its ὑποδέχοιτο shows that the aspirated form was not unknown to the Ionic of the fifth century. δέχομαι may have held its ground from the Homeric period (Homer has no case of δέκομαι) side by side with the morphologically older form which was generally adopted by literary prose. Instances of δέχομαι before Hippokrates are rare (Hipponax has προσδέχονται in frag. 8) and not certain. In Hippokrates δέχομαι is often attested, e.g. V 604 (102), 612 (139), 618 (156), II 76, 152, 246, 372, 610, III 50, 258. Lukian has δέκομαι except in *Astr.* 29, while in Arrian the two forms are about equally divided. δέκομαι is found in Abydenos 1, *Vita Homeri* 12; δέχομαι in Aretaios, epist. Hippokr., Euseb. Mynd. 1.

οὐκί Hom., Hdt., Attic οὐλί, which form is used by Herodas twelve times. Cf. Hdn. II 379<sub>28</sub> (Choir. 699<sub>5</sub>), Et. Mag. 624<sub>16</sub>, Et. Gud. 428<sub>4</sub>, 440<sub>1</sub>, An. Ox. I 301<sub>3</sub>, 311<sub>20</sub>, 318<sub>33</sub>, Bekk. An. I 57<sub>20</sub>, II 718<sub>18, 28</sub>, and οὐκ ἔπεται Hesych. Homeric τετυκεῖν, τετυκῆσθαι from τεύχω may here be mentioned. Herodas has ἐπιβρύχουσα 6<sub>13</sub>, where -βρύκουσα would be the Attic form. Zonaras 1512 says that the Attics, Dorians, and Ionians, except Anakreon (88), used μοχλός. Upon inscriptions κ is sometimes written for χ after σ and before ρ: Αἴσκραος Styra 19<sub>153</sub>; cf. Αἰσχρίων 19<sub>154</sub>, Αἴσχρων Thasos 71<sub>1</sub>. With this κ, cf. that in the Eleian πάσκοι C. D. I. 1152<sub>8</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 571<sub>15</sub>, δέκω Eust. 746<sub>28</sub>, 884<sub>23</sub>, 1399<sub>36</sub> (cf. 1778<sub>5</sub>), πανδοκεύς Eust. 1590<sub>54</sub>, ξεινοδόκος An. Ox. I 300<sub>30</sub>. Eust. does not shrink from assuming an ἔκω in Ionic, 1183<sub>45</sub>. This form is found in Modern Greek dialects but is of course not a survival. A similar vagary as regards δέκα appears in Bekk. An. II 710<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann *Grundr.* I § 486 note, Osthoff *Perfect*, 284, 299. G. Meyer *Gram.* § 207 sets up the proportion βρέξω : βρέχω :: δέξομαι : δέχομαι. But βρέξω is quite late, and ἔβρεξα did not come into vogue before Hippokrates.



## 349.] K for Γ.

κ is softened into γ, as in Attic, in the following words.

κναφεύς *cloth-corder* Hdt. IV 14, κναφήιον IV 14 = Hippokratic (II 666) and = Attic γναφεύς, γναφε[ί]ον C. I. A. II 817 A 28 (358 B.C.). The older stage of Attic is here on a plane with Ionic, as is seen by κναφεύς C. I. A. IV A 373 F, a document of the sixth century. Herodas has γναφέυς 478. Hdt. has also κνάφος I 92.

With ἀνακάμπτειν in Hdt. II 8, cf. ἀναγνάμπτειν in Homer, κνάμπτειν, γνάμπτειν, κνάπτειν in Attic. Hdt. has καμπή I 185, ἐπικαμπή I 180, Hippokr. ἐπικάμπειν. See Siegismund in Curtius' *Studien* V 192. These examples of the variation between an initial tenuis and media before vowels have analogues elsewhere, e.g. Phokian βρυτανεύω = πρυτανεύω, Kretan κλάγος = γλάγος, Attic Κνίφων = Γνίφων. In two other words of doubtful formation a like phonetic interchange after an initial vowel may be noted. Ἀγβάτανα is not better than Ἐκβάτανα (§ 129) because of the γ of *Hañgmatánaiy*, loc. sing., Behistan II 76; Ὠγήνος, in a fragment of Pherekydes of Syros quoted by Clem. Alex. 741 P, recalls the Hesychian glosses Ὠγήν, ὠγένιος which the ancients connected with Ὠκεανός.

## 350.] X for Γ.

πρήγμα Chios 174 B 18 stands for πρήγμα. χμ is not from γμ (which is a favourite sound-combination, γ being the guttural nasal), but from analogy of -χμα, -χμος forms (βρεχμός, ἔχμα). The form πρήγμα has been held by Roehl and Karsten to be a peculiarity of the sub-dialect of Chios-Erythrai. Bechtel however compares the *v. l.* of B in Archil. 30 μυριχμένας for the received ἐσμυρισμένας. Cf. also Hesychios' ἐσμυριγμέναι μεμυρισμέναι. Other forms that may be noted in this connection are μεμορυχμένα *v. l. v* 435, διαπεπλεχμένα (*quaedam αντίγραφα* Galen. *tempore*) Hippokr. II 120. Cf. παράδειγμα in Epidaurian, C. D. I. 3325<sup>251</sup>, &c.

Hdn. II 252<sup>17</sup> = Et. M. 151<sup>39</sup> ἄρχμενος: — ὥφειλε δὲ ἄργμενος φύλαξαν δὲ τὸ χ δοκεῖ Ἰωνικὸν εἶναι, καθὼ καὶ τὸ ἔργμα ἔρχμα φασίν. Cf. II 149<sup>6</sup> on ἔρχατο. In II 371<sup>6</sup> = Et. M. 371<sup>19</sup> we should expect ἐρεχμός, διωχμός, ληχμός (Antimachos) to be called Ionic, not Aiolic.

## 351.] Varia.

1. ἐχ for ἐκ before an aspirate in ἐχφέρειν Keos 436 is not specifically Ionic. Cf. ἐχ φυλῆς C. I. A. I 31 A 7, ἐχφέρεσθαι in Kretan, Cauer 1179. Ionic has ἐκχεῖν in 4322.

2. In δεδόκχθαι Samos 221<sup>26</sup>, we find κχ for χ, i.e. κχ became κχ. Cf. ὄφης = ὄφης, according to the probable conjecture of Bergk in Hipponax 496. In ἐλεγκθέντος Mylasa



248 C 11 we have  $\kappa\theta$  written for  $\chi\theta$ . The pronunciation of  $h$  after both  $\kappa$  and  $\tau$  was difficult,  $\chi\theta$  and  $\phi\theta$  having in reality but a single  $h$ . See § 362.

3. Upon a papyrus couched chiefly in the Ionic dialect and dating from the fourth century B.C. (*Philol.* XLI 748) we find  $\tau\chi\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota$  in line 11, but  $\tau\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota$  in line 8. In the latter case we have the expulsion, in the former the assimilation, of the nasal, as in  $\text{Νύφη}$  and  $\xi\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .

352.]  $\mu\iota\kappa\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma < \mu\iota\kappa-\upsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , a by-form of  $\mu\iota\kappa-\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ , is called Ionic by Eust. 217<sup>29</sup> (cf. 610<sup>25</sup>), but is also Aiolic and Doric. It occurs in Herodas 6<sub>59</sub> who has also  $\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  7<sub>43</sub>. Boiot.  $\text{Μίκκα}$  has hypocoristic gemination. Cf. Lat. *mīca*, *mīcidus*,  $\text{Μικίς}$  Naukr. 745.

### 353.] Γ for Β.

$\gamma\lambda\acute{\eta}\chi\omega\nu$  (or  $\gamma\lambda\eta\chi\acute{\omega}$ ) is called Ionic for Attic  $\beta\lambda\acute{\eta}\chi\omega\nu$  (Doric and Boiotian  $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\omega\nu$ ) in Bekk. Anecd. I 30<sup>15</sup> and in other grammatical treatises.  $\gamma\lambda\acute{\eta}\chi\omega\nu$  occurs in the Hymn to Demeter, Hippocrates, and Herodas, frag. (7). Such a variation between Attic and Ionic in the representation of an original  $g$  sound deserves note from its very isolation. On the accent, see Chandler, § 606.

### 354.] Κορρα.

Q appears in Ionic inscriptions chiefly before  $\omicron$  and  $\upsilon$ , but also before  $\lambda$ ,  $\rho$ , and  $\nu$ . The velar pronunciation of the guttural sound is indicated by the retention of the character reproducing *qōph* in the following instances:—

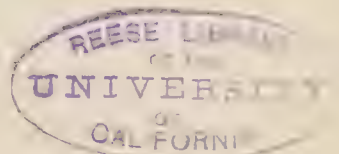
(1)  $\text{Γλαῦρος}$ , on an amphora from a Chalkidian colony, Roberts I 189 G, Volci I 188 G, Naukratis I 218 (=Rob. I 132 *ter*);  $\text{Καῖρος}$  Naukratis II 717, 795;  $\text{καρῶι}$  Arkesine 30=Rob. I 160 D;  $\text{Ῥοῖρος}$  Naukratis II 778;  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$  Chalkidian 13<sup>13</sup> (cf.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  Orop. 18<sub>19</sub>);  $\tau\epsilon\sigma(\sigma)\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\beta\delta\omicron[\mu\eta]\rho\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  Delos 58;  $\text{Δημόδορος}$  Volci, Rob. I 188 A;  $\text{Λεώδορος}$ , on a Chalkidian amphora, Rob. I 189 H;  $\text{Φολοφώνιος}$  Abu-Simbel 152;  $\text{Φούρη}$  Naxos 23;  $\text{Διοσφορ-}$  Naukratis I 675-682, II 833-836, &c.;  $\text{Qo}$  - - - - Chalkidian, Bechtel 13.

(2)  $\text{Qύρν[ο]s}$ , Chalkid. amphora, Rob. I 192 (a);  $\text{λήρυνθος}$  Kyme, Rob. I 173;  $\text{Ἀρρύλης}$  Chalkidian, Rob. I 183 (b).

(3)  $\text{Qλυτώ}$  Volci, Rob. I 188 E;  $\text{Qλύτιος}$  Volci, Rob. I 193 (c).

(4)  $\text{Ἐπιφρήθεος}$  Styra 19<sup>107</sup> is a doubtful form.  $\phi$  seems, with this possible exception, to have ceased to be used in the Styrian tablets of the fifth century.

(5)  $\text{Qύρν[ο]s}$  Chalkid., Rob. I 192 (a).



*Dentals.*

On ζ=δ, see § 377.

## 355.] T for Θ.

αῦτις<sup>1</sup> = αῦθις, epic, Herakleitos 16, Hdt. II 149, &c. Hdt. I 62 has μεταῦτις according to Stein, who reads αὐθιγενέες IV 49, αὐθιγενεί IV 180, αὐθιγενές II 149, and in the same sentence αῦτις. αῦτις occurs Hrd. I<sub>73</sub>, 5<sub>27</sub>, 6<sub>3</sub>, and by conjecture in Anakr. 29. This form is also Kretan. It is found in the pseudo-Ionists Lukian, *e.g.* *Γ. Α.* 5, Euseb. Mynd. 63, and Eusebios, § 2. Hippokrates<sup>2</sup> prefers αῦθις to αῦτις, as his supposititious letters, Aretaios, Abydenos. In Arrian also the Attic form has found a place, while Polybios adopts upon occasion the Ionic form.

Variation between τ and θ is strongly marked in Ταργήλιος, Θαργήλιος. Both forms occur upon the same inscription, Iasos 104<sub>27, 28</sub> (Τ), 104<sub>14</sub> (Θ). Anakreon 40 has the τ form; in Hipponax 37<sub>3</sub> Ταργηλίοισιν is a conjecture, the MSS. having γαργ- and Θαργ-. Ταργηλιών is the name of the month in Delos (cf. *B. C. H.* V 26) and Tenos. Θαργήλια in Archil. ep. 113 is changed without warrant by Bergk to Ταργήλια. In Chios 174 C 18 we have the name Θαργελέο[s], and in Amorgos, Kyzikos, and Ephesos the name of the month was Θαργηλιών. We know also of Θαργήλια in Miletos.

τευθίς Sim. Amorg. 15 and θευτίς or θεῦτις Hipponax 115. would seem to be mutually exclusive in Ionic. θευτίς was doubtless adopted in Eastern Ionic, though which was the form among the Euboians, on whose coins the sepia appeared, is unknown. Hesychios has θωτάζειν ἐμπαίξει, χλευάζει, *i.e.* τωθάξει, without attributing to an Ionic source this example of the movement of the dentals. Both Hdt. and Hippokr. have τωθάζω.

Certain words connected with, or forms of, θάπτω and τέθηπα are called Ionic by the ancients: τάφος *burial* and *amazement*, Ionic for θάπος, Hdn. II 382<sub>11</sub> = An. Ox. I 397<sub>7</sub>, Apoll. *Synt.* 55<sub>21</sub> Bekk., Orion 151<sub>32</sub>, Choir. 635<sub>33</sub> (who calls θρέψω and θρέξω (!) Ionic), Et. M. 748<sub>35</sub>. Cf. also An. Par. III 57<sub>7</sub>, Schol. Ven. A on IX 193, Et. M. 748<sub>55</sub>, Et. Gud. 522<sub>35</sub>, An. Par. III 57<sub>10</sub>; τεθηπότες Apoll. D. *Synt.* 55<sub>21</sub>. Hdt. has τεθάφαται VI 103, where R has τετάφαται. ἐτάφη is found in Herodotos (III 10), ἐθάφη in Sim. Keos 167<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. p. 473, Eust. 1175<sub>63</sub>, cf. 7<sup>8</sup>9<sub>26</sub>, 1006<sub>20</sub>, Anecd. Bachm. II 61<sub>27</sub> (Max. Plan.) "Ομηρος καὶ Ἰωνες; Tzetz. *Ex. II.* 84<sub>11</sub>, and on Hsd. *W. D.* 560 (cf. 156), where αῦτις is also referred to the Κοινή.

<sup>2</sup> Littré adopts αῦθις III 104 (no *v.l.*), 236 (Aldus alone αῦτις), 242 (αῦτις C), II 82 (αῦτις 2146), VI 92 (αῦτις A M). Littré has certainly gone too far in rejecting the Ionic form.

## 356.] Θ for T.

On θ in *κιδών*, *κύθρη*, see § 346.

*ἐνθεῦτεν*<sup>1</sup>, *ἐνθαῦτα* in Hdt. with retention of original aspiration<sup>2</sup>. The form *ἐνθαῦτα* is also found in the very ancient papyrus (*Philologus* XLI 748 l. 6), epist. Hippokr. 17<sub>18</sub>, *Vita Hom.* 2. On *ἐντοῦθα* Oropos 18<sub>17</sub>, see § 256. The intermediate stage between *ἐνθαντ-* and *ἐντανθ-* appears in *ἐνθανθοῖ* Attic (C. I. A. IV B 27 B 13; 439 B. C.), if the first θ is not due to the influence of the second. In the Kymaean *θυφλός* (Roberts I 173) and *ἐθέθην* (Rob. I 174<sup>3</sup>) the θ's seem to be due to etymological considerations. This phenomenon is not restricted to Ionic, but occurs in Lakonian, Argolic, &c.

M. Schmidt suggests that the Hesychian gloss *Θελγίνες· οἱ Τελχίνες* is Ionic. This is doubtful on account of the rest of the gloss: *γόητες, πανοῦργοι, φαρμακευταί*.

*βάθρακος* is stated by ancient grammarians to be the Herodotean form for *βάτραχος* (see §§ 147, 335)<sup>4</sup>. No editor, however, deserts the MS. tradition in Hdt. IV 131, 132; and Pigres, the author of the *Batrachomyomachia*, though an elder contemporary of the historian, does not recognize the form with θ.

## 357.] Varia.

## 1. τ for π.

Palatal τ is found in *Τενθεύς* (ὁ Πενθεὺς παρὰ Ἐκαταίῳ, Photios). *Πενθεύς* is a clipped-name of *Μεγαπένθης*. *Τελέθριον* in Euboea is the equivalent of *Πελεθρόνιον* in Thessaly.

2. θ for δ in *μηθέν* Hrd. 3<sub>91</sub>, *μηθενί* Teos 158<sub>21</sub>, and *οὔθENA*, Olbia C. I. G. 2058 A 32, is not specifically Ionic. The aspiration of an original *media* is widely known in all the dialects as they approach the *Koinḗ* stage. A noteworthy instance of θ=δ is *ἡθ' ὁμόλευκτρος* B. C. H. IV 287, l. 5 (Paros).

3. Beyond the pale of regular phonetic change lie *Μιτροδάτης* and *Μιτροβάτης*.

## 4. τ for δ.

The schol. on Thuk. I 64 makes the curious statement in regard to *Ἀφύτιος* that it is Ionic for *Ἀφύδιος*. Because of the termination, we should rather say. For *ἀπράφαξ*vs, Hippokr. VI 560 has *ἀνδράφαξ*vs. For *κρατευτής* II. IX 214, the Attic is *κρατευτής* and *κραδευτής*. For *δρύφακτος*, we find *τρύφακτος* in Delos, B. C. H. 1890, p. 397, and in Oropos, *Ἐφημ.* ἀρχ. 1889, p. 3, l. 4-5; cf. Hdn. II 595<sub>1</sub>, who says that some wrote the

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. 465, Eust. 468<sub>32</sub>, 746<sub>15</sub>, An. Ox. I 397<sub>8</sub>, An. Par. III 57<sub>10</sub>, Apoll. *Synt.* 55<sub>21</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐνταῦθα*, the Attic form, is very common in MSS. of Ionic writers, e. g. Sim. Am. 23<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. 3<sub>33</sub>, epist. Hippokr. 27<sub>27</sub>, 48, 55; *ἐντεῦθεν* *Vita Hom.* 13, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Attic *ἀνεθέθη* in the same inscription as *ἐνθανθοῖ*.

<sup>4</sup> See also Eust. 746<sub>16</sub>, Meerm. 649.



word with  $\delta$ , and also § 335. The Delian inscription, *l. l.* p. 404, has  $\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\alpha$ , with which cf.  $\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ .

$\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\varsigma$  occurs in Homer, Herodas 2<sub>44</sub>, though Ail. Dionysios *apud* Eust. 1369<sub>43</sub> says that  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\varsigma$  and  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma$  are the older forms.  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma$  occurs in Aristophanes, &c., but all MSS. have the  $\tau$  form in *Plut.* 541.

5.  $\tau\theta$  for  $\theta$ , &c.

In  $\Pi\iota\tau\theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  on a coin from Ephesos *Num. Chron.* 1881, 16 ( $\Pi\iota\tau\theta\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ) and also Attic (C. I. A. III 908, 1962), the  $\tau\theta$  is a development of  $\theta$  (*th* becoming *tp*). On  $\tau\tau$  in another form of this name, see § 361, 2.

6.  $\delta$  and  $\gamma$ .

$\delta\nu\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\nu\omicron\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  in Hom.,  $\delta\nu\omicron\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  Hippokr. VI 384 = Aiolic  $\gamma\nu\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , where  $\gamma$ , softened from  $\kappa$ , becomes  $\delta$  before  $\nu$ . Cf.  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\nu\acute{o}\nu$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\nu\acute{o}\nu$  in Kretan, and *dlory* for *glory*, a pronunciation heard in New England.

7.  $\theta$  between  $\sigma\lambda$  is expelled in  $\epsilon\sigma\lambda\eta[s]$  Chios 175, a metrical inscription.  $\epsilon\sigma\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  is thus shown to be not necessarily Aiolic, as Karsten held (p. 19). Cf. also  $\epsilon\sigma\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  in C. D. I. 1200, formerly referred to Arkadian, and in Doric (Greg. Korinth. p. 213, who quotes from Pindar). Elsewhere in Ionic the  $\theta$  is preserved in this word, *e.g.* Sim. Am. 6<sub>2</sub>.

### 358.] A dental followed by $\mu$ .

1.  $-\delta\mu-$  does not become  $-\sigma\mu-$ :  $\acute{o}\delta\mu\acute{\eta}$ <sup>1</sup> Hdt. III 24 as in Homer, Hippokr., Aret. (but  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\alpha$  285<sub>6</sub>,  $\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$  315<sub>1</sub>),  $\acute{o}\delta\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  Demokr. *Phys.* 1. On  $\acute{o}\delta\mu\acute{\eta}$  in Old Attic, see Rutherford's *Phrynichus* p. 160. Whenever  $\delta$  + suffixal  $\mu$  seems to become  $\sigma\mu$ , the  $\sigma$  is due to analogy.  $\acute{\iota}\delta\mu\epsilon\nu$ <sup>2</sup> in Hdt. VII 111, Demokr. *Phys.* 1, 5, 9, Luk. *Dea Syr.* 2;  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$  in Aretaios 68<sub>11</sub>, 212<sub>18</sub> and Arrian 4<sub>14</sub> (where Hercher reads  $\acute{\iota}\delta-$ ) is from analogy to  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ . In  $\mu\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\delta\mu\eta$ , which is found in Hom., Hippokr., and is the equivalent of Attic  $\mu\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\rho\mu\eta$  (C. I. A. II 1054<sub>48</sub>),  $\delta\mu$  becomes  $\mu\delta$  and this  $\mu\delta$  passes into  $\mu\nu$  according to Prellwitz, *B. B.* XVII 172. The name  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  occurs in Thasos (L.) 55, 20 A 4;  $\acute{M}\acute{\epsilon}\delta\mu\alpha$  in Hekataios.

2.  $-\theta\mu-$  remains unchanged in  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  Hdt. II 125,  $\acute{\eta}\theta\mu\acute{o}\nu$  Prokon. 103 (stelè of Sigeion).  $\acute{\rho}\nu\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  Hdt. V 58, Demokr. 205 (Stob.,  $-\sigma\mu-$  according to Mullach) seems in accordance with Phrynichos' rule:  $\beta\alpha\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\nu$   $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta$ ,  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\sigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ ,  $\beta\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  (CCXCVI, Rutherford). Either this rule must not be taken to hold good in the case of other words, or  $\acute{\rho}\nu\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  Archil. 66<sub>7</sub>, Anakr. 74<sub>2</sub>, is an Attic interloper.  $\beta\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\nu$  Kyzik. 111<sub>10</sub> and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\beta\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  Erythrai 201<sub>4</sub> are inscriptional forms not free

<sup>1</sup> Bekk. Anecd. I 56<sub>30</sub>, Phryn. 160 (R.)  $\acute{o}\delta\mu\acute{\eta}$   $\acute{\iota}\acute{\omega}\nu\omega\nu$ , cf. Eust. 1570<sub>9</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Eust. 1570<sub>9</sub> (Doric).

from the suspicion of being Attic, since both documents are to be placed in the fourth century B.C. ῥυσμός may contain the suffix -σμο- which is borrowed from δα-σμός, δε-σμός, &c. At least such an analogical formation came into existence several centuries before the period of Archilochos (Homeric θεσμός). See Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 119, Kretschmer, *ibid.* XXIX 429. Many of the occurrences of σμ in nouns have their parallel in σμ in verbal forms, *e.g.* ἐράσμιος in Anakreon, ὕσμα, κυήσμα, ἔμεσμα, κρεμασμός, θλάσμα, σχάσμα in Hippokrates.

### *Labials.*

#### 359.] Ionic B=Δ of other dialects.

Before dark vowels I. E. *g* became β, before those of light colour δ.

βούλομαι Ionic-Attic = Aiolic βόλλομαι, Arkadian βόλομαι (also Kyprian and Homeric), Pamphylian βώλομαι, Herakleian δήλομαι, Lokrian and Delphian δείλομαι. In Thessalian βέλλομαι, Boiot. βείλομαι, β is due to the influence exerted by βολλά and βωλά respectively.

ὀβελός in Hom., Hdt., Boiot., Attic (διωβελία) = ὀδελός in Delphian, Megarian, Kretan, Tarentine. ὀβολός in τετρωβόλου Hrd. 6<sub>84</sub> has its penultimate o by assimilation to the initial o.

#### 360.] Ionic B=Γ of other dialects.

βλέφαρον = γλέφαρον in Pindar; cf. ποτιγλέποι in Alkman. πρέσβυς = πρισγεῖες, BOIOTIAN § 43.

#### 361.] Relation of Π and Φ.

##### 1. Π for Φ.

Ἀμπιθάλης Delos 55 II 8, is a form parallel to Ἀμφιθάλης 55 V 10, &c., and formed by dissimilation from it; cf. ἀμπέχω and ἀμφίσκοντες ἐνδυνόμενοι.

1. Eust. 239<sub>28, 33</sub> holds that πατριά (-ή) is the Ionic form of the Attic φρατρία. πατρίη is found in Iasos *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, l. 4; cf. πατριά in Hdt. I 200 and Eleian *C. D. I.* 1152 (see Blass *ad loc.*) and the Arkadian πάτρα, *ibid.* 1194. That the spelling without the first ρ is Attic and Doric is apparent from *C. I. A.* II 599<sub>1</sub> (fourth century), Chios, Ditt. *Syll.* 360<sub>28</sub> (where it is Attic), Delphic (*ibid.* 294 B 77), Andros, *Mitth.* I 237<sub>8</sub>, Phokian, Cauer 223 B 14, Koan, *ibid.* 159. The difficulty of identifying the two forms is enhanced by the fact that the inscription from Iasos has πατρίην, not πητρίην. Though in Hdt. I 125 only *d* and the Aldine edition have the suspicious φήτηρ for φρήτηρ, yet we should expect πη- if the word is connected with φρατρία (Homeric φρήτηρ. While the expulsion of one ρ is a well-known phenomenon, dissimilation at the

same time of  $\phi$  to  $\pi$  is out of the question. The word has no connection with  $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$ ,  $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho$ .

The Et. Gud. 440<sub>1</sub> maintains that the Ionians used  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\pi\alpha$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\phi\alpha$ .

2.  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma$  in Hdt., and on a vase in Overbeck's *Atlas zur Kunstmyth.*, pl. IV, No. 6, is the original form of the name.  $\epsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma$  has an inorganic  $\phi$ . Cf. the Alkaian  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma$  and  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

## 2. $\Phi$ for $\Pi$ .

$\Phi\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\omega\nu$  in Keos 44 A 7 is the equivalent of Attic  $\Pi\acute{\iota}\theta\omega\nu$  (C. I. A. I 433, II 22, 434<sub>16</sub>), the Boiotian  $\Phi\acute{\iota}\theta\omega\nu$  C. D. I. 850 ( $\Phi\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\omega\nu$  perhaps occurs also in *Mitth.* IX 319, D 71, in an inscription from Keos), and is a shortened form of  $\Pi\iota\tau\theta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  ( $\Pi\iota\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$  Keos 44 A 10, § 357, 5). Cf.  $\Phi\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in Boiotian = Thess.  $\Pi\epsilon\tau\theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ .

$\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\phi\omicron\nu$  in a late Parian inscription *B. C. H.* I 135, No. 48, is an example of the wide-spread inability of the later imperial period to distinguish between *venuis* and *aspirata*. The  $\phi$  of the aspirated perfect  $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$  is claimed as Ionic by Et. M. 366<sub>7</sub>.

## 362.] $\Pi\phi$ for $\Phi$ .

In M 208 for  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\omega$  at the end of the verse we find  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\pi\omega$  in *S*, and  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\omega$  in *H*. This spelling is furthermore attested by Eust. 900<sub>12</sub> (cf. 1577<sub>53</sub>, 1755<sub>35</sub>). In Hipponax 49<sub>6</sub> ( $\eta\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota\kappa\eta\nu\acute{\eta}\mu\iota\omicron\nu\ \delta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta$ ) we may either follow the procedure of Herodian (Villoison, *Anecd.* II 86), who adopted this spelling in Homer, or we may accept that with  $\pi\phi$ <sup>1</sup>, which is defended by  $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\upsilon\pi\phi\omicron\varsigma$  Anakr. 82, Hesiod frag. 174 (cf. Athenaios XI 498 A), Delos (*B. C. H.* VII 109, l. 24, 26, &c., a prose inscription),  $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\upsilon\pi\phi\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$  Stesich. 7 (Casaubon), and reinforced by the analogy of  $\Pi\iota\tau\theta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  (§ 357, 5),  $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\chi\omicron\nu$  Pind. *Ol.* VI 24,  $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\chi\epsilon\omicron\nu\tau\iota$  II 67. Antimachos (78 K) also made use of the form  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\varsigma$ , the length of whose initial syllable is due to affrication. Cf.  $\text{Z}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\iota\ \eta$  119,  $\beta\rho\acute{\omicron}\chi\omicron\varsigma$  Theog. 1099 &c.; § 351, 357, 5. In Hipponax 49<sub>2</sub>  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\varsigma$  may be either  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\varsigma$  or  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\varsigma$ .

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\theta\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}[\pi\eta]\varsigma$  Chios 175<sub>2</sub> is an attempt at a more exact phonetic orthography than  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\theta\iota\mu[\acute{\epsilon}]\nu\omega\nu$  Keos 43<sub>1</sub>, in both cases there being but one *h* after the double labial. Cf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\kappa\text{--}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  under § 351 and *K. Z.* XXVIII 179.

## 363.] $\Pi$ for $B$ , and $\Phi$ for $B$ .

$\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota$  Hdt. IX 28, 31 ( $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\iota$  VIII 45, 47) and so in Thukydidēs and I. G. A. 70, was later on spelled  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\text{--}$ , *mp* becoming *mb* as in Modern Greek. Coins of Ambrakia generally have  $\beta$  (C. D. I. 3185), while Attic inscriptions have  $\beta$  or  $\pi$ .  $\Lambda\epsilon\pi\alpha\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  Keos (*Mitth.* IX 274<sub>25</sub>), a form that is also

<sup>1</sup> Fick conjectured  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\varsigma = \acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\varsigma$  (*Odyssee* 24).



Delphic. On ἡμβλακον Archil. 73, see *A. J. P.* VI 46. Anakr. (141) perhaps used the form ἀστραφή for ἀστράβη.

### 364.] Varia.

ἀρτοπόπος is called Ionic for ἀρτοκόπος in Bekk. Anecd. I 447<sup>25</sup> = Bachm. Anecd. I 147<sup>2</sup>; Hdt. has however (I 51) the κ form.

ὀππότε Kallin. 1<sub>8</sub>, Theog. 531 is not Ionic (§ 342, note 1).

σάμβαλα, for σάνδαλα, and related forms are used by Hipponax 18<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 14<sub>3</sub>, Herodas 7<sub>60</sub>, 7<sub>125</sub>, cf. Sappho 98<sub>2</sub>, Eumelos *apud* Paus. IV 33, 3, and under AIOLIC.

There is no variation in Ionic between φ and θ not known in other dialects. Ἐργόφεμις Styra 19<sub>190</sub> is a mere slip for -θεμις. Δωροφέα, Rob. I 29, is not an Ionic name for Δωροθέη. φλᾶν occurs in Hippokrates, and is found in Pindar, Aristophanes, Theokritos, while θλᾶν is also employed by Hippokrates and is known to Homer, Hesiod, Theokritos, Herodas 2<sub>83</sub> (θλῆ contains a Doric contraction). φλίβεω which appears in Theokritos XV 76 and as a *v. l.* in *Odyss.* 17<sub>221</sub> is used by Hippokr. VI 292, 300, in both of which passages *C* has the form with θ. The ancient grammarians thought that the φ forms were the property of the Aiolic dialect. θήρ is the Ionic form (cf. Θηρίων Styra 19<sub>116</sub>).

### *The Spirants.*

### 365.] Yod.

The influence of Homeric ζα < δια has given life to ζάπλουτος even in prose (Hdt. I 32, in the speech of Solon). ζάπεδος occurs in Xenophanes 1 and in an epigram from Paros, No. 59 (fifth century). See Hinrichs, *H. E. V. A.* p. 43. ι seems to have become ι in μάλιον Tyrt. 12<sub>6</sub>; see § 163. On combinations of yod, see §§ 224, 367, 370.

### *Sigma.*

### 366.] Adverbs which permit an option of final s

refuse the adoption of the sibilant in the following cases in Hdt.: μέχρι, ἄχρι, and ἰθύ, ἰθύς, which are differentiated in meaning. οὕτω occurs before both vowels and consonants, and οὕτως before vowels is rarely attested by all MSS. On the other hand -s occurs in πολλάκις<sup>1</sup> (followed by a consonant) and ἀτρέμας (followed by a vowel). χωρίς has a rare by-form in Doric without s (Thera, Cauer 148 E 8, χῶρι Hdn. I 506<sub>9</sub>, who quotes from

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Alex. 377; Hdn. II 220<sub>7</sub>, note.

Kallimachos χῶρι διατμήγουσι, cf. Apoll. *Adv.* 138<sub>15</sub>, 162<sub>25</sub> (Schneider). The inscription from Oropos (No. 18) that has μέχρι even before a vowel (l. 3) has χωρίς (l. 44). Archil. 37 used ἐγκυτί and so did Kallimachos according to the testimony of Joh. Alex. 38<sub>20</sub> (Hdn. I 506<sub>14</sub>, 511<sub>23</sub>).

367.] Ionic  $\sigma^1 = \text{Attic } \sigma < \tau$

in nouns with the suffix *ti*, in *ι* stems with *τ* preceding the stem suffix (κάσις, κασίγνητος, cf. ἔγκατα), in adjectives in which the ending *io* follows upon a *τ* contained in the stem, and in the 3rd sing. of *-μι* verbs, and 3rd plur. present and perfect. The influence of other forms has frequently caused the retention of *τι*, e.g. παντί, ὀνόματι, cf. Attic ναυτία (= Ionic ναυσίη) because of ναύτης<sup>2</sup>. Elsewhere *τ* before accented *ι* does not become *σ*, as it does not in oxytones and paroxytones; while final *τι* in proparoxytones is usually assibilated, according to Kretschmer in *K. Z.* XXX 565 ff.; whose discussion of the question does not yield wholly satisfactory results. The force of analogy has retained *τ* frequently in forms where *σ* is properly in place, e.g. νότιος (Hdt., Hippokr.) with the *τ* of νότος. φάτις (Herakl. 3) retains its *τ* either from the influence of φατίζω or from the influence of the form \*φατει-; the tendency to dissimilation from φάσις being an auxiliary factor in the preservation of the form<sup>3</sup>. πλουσίη has the *σ* of πλούσιος. The Ionic character of ἄμπωτις in Hdt. has been impeached by Kretschmer, not only because of the retention of the dental contrary to the rule formulated by him, but also on the score of the unusual apocope, on which see § 715. Less valid is the objection of G. Meyer (that the radical πω is found in the present in Aiolic alone), since the parent *pāi* is proethnic, and substantival forms with *ω* (which need not be derived from the perfect) are the property of other dialects than Ionic. That Herodotos should have adopted a Doric word relating to the sea, as Kretschmer contends *l. l.* 572, passes belief. Ionic-Attic πλησίος is an obstinate form, but due, according to the scholar just mentioned, to the influence of παραπλήσιος.

368.]

Homeric ποτί, Sim. Keos (?) 85<sub>13</sub> = Avest. *paiti* is not Doric, notwithstanding that it is the usual form in the dialects of Dorian sympathies. Ionic inherited together with other members of the Hellenic race the proethnically distinct forms ποτί and προτί. In Doric ποτί may lose its *iota* before a vowel, in Homer an elided ποτί and προτί are unknown.

<sup>1</sup> An. Ox. II 361<sub>32</sub> quotes as Ionic the change of *τ* to *σ* in εὐεργεσία (εὐεργέτης).

<sup>2</sup> ἄλουσίη Hdt., Hippokr., -σία Eurip., but -τία Eupolis (cf. Lobeck's *Phrynichus*, p. 505).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ὕπτιος because of ὕψιος.

369.] Ionic  $\sigma$  for Attic  $\tau$ <sup>1</sup> is found in the following words.

$\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  in Homer, *Hrd.* 2<sub>57</sub> and in the suspected verse of the *Rhesos* (683), from the pronominal stem  $\tau\eta\alpha$ , which is also the source of Attic  $\tau\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , of which  $\sigma\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  is the Ionic form (*Et. M.* 711<sub>43</sub>). The dialects exclusive of Attic had  $\sigma$  in these words. Cf. Hesychios  $\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  Ἀττικοὶ [ $\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ] καὶ  $\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$  λέγουσιν. It may be noted that the existence of an adjective  $\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  is evident from the scholiast on *Clouds* 699 (see Jackson in *Class. Rev.* VI 4).

The  $\sigma$  of  $\sigma\eta\lambda\iota\alpha$ , attested in Bekk. *Anecd.* I 382<sub>25</sub>, may be Ionic.

$\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\tau\lambda\omicron\nu$  is the equivalent of Attic  $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\lambda\omicron\nu$ , which appears in Hippokr. VI 248, 252, though in II 482 *A* has the  $\sigma$ -form, which is also found in  $\theta$  in VI 560. Littré reads  $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\lambda\omicron\nu$  in the pseudo-Hippocratic tracts. In later Attic the ridiculed  $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\tau\lambda\omicron\nu$  found a place, and  $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  was occasionally adopted.

Hesychios reports as dialect by-forms of Attic  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\beta\eta$  and  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\beta\alpha$  (Aischylos),  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\beta\eta$  and  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\beta\alpha$ . The former at least can belong to no other dialect than Ionic. Kratinos made use of  $\sigma\upsilon\rho\beta\eta\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ .

The relation between  $\sigma\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$  Aischylos, *Suppl.* 788 ( $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$  Dindorf with Lascaris) and  $\tau\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$  in Hesychios is obscure, though Koegel in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge* VII 191 has compared them with Lith. *tvėrù* 'enclose.' Neither  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\phi\eta$  nor  $\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda\phi\eta$  occur in Ionic sources.  $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$  in Antimachos' *Thebais*, frag. 3 Kinkel, is not Ionic but Boiotian, at least as regards the dental, because of  $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\eta\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ . The Doric form would be  $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$ , the Ionic  $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$ . Cf. Fick in *B. B.* VI 236 and Wackernagel in *K. Z.* XXVIII 121. The last named scholar has shown that Ionic  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\omega$  for older  $*\sigma\acute{\sigma}\acute{\alpha}\omega$  is represented in Attic by  $*\tau\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\omega$  in  $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , which was regarded as a compound of  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha} + \acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$ . This  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$  was in fact turned into Ionic  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\omega$  by Archestratos in Athenaios III 111 F ( $\eta\sigma\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ ).  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$   $\sigma\epsilon\sigma\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ <sup>2</sup>, so far from being Ionic as M. Schmidt thought, is good Attic and used by Pherekrates.

### 370.] Relation of Ionic $\sigma\sigma$ to Attic $\tau\tau$ .

Ionic  $\sigma\sigma$  is = Boiotian, Attic  $\tau\tau$  when it arises from  $\tau\iota$ ,  $\theta\iota$ ,  $\kappa\iota$ <sup>3</sup>,  $\chi\iota$ ,  $\tau F$ , i. e. Ionic  $\sigma\sigma$  is a secondary sound in these cases.

The position assumed by the Attic inscriptions<sup>4</sup> (and by those monuments of literary Attic which voice the speech of the people) in favour of  $\tau\tau$  makes for the view that whenever we meet with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wharton, *Class. Rev.* VI 259.

<sup>2</sup> Hesychios has  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\eta\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$   $\sigma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ , Photios  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$   $\sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ .

<sup>3</sup> With  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$  Hekat. 367 ( $\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\iota\gamma\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$   $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\pi\rho\omicron\gamma\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ), we may compare Vedic  $\acute{a}\pi\iota\sigma\gamma\acute{a}$ , according to Wackernagel in *K. Z.* XXVIII 122. It is better to explain  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$  as also containing a  $\kappa$  suffix than to suppose with Giles (*Class. Rev.* III p. 4) that  $-\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  is a feminine participial termination.

<sup>4</sup> No inscription in pure Attic, other than a vase inscription, has before 400 B. C. the  $\sigma\sigma$  form in cases where there was a possibility of the adoption of  $\tau\tau$ .



$\sigma\sigma$  in early Athenian literature we have to deal with a direct or indirect influence exerted by Ionic upon nascent Athenian art. Once installed in the poetry of the sixth century,  $\sigma\sigma$  descended as an heirloom to tragedy, which felt the influence, not only of Solon, but also of the earlier Ionic poetry and of the beginnings of Ionic prose. Thukydides<sup>1</sup> and the older Attic prose writers who adopted  $\sigma\sigma$ , though contemporary with Aristophanes and his predecessors (whose  $\tau\tau$  bespeaks the language of the marketplace), adopted it through the influence of tragedy and of the rhetorical canons of the day.

The only means of avoiding the conclusion that there is an artistic reason for the difference between the unvarying  $\tau\tau$  of the inscriptional monuments and the  $\sigma\sigma$  of early literature is, with Kirchhoff, to maintain that all the cases of  $\sigma\sigma$  in early Attic literature are due to textual corruption. This view shuts its eyes to the true conception of the language of tragedy and of early prose in Attika as standing in sympathy, not only with Doric (in the choral part of tragedy), but also with Ionic. Cf. §§ 22, 61, 375.

### 371.] Extension of $\sigma\sigma$ in the Ionic dialects.

Asiatic Ionic and Island Ionic have  $\sigma\sigma$  for Attic  $\tau\tau$  invariably. Whether Western Ionic stood on the side of Attic is not yet clear because of lack of evidence. Thus far  $\tau\tau$  has been discovered in *Κιττίης* Styra 19<sub>52</sub>, *ἐλαττον* Oropos 18<sub>5, 22</sub> (cf. *ἐλασσον* in Hdt., Hipp. II 36, Keos 43<sub>4</sub>), *ἐκπρηττόντων* Adesp. 22<sub>6</sub> (an inscription found several miles south of Eretria). The question at issue is whether these inscriptions are not composed under Attic influence. Thuk. VII 57 shows that in the middle of the fifth century there existed some political connection between Athens and Styra, and there are other proofs of the influence of the rising democratic state over the language and alphabet of Euboeia. As regards the leaden tablets of Styra, we find in 19<sub>263</sub> *Μοφσίδης*, a spelling that bears an Attic aspect. The names *Κίσ(σ)υς* 19<sub>383</sub> and *Κίσ(σ)α[μος]* 19<sub>382</sub> are either those of men not Western Ionians or they prove that the above mentioned *Κιττίης* has an Attic  $\tau\tau$ <sup>2</sup>. The Eretrian dialect of Oropos may, by the end of the fifth century, have adopted some Attic spellings. The inscription containing *ἐλαττον* dates either between 411–402 B.C. or between 387–377. The Chalkidians certainly did not affect the Attic  $\tau\tau$ . In Olynthos 8 B we read *πίσσης*. *Ηόσσα* in Rhegion 5 is not necessarily Ionic.

<sup>1</sup> In Thukydides there are very few cases of  $\tau\tau$  in all MSS.; e. g. *παράττεσθαι* VIII 71, while as a v.l. it is not infrequent: *γλώττης* I 138, *γλώτταν* II 68.

<sup>2</sup> Fick, *G. G. A.* 1883, p. 125 referred *Κιττίης* to Boiotian influence, comparing *Κιτ[τ]ύλος*. Meister writes *Κιτύλος* C. D. I. 875 (epigr.).

ῥττι<sup>1</sup> in Theognis 17, 818, 1200, as in Homer, is from ῥτ + τι.

### 372.] σσ in the Aorist.

In Ionic poetry we have the following instances of σσ in the aorist, the origin of which, when not derived from σ- or δ- stems, is still involved in obscurity:—Theognis has ἐγέλασσε 9, εἰκάσσαις 127, ὀπάσση 321, ἀπόλεσαι 323, ἀνύσας 511, δικάσαι 543, ἀρεσσάμενοι 762, ὄλεσσα 831. Sigmatic stems are contained in τρεσσάντων Tyrt. 11<sub>14</sub>, ἐτέλεσσα Theog. 953, θεσσάμενοι Arch. 11<sub>2</sub>, eleg., ἡράσσατο Arch. 30 is not a remarkable form in trimeter. Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar have -σσ- in this verb; and Lukian's ἡρήσατο *de a Syria* 17 cannot be an old form. δικάσασθαι in Hipponax 79 and ὑποργάσσαι in 84 (both tetrameters) are mere conjectures of Schneidewin and Meineke respectively.

### 373.] Reduction of σσ to σ.

When to σσ there is a parallel form in σ, σσ belongs in general to poetry. Thus the epic μέσσος is preserved in Anakr. 80, Theog. 331, 994, 1164, μέσσατος 998. Hippon. 127 μεσσηγυδορποχέστης should probably be written with one σ; cf. μεσέων Anan. tetr. 53. Sim. Keos 84 has a certain case of μέσσοι. τόσσος Archil. hex. 14 (163 τόση?), Theog. 83, ὄσσος Tyrt. 11<sub>16</sub>, Solon 51, Xenoph. 2<sub>18</sub>, Theog. 93, 996, Hrd. 1<sub>27</sub>, 2<sub>62</sub>, 3<sub>84</sub>; ὀπίσω Tyrt. 11<sub>13</sub>, Theog. 735, δορυσσόος Theog. 987. ποσί is the prose form (Hdt., Hippokr.), and found in Archil. 58<sub>4</sub> tetr., for which Bergk reads ποσσί. The forms with single σ are employed in prose and in such poetry as reproduces the diction of the epic or of Aiolic. ὄσος, τόσος Hdt., Hippokr. who uses ἐς τόσον VIII 284, ὄσος Chios 174 A 8, Anakr. 74<sub>2</sub>; τόσος Theog. 93. Ἡόσσα Rhegion 5 cannot be Ionic. Hrd. has ὄσος 1<sub>15</sub>, 3<sub>1</sub>, 3<sub>80</sub>, 4<sub>10</sub>, 5<sub>8</sub>, 6<sub>25</sub>, τόσος 3<sub>43</sub>, μέσος 6<sub>81</sub>. ὄσσα in Demokr. 184 is a figment of Mullach. ὀπίσω Hdt., Demokr., rare in Homer.

In many proper names the MSS. of Hdt. vary between σσ and σ after a long vowel; in fact all dialects show fluctuating orthography under these circumstances. In an inscription from Smyrna, *C. I. G.* 3311<sub>6</sub>, in one from Syros, 'Αθήν. III 530, l. 18, and in Latyshev II 36<sub>4</sub> we find νῆσος, with which compare 'Αλικαρνησός<sup>2</sup>, -εύς, Ionic forms of the Karian name. In Attic we find -νασιοι, -νασευς and -νασσευς, but upon the stones -σσ- regularly (*i.e.* with only one exception). Bredow contended

<sup>1</sup> Incorrectly called Ionic, Greg. Kor. p. 463, who quotes ῥττι κεν εἶπω. The form is of Aiolic texture. At least no other dialect save Aiolic made use of the form in post-Homeric times.

<sup>2</sup> See Hdn. I 102<sub>21</sub>, 121<sub>18</sub>, 209<sub>30</sub>, II 80<sub>13</sub>, 878<sub>15</sub>, 879<sub>36</sub>, 891<sub>9</sub>.



that Παρνησσός was the correct Herodoteian form, whereas Stein writes -νησός. Cf. Παρνησσίου C. I. A. II 609<sub>25</sub> (324 B.C.), Aisch. *Choeph.* 563 (MSS. -ησσ-, cf. § 22), 953 (MSS. -ασσ-). Hdn. I 209<sub>20</sub> prescribes Παρνασσός. -νησσός in Λυρνησσός occurs as early as Homer. Stein regards one *sigma* as correct in the Herodoteian Κνώσιος (cf. Kuman. 1892), Ἰήλυσος, Νήρισαι, Μυλάσιοι (cf. C. I. A. I 233 17 C (447 B.C.)), Νίσαια, Νῦσα, Κηφισός (so in Attic inser.), Κρῖσαῖον, Πηδασέες, Πίσσα, &c.; σσ in Ἀμφισσα, Ὀρδησσός, Σαλμυδησσός, Ταρτησσός, Ὑμησσός, &c. Ἰλισσός and Κορησσός in Stein are incorrect, at least they are not Attic; cf. Ἰλισός C. I. A. I 210<sub>2</sub> (429 B.C.), 273 F 16; Κορήσιοι C. I. A. I 229 9 b (451 B.C.), II 17 B 25 (378 B.C.), and 546<sub>12</sub> (350 B.C.), a decree of the Koresians. Late coins of Iasos have Ἰασέων and Ἰασσέων, Head, *H. N.* 528. In Halik. 240<sub>57</sub> we read Ἰμβράσιδος and in the next line Ἰμβάριδος. On the Karian -ασσός, -ησσός<sup>1</sup>, -ισσός, &c., cf. Georg Meyer in *B. B.* X 173-176, 193.

### 374.] σσ is written for σ

in Ἰσστιαῖας Eretria 15<sub>18</sub>, Αἰσσχύλον 266 (probably Ionic), Ἀντίσ-στασι Pantikapaion, Latyschev II 9, in order to display the division of the syllables in pronunciation; σσ is written with one σ in ταστήλας Teos 156 B 35, ἐστήλην Erythr. 202<sub>18</sub>.

375.] Whether T for σσ is a mere orthographical variation, or whether it represents a local pronunciation, is not yet clear. See Roberts I § 75, Riemann *B. C. H.* III 494 ff., Bechtel *Ion. Inschr.* p. 141, Ramsay *Class. Rev.* I 10 and references in G. Meyer *Gramm.* p. 273. Halik. 238<sub>2</sub> ἈλικαρναT[έω]ν, but 238<sub>41</sub> Ἀλικά[ρνη]σσέων, 238<sub>6</sub> ὉατάTιος, 238<sub>16</sub> Π[α]ννάTιος with the forms Πανύασσις and Πανύαξις on later documents. This T occurs also in Mesembria and perhaps in Teos (θαλάTης I. G. A. 497 B 23 = Bechtel 156 B 23). The existence of *sampi* may show how easy was the transition from Ionic σσ to Attic ττ. See § 22. No doubt the pronunciation of σσ was much nearer akin to that of ττ than the spelling indicates and the difference was to a large extent purely orthographical. The ordinary modern pronunciation of σσ as pure sibilants and of ττ as pure dentals cannot have been the ancient pronunciation, nor did the Aischyleian actor who had σσ before him in his score pronounce very differently from his hearer who wrote ττ.

<sup>1</sup> This is to be distinguished from the Ionic form of the Karian -ασσος, e. g. in Ἀλικαρνασσός, which is still preserved in coins of the second century B.C., cf. Head, *H. N.* 526. In the ancient inscription No. 238 it is noteworthy that, though the dialect is Ionic throughout, at the outset the name of the inhabitants of Halikarnassos should be given with the form in ᾱ, notwithstanding that the ending of the genitive is -εων (a certain reading).



## 376.] εσσι in non-sigmatic stems

is foreign to the genius of the Ionic dialect. The transference of -εσσι from its legitimate sphere occurs in only two cases in the poets of Ionic birth:—Anakr. 24<sub>1</sub> πτερύγεσσι, Ananias 5<sub>8</sub> ἰχθύεσσιν (troch. tetram.). In Xenoph. 3<sub>5</sub> εὐπρεπέεσσιν is a conjecture of Bergk, to which Schneidewin's ἀγαλλόμενοι ταναῆσιν is distinctly preferable (cf. Aristeas in Kinkel *Frag. poet. epic.* p. 245). In Solon's ἡγεμόνεσσι (6<sub>1</sub>) we have further evidence of the influence of epic diction; cf. § 61. Anakreon may borrow from his Aiolic exemplars, and indeed stands closer to Homer than some of his predecessors. That the trochaic tetrameter is less rigid in excluding the Aiolisms of Homer than the iambic trimeter, may explain the presence of the -εσσι form in Ananias. Theognis with his ἀνδρεσσι 306, πάντεσσιν 373, κοράκεσσι 833 is in still closer touch with Homer than is Anakreon.

## Z.

## 377.] Zeta.

1. Decisive orthographical criteria for the pronunciation of ζ upon Ionic soil are wanting, but indications point to its having been sounded like *zd*. Blass *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup>, p. 116 ff. brings forward as evidence of this pronunciation rather than that as *ds*, *inter alia* the Homeric Ζέλεια, Ζάκυνθος, in which ζ fails to make position because of the dropping of the initial σ ((Σ)δάκυνθος, not Δσάκυνθος); δαφινός, δάσκιος, where Aiolic would have ζα- (above, § 365); μαζός<sup>1</sup> = μαστός, or μασθός; and Herodoteian Ἀζωτος, not Ἀσδωτος.

σδόμενος Xenoph. 1<sub>6</sub>, the only example of the so-called Aiolic σδ in Ionic, was rightly changed by Hermann to δζόμενος. Whatever the sound of ζ in Ionic, words ordinarily spelled with ζ were not represented by σδ.

2. Variation between ζ and δ. μέζεα occurs in Hsd. *W. D.* 512, and was regarded as an Ionic word for μέδεα, μήδεα by Greg. Kor. p. 535, Hdn. II 372<sub>16</sub>. The form μέζεα is from μεδι-, ✓ *mad*; cf. Slav. *mado*. Cf. § 139. For ζορκάς Hdt. IV 192 we have the form δορκάς in VII 69; cf. ζορξ in Kallimachos, Nikander, and see Curtius, *Et.* p. 663. In Zankle we find δ for ζ, I. G. A. 518, where Δά]νκλην is a probable conjecture. The alphabet is however pre-Samian.

3. ζα- = δα- in ζάπεδον Xenoph. 1<sub>1</sub>, Paros 39 (epigram of the fifth century), ζάπλουτος Hdt. I 32. Cf. ζαπληθής, ζάπυρος in

<sup>1</sup> Hom. and in tragedy: Hdt. and Hippokr. have both μαζός and μαστός <μαδ-τος. Hippokr. generally has μαζός (variations in the MSS. IV 544, 550). V 118 μαστοί, 318 μαζών (μασθών Galen).

Aischylos. ζα- for δια-, while chiefly Aiolic, cannot be held to be the property of that dialect alone.

4. In a Chian document, Paspates 30, we find Ζμάραγδος and the form with σ-.

#### Supposed change of ζ and γ.

The ancients assumed that οἱ νεώτεροι Ἴωνες<sup>1</sup> changed γ to ζ in ὀλίζων (*sic*) and πεφυζώς (Herakleides in Eust. 1643<sub>1</sub>, An. Ox. I 366<sub>24</sub>). Both words occur in Homer and in Nikander, ὀλίζων also in Lykophron. πεφυζότες seems to be formed from φύζω < φυγίω, which the ancients confused with φεύγω. ὀλίζων was also called Thessalian (Hdn. II 372<sub>2</sub>, Steph. Byz. 489<sub>17</sub>) and Aiolic (Et. M. 270<sub>26</sub>). ὀλείζων is Attic, ὄλιον (*sic*) for ὀλίγον in the Lexicon of Ailius Dionysios (Eust. 1160<sub>16</sub>) was called either barbarous or Ionic. The form ὄλιον, which has lost its γ, has thus far turned up in the plebeian Attic dialect (C. I. A. II 594<sub>8</sub>, and in a fragment of the comic poet Plato, Kock fr. I 644, No. 168), and on Egyptian papyri. It is also referred to the dialect of Tarentum by Hdn. II 295<sub>7</sub> (Et. M. 621<sub>51</sub>).

### Ξ.

#### 378.] Ξ.

That ξ was pronounced more like χs than κs appears from the forms Ναθσίον, Ξθοχος for Ναξίον, Ξθοχος upon the archaic Naxian inscription Rob. I 25.

A pleonastic σ appears in Θώρηξs Styra 19<sub>205</sub>, Ξξs Chios 174 A 5, cf. Ξξστῶσι Zeleia 113<sub>23</sub> and κόραξs upon a Korinthian vase inscription, K. Z. XXIX 168. Similar usage is attested upon an inscription in J. H. S. VI 372 (κύλιξs).

ξ before κ occurs in Hippocratic Ξεκαίδεκα, -δέκατος, and also in Attic Ξεκλινος.

379.] Βρύασσις Iasos 104<sub>12, 17, 20</sub> has been corrected upon the stone to Βρύαξις in order to restore the archaic Karian orthography. In the Halikarnassian inscriptions, Nos. 238, 240, ξ has given way to σσ in every instance. Georg Meyer, B. B. X 177, rightly admits the possibility that the fluctuation between ξ and σσ was purely orthographical and that the sign for ξ had in the older period, as in Kyprian and Lykian, the phonetic value of σσ.

With κιξάλλας Teos B 19, cf. κιττάλης=κλέπτης according to Joh. Gram. 242 B. On the introductory ε of Ξξαιθραπεύοντος Mylasa 248 A B C 2, see §§ 143, 211 and σαδράπαν in Aiolic, C. D. I. 304 A 18.

<sup>1</sup> It is quite unusual for Hdn. to regard as late Ionic a form that is found in Homer. Yet this is what he does in the case of πεφυζότες, if we are to accept Lentz' ascription of the passage II 265<sub>1</sub> to him. In II 798<sub>14</sub> Hdn. brings forward another, and as he himself states (II 265<sub>8</sub>), less commendable view.



The sound ξ is expressed in the Ionic alphabet by:—(1) θξ *hs*, e. g. Roberts I 25, Naxos; (2) Χξ Roberts I 28, Naxos, Rob. I 17, Paros; (3) κξ (?) Roberts I 158 B, Amorgos. Cf. the representations of ψ, below § 381. σκ as a means of expressing ξ is claimed for Ionic by Gomperz (*Archaeol. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, VI 93) and ΩΣκυνθίς Bechtel 61 = Rob. I 18 B has been put forward in support of the claim. But an Ὅξυνθίς is as difficult to explain as Ὅσκυνθίς.

### 380.] Ionic ξ = Attic κ; relation of σύν to ξύν, &c.

There is no immediate connection between ξυνός and κοινός. The former occurs in epic poetry (and in Attic tragedy), Teos 156 A 3, Herakleitos 62, 70, 91, 92 (this author not adopting κοινός in a single instance), Demokritos *Mor.* 43, Herodotos IV 12, VII 53 (κοινός is more frequently used by Hdt.), Arrian § 20<sub>4</sub> ξυνούσθαι, but § 15<sub>22</sub> ἀνεκοινοῦντο. ξυνός has appeared upon inscriptions from Arkadia and Argolis. Doubtless the similarity in sound between κοινός and ξυνός led to their being confused, though they are in reality different words. ξυνός is from \*ξυνιος or \*ξυνφος. In his *Studien* I 44, Baunaek ventures to connect κοινός with κείμαι and compares κοινωνεῖν τινι in the sense of μιγῇναι. Certainly there are great difficulties in the way of connecting κοινός with Lat. *con*-.

Relation of σύν to ξύν. The preferences of Ionic are in the direction of the former form, which is the only one that appears upon inscriptions (§ 715). ξύν is not infrequently handed down in the MSS. of the lyric poets: Archil. ξυνίετε 50 (but σύν 41). The Et. M. 385<sub>9</sub>, after alluding to ἐσυνῆκε in Alkaios, quotes ἐξυνῆκεν from Anakreon (146). The MSS. of the fragments of the Ionic philosophers have συν- far more frequently than appears from Mullach's edition; cf. Demokr. 69, 119, 135, 147, 213. In Demokr. we have however ξυνέσιος 58, ξυνχωρέειν 44 (but συγχωρέεται in Melissos 1). In Sextus Empiricus' citation of the *Physika* of Demokritos we find such variations as ξύμπας and σύνιδμεν. In the lyric poets and early Ionic prose it is better to write σύν. In Hippokrates and Aretaios the uniformity with which ξύν appears is indication enough that the dialect of the Koan physician agreed with the usage of fifth-century Attic inscriptions which have ξύν much more frequently ( $3\frac{1}{2} : 1$ ) than σύν. After 410 B.C. ξύν was felt to be antiquated. At that date all the other dialects had σύν. Though the Homeric<sup>1</sup> text has both, ξύν is found in no place where the metre requires the heavier form. The same is true in the case of the Aiolic poets. To the MSS. of Hdt. ξύν is foreign, but ξυνεχέος appears in Philip of Pergamum *B. C. H.* II 273. The pseudo-Ionists generally prefer σύν. In Lukian the proportion is 17 : 5, in Arrian 47 : 10, in Euseb. 4 : 1. The supposititious letters of Hippokrates have ξύν. ξύν and σύν are hereditary forms of the

<sup>1</sup> ξυνδῆσαι Ionic, An. Par. III 138<sub>22</sub>, 353<sub>31</sub>, schol. on A 399.



language from the earliest times. The former does not become the latter in any historical period of Greek. A theory as to the ultimate interrelation of ξ and σ is put forward by Kretschmer *K. Z.* XXXI 415 ff.

διξός<sup>1</sup> Anakr. 88, Hdt. IX 74, and τριξός Hdt. IX 85 are not of like origin with Attic διττός (C. I. A. II 593<sub>23</sub>) and τριττός, the endings being unconnected. The Ionic forms in -ξός are from -κτιος (\*δφικτιος, \*τρικτιος).

### 381.] Ψ.

ψ is represented by πσ in the alphabet of Amorgos, Rob. I 158 D, by πψ in that of Priene, Bechtel 144, and by ψσ in Styra 19<sub>263</sub>.

The interrelation of words with initial ψ to those of similar texture but beginning with σ or the breathing, is still obscure. Thus κατασώχειν is New Ionic for ψώχειν. Whether ἡμίθιον in Hippokr. VII 344, the reading of θ for ψιμύθιον *white lead*, belongs to this category is difficult to say. Kretschmer *K. Z.* XXXI 420 ff. has proposed to refer to the parent Aryan the variation between *ps* and *s*, and between *ks* and *s*.

### 382.] The Combinations ρσ, λσ.

ρσ remains undisturbed in Ionic, as generally in Older Attic:—*χέρσον*, *θαρσύνω* Hdt., *θάρσυνε* Arch. 55, as Elmsley reads for the vulgate *θαρρῦναι*, *μυρσίνης* Arch. 29<sub>1</sub>, *ταρσιά* Sim. Amorg. 39 (cf. § 128), *Τυρσηνός* Hdt., *ἄρσην* Thasos 68<sub>1</sub>, *ἄρσιχος* C. I. G. 2374<sub>55</sub> Paros (cf. Bekk. An. I 446<sub>30</sub> = Bachm. An. I 146<sub>5</sub>), *Κορσεαί*, the name of an island opposite Samos (from *κερσ-*), *ὀρσοπύγια* Samos 220<sub>35</sub>, in the dative plural of ρ stems, e.g. *φθειρσί* Archil. 137<sub>1</sub>, by analogy to the case-forms showing -ρ. On *πυρρός*, see § 334. *κόρση* occurs in Herodas 7<sub>71</sub>.

ρσ, λσ in the post-Homeric verb are rarely retained. A few instances recall the Homeric retention of the liquid. *ἡλσάμην* Sim. Amorg. 17, *κύρση* Herodas 2<sub>45</sub>, 7<sub>75</sub> (cf. 3<sub>57</sub>), *κύρσαις* 3<sub>57</sub>. This poetic and Ionic verb either retains the sigma or appears under the form *κυρέω*. *ἔκυρσα* is used by Homer, Hesiod, Hdt., and in tragedy. Herodotos has also *ἐκύρησα*, *κυρήσω*; Hippokr. *ξυνεκύρησα*. Hippokrates has *διέρσαι* and *διέρσης* IV 108, *διέρσας* IV 296, whereas in VII 52 *διεῖραι* is the correct form, which is also a *v. l.* in IV 108.

Wackernagel (*K. Z.* XXIX 127) has suggested that in primitive Greek ρσ and λσ remained ρσ and λσ when the accent preceded, but in case the accent followed they were treated as -νσ-, except when a consonant originally followed the σ-, i.e. the liquid disappeared with compensatory lengthening. Cf. Solmsen *K. Z.*

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 434, Gram. Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Vat. 697, Birnb. 677<sub>56</sub>.

XXIX 352 who shows that all the verbs with stems in ρ or λ, which assimilate ρ or λ with σ, are formed by the suffix -ξε-, -ιο- (with the exception of δέρω and φιλέω) and that the assimilation in the aorist is due to the influence of the verbs in -νω and -μω, which regularly suffer assimilation and compensatory lengthening. On σ in combination with ν, see §§ 161, 337.

### 383.] The Combinations σρ, σλ.

Initial σρ or σλ became in Ionic as in other dialects ρρ, λλ, which were reduced to ρ, λ. Medial σρ or σλ became ρ or λ with compensatory lengthening. Forms with medial ρρ or λλ are due to analogy.

### 384.] σ in conjunction with μ.

σμικρός, μικρός<sup>1</sup>. The former form occurs P 757, Hymn Aphrod. 115 (elsewhere μικρός), Theognis 14, 323, Anax. 1, 15, Demokr. 24, 184, Hippokr. II 646 (Galen μικρός), 652 and often. In Herodotos Stein edits σμικρός even when the MSS. agree in presenting the other form.

μικρός is found in the epic (four times), Anakr. 17<sub>1</sub>, Theog. 607, Herodas 7<sub>43</sub>, and in Iasos 105<sub>5</sub>, an inscription of too late a date to afford proof of the existence of this form in official Ionic<sup>2</sup>. The pseudo-Ionists are very inconsistent. σμικρός is found in Luk. *Dea Syr.* § 16 (which section also has μικρός, a form found five times), in Arrian five times (μικρός three times), Eusebios and Eusebios Myndios once each. The variation between σμικρός and μικρός, as that between σκορδίνημα and κορδίνημα<sup>3</sup>, στέγος and τέγος, σκεδάννυμι and κεδάννυμι, is due to the operation of the laws of sentence-phonetics, the final sound of the word preceding the word in question deciding the appearance or non-appearance of the σ. In other cases σμ was either retained without variation or the μ forms were adopted to the exclusion of those with σμ. On Homeric φιλομμειδής see under AIOIC. Whenever medial -σμ- appears in Ionic or other dialects, it is either due to the workings of analogy or is from -τσμ-.

### 385.] σμ in non-Hellenic words.

In the Hellenization of words of foreign stamp a σ has been prefixed:

Σμέρδης Hdt. III 61, &c. Cf. Μάρδος, Μάρδης *Persai* 774, Assyr. *Bardis*.

σμάραγδος Hdt. II 44; μάραγδος late. Cf. Skt. *marakata*, borrowed from a Semitic source.

<sup>1</sup> See note on Greg. Kor. p. 500. On μικρός see § 353.

<sup>2</sup> All Attic inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries have μικρός, except C. I. G. 2139 (from Aigina and dating about 403 B.C.). σμικρός is frequent in the tragic poets and in Plato.

<sup>3</sup> Greg. Kor. p. 553: κορδίνημα (γράφεται δὲ καὶ σκορδίνημα).



σμήρνη Hdt. VII 181, Aiolic μύρρα. Archil. 30 has ἐσμνρισμένας. Cf. μύρον Archil. 31, Hdt. III 22.

### *Digamma.*

**386.]** Like all other dialects in some period of their history, Ionic possessed *F*<sup>1</sup>. It is the only dialect that generally permits compensatory lengthening to attend the disappearance of the spirant after λ, ρ, ν. The dialects of Doric texture, contrary to the generally received view, when they retained the sound long into the historical period of the language, often suffer the loss of *F* without compensation. Cf. the relation of Kretan and Argive τός to τόνς. In Aiolic, assimilation of *F* to the preceding liquid was followed by a reduction in poetry of the geminated sound. In Attic, δέρη and κόρη, στενότερος, κενότερος, μᾶνότερος surely indicate the quondam presence of *F*<sup>2</sup>. But the activity of *F* in the earliest period of the history of Ionic is indicated in other ways than by compensatory lengthening in δειρή and κούρη, στεινότερος and κεινότερος. In πείλις Hipponax 38 B, Phoinix of Kolophon in Athen. XI 495 C, D, we find that λ*F* could be assimilated to λλ when the accent followed λ*F*; and that, as in πέλιξ, the liquid alone remained when the accent preceded λ*F*. See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 47. Furthermore, α*F* became αυ before a consonant, e. g. ἔκαυσα (-άμην) Hdt., κέκαυμαι, ἐκκαυσόμενος Hippokr. According to the schol. Victor. on Il. XV 421 δαυλός was a form used by the νεώτεροι Ἴωνες. Of this form there is no trace in literature, though we have δεδανμένων in Simonides of Amorgos, fr. 30, from the base δα*F*-. καύης or καύηξ in Hipponax 2, may be passed by, not so much because of its conjunction with the Aiolic ἄμμορος (Ionic ἥμορος?), but because the form itself has not yet been explained; cf. § 242.

### **387.] Digamma in literature.**

Traces of initial *F* in the Ionic lyric poets (elegists and iambists) are extremely rare:

Archilochos 1: Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνακτος bears the stamp of an epic formula, though not occurring in Homer (cf. Il. II 651, XVII 211). Plutarch read Ἐνναλίῳ θεοῖο, but this is not preferable to the other reading merely because of the quondam existence of

<sup>1</sup> The ancient grammarians, as far as they recognize the existence of *F* at all, testify to its presence in Ionic. Trypho (παθ. λεξ. II, *Mus. Crit. Cantab.* I 34) says: προστίθεται δὲ καὶ τὸ δίγαμμα παρὰ τε Ἴωσι καὶ Δωριεῦσι καὶ Λάκωσιν, οἷον ἀναξ Φάναξ, Ἑλένα Φελένα. Cf. Bekk. An. III 1168, Priscian I 13. As the sign for *six*, *F* must have been used by the Ionians. The name Στῆ is a bit of Byzantine imbecility.

<sup>2</sup> On Attic κούρη and Μουνιχία, see § 75.



*F* in *ἄναξ*. I regard the coinage of such phrases as *Ἐνναλίοιο ἄνακτος* by the Ionic elegists as on a plane with the imitation by the Ionic Homeridai of old-time epic formulae. Thus, in the later additions to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and in the *Hymns*, we find instances of the apparent observance of digamma, though at the period of these poems the labial spirant was an obsolescent, if not an obsolete, sound. In *ἡ δέ οἱ κόμη* Archil. 29, and *οὐδέ οἱ γέλως* Sim. Amorg. 779, the case is different, since the metre is iambic, which is the organ of the popular dialect. *ἡ δέ οἱ σάθη* Archil. 97, is from an epode, but the metre is also iambic. In Sim. Amorg. 780 we find

*οὐδ' ἄν τιν' εὖ ἔρξειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦθ' ὀρᾷ*

but immediately below, v. 82

*ὅκως τιν' ὥς μέγιστον ἔρξειεν κακόν.*

In *Mimnermos* 129 we find in VL *ἵνα οἱ θοὸν ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποι*, but in BP *ἵν' ἀλήθοον*, a reading which justifies Bergk's *ἵνα δῆ. γλῶσσα δέ οἱ διχόμυθος* occurs in a fragment (424) of one of the μέλη of Solon.

In *Theognis* many instances of the observance of *F* occur in words such as *ἴδιος* 440, and *ἰοστεφάνων* 250, which do not have *F* in Homer. The digammated word occurs also in combinations with other words, which cannot be called Homeric formulae. In *Theognis*, Hartel and others have even found traces of a written *F* as in *κίδιον* 440, *μετ'*, or *μεγ' οἶνος* 413, *εὐγεργεσίης* 548, 574. Sitzler<sup>1</sup>, who holds the opinion that *F* was not entirely extinct in the older elegists, suggests with much probability that its retention in *ἄδοι* 52, *ἄνακτα* 987, *ἔργα* 1167 is due to the pressure exercised by the local dialect of the poet. There can be no question that Megarian speech retained the spirant longer than Asiatic Ionic.

In *Herodas* 418 we read *ἐπ' ἡπίας σὺν χεῖρας, ᾧ ἄναξ, τίνας*; in 65 *ἐν τῇ οἰκίῃ εἰς* at the beginning of a verse which has probably suffered some loss.

388.] Elsewhere in the lyric poets of Ionic birth the evidence against the presence of *F* is very strong.

1. Iambic writers, including the elegiacs and trochaics of Archilochos.

Archilochos: *δ' οἶνος* 21 (el.), *δ' οἶνον* 43 (el.), *διθύραμβον οἶνω* 772; *ἔσσεται ἔργον* 33 (el.), *κορωνὸς ἔργων* 392, *ἐγκυρέωσιν ἔργμασιν* 703, *σὺν δ' ἔργ'* 882; *τις ἀστῶν* 91 (el.), *μετ' ἀστῶν* 631; *Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος* 101 (el. Bergk's conj.), *κλυθ' ἄναξ* 751, *Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος* 771, *χαῖρ' ἄναξ* 1192; *ἐν εἵμασιν* 122 (el.); *κατ' οἶκον* 33,

<sup>1</sup> *Jahrb.*, vol. 125, p. 507.

ἐν οἰκίῃ 39<sub>1</sub>, ἐν οἴκῳ 66<sub>5</sub>, κακὸν οἴκαδ' 98; ἥδ' ἄτη 73; ἔωθεν ἕκαστος 83; ὀδύνησιν ἕκητι 84<sub>2</sub>; πόλλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ 118; καίολαος (καὶ (F)ιόλαος) 119<sub>4</sub>.

Simonides Amorg.: οὐδὲν εἰδότες 1<sub>4</sub>, πάντα δ' εἰδέναι 7<sub>13</sub>, οὐδὲν οἶδε 7<sub>23</sub> (ἐν δόμοισ' ἰδὼν 7<sub>29</sub>), ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν 7<sub>32</sub>; οἱ δ' ἐτέων 1<sub>8</sub>; ἀν' οἶκον 7<sub>3</sub>, ἐξ οἴκου 7<sub>60</sub>, λιμὸν οἰκίης 7<sub>101</sub>, συνοικητήρα 7<sub>102</sub>, κατ' οἶκον 7<sub>104</sub>, οὐδ' ἐς οἰκίην 7<sub>106</sub>; ἐν εἵμασιν 7<sub>5</sub>, ἐκπεσόντες εἵμασιν 21; ἐχθροῖσιν ἴσα 7<sub>36</sub>; πρὸς ἔργον 7<sub>48</sub>, δούλι' ἔργα 7<sub>58</sub>, δ' ἔρδει 7<sub>55</sub>, μέγιστον ἔρξειεν 7<sub>82</sub>; δι' ἄστεος 7<sub>74</sub>. πᾶσιν ἀστοῖσιν 7<sub>74</sub> (ἀνθρώποις B); ἐν γυναιξίν ἥδεται 7<sub>90</sub>, θυμηδεῖν 7<sub>103</sub>; δ' ἕκαστος 7<sub>112</sub>.

Hipponax; συνώκησας 12, ἐς τῷκί' ἐλθὼν 20<sub>2</sub>, ῥέκει 47 (first foot); οὐδὰμ' εἶπεν 20<sub>2</sub>, ἀνείπεν 45; εἰσιν ἥδιστα 29<sub>1</sub>, ῥόδιον ἡδύ 58; μοιχὸς ἀλῶναι 74; θαῖμάτια 83; Σιμώνακτος 55 B.

Ananias: καθείρξαι 31, κήχεται 56.

Herodas: δ' οἰκέω 2<sub>22</sub>, δ' οἰκίης 4<sub>92</sub>, ὄντιν' οἰκίης 4<sub>12</sub>, δὲ τὰ οἰκί' 2<sub>52</sub> (*scriptio plena*); ἀλλ' ἔργ' ὀκοῖ' ἔστ' ἔργα 6<sub>65</sub>, κάκ' ἔργα 3<sub>82</sub>, τοῦργον 4<sub>32</sub>, οἷ' ἔργα 4<sub>67</sub>, 7<sub>18</sub>, ἐκεῖνον ἢ ἔργα 4<sub>76</sub> with synizesis, χρήσιμ' ἔργα 7<sub>16</sub>. There is no F in ἕκητι 2<sub>77</sub>, ἑκάστου 3<sub>15</sub>, 4<sub>6</sub>; σάφ' οἶδ' 3<sub>13</sub>, τ' οἶδε 3<sub>53</sub>, αὐτίκ' εἰδήσει 5<sub>73</sub>.

## 2. Elegists.

Kallinos: ἐν δ' οἴκῳ 1<sub>15</sub>.

Mimnermos: τοῖς ἱκελοι 2<sub>3</sub> proves nothing unless we read, as is probable, τοῖς ἱκελοι; φέρετ' εἵκελος 14<sub>11</sub>; ἄλλοτε οἶκος 2<sub>11</sub>; δ' ἔργ' 2<sub>12</sub>; δηλεύμενος ἔργμασι 7<sub>1</sub>; ἄσπετος ἰδρώς 5<sub>1</sub>; Νηλήιον ἄστν 9<sub>1</sub>; ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων 12<sub>8</sub>; μιν ἴδον 14<sub>2</sub>; βάξιος ἰέμενοι 16. The following passages prove nothing: ἔαρος 2<sub>1</sub>, ἡριγένεια 12<sub>10</sub>, εἰδότες 2<sub>4</sub>, ῥοδοδάκτυλος 12<sub>3</sub>, ἔργον 14<sub>11</sub>.

Xenophanes: δ' οἶνος 1<sub>5</sub>, τις οἶνον 4<sub>1</sub>; ἀλλ' εἰκῇ 2<sub>13</sub>; φάσθαι ἔπος 6<sub>3</sub>; τῶνδ' οἶδα 7<sub>4</sub>. ὥς οἱ 1<sub>20</sub> proves nothing.

Phokylides: περιδρομος εἶδος 3<sub>4</sub>; ἐπίσταται ἐργάζεσθαι 3<sub>7</sub>, διδασκέμεν ἔργα 13, καθήμενον οἰνοποτάζειν 12<sub>2</sub>.

## 3. Melic poets.

From his sympathy with the Aiolic poets we might expect in Anakreon a more persistent survival of *digamma* than in other Ionic poets. But the following instances occur of forms that once possessed but have lost F: ὦναξ 2<sub>1</sub>; οὐκ εἰδῶς 4<sub>3</sub>, Σίμαλον εἶδον 22, μ' ἐσιδὼν 25<sub>1</sub>, δ' οἶδα 45<sub>2</sub>, οὐδὲν εἰδέναι 75<sub>2</sub>; οὐδ' ἀστοῖσι 15<sub>2</sub>; ψάλλω δ' εἴκοσι 18; ὦνοχόει 32, φέρ' οἶνον 62<sub>1</sub>, δ' οἶνον 63<sub>4</sub>, παρ' οἶνῳ 63<sub>9</sub>, πλέω οἰνοποτάζων 94<sub>1</sub> (el.); μεθύοντ' οἴκαδ' 56; σκύπφον Ἐρξίῳνι 82<sub>1</sub>; ἐπίστιον 90<sub>4</sub>. εἴλυμα 21<sub>6</sub> may stand for ἐF-λυ-μα.

Solon may be adduced as evidence not merely for the absence of F from the Attic of his day and generation, but also for the attitude of the early elegy towards its Ionic models.

ἐπ' ἔργμασιν 13<sub>65</sub>, ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα 4<sub>37</sub>, παύει δ' ἔργα 4<sub>33</sub>,



ὑβριος ἔργα 13<sub>16</sub>, κάλ' <sup>1</sup> ἔργα 13<sub>21</sub>, ἀναίτιοι ἔργα 13<sub>31</sub>, μιν ἔργα 13<sub>41</sub>, πολυφαρμάκου ἔργον 13<sub>57</sub>, οὐδ' ἔρδειν 27<sub>12</sub>, ἕτερος ἔρδε 40; σύνοιδε 4<sub>15</sub>, οὐδέ τις οἶδεν 13<sub>65</sub>, δεινὸν ἰδεῖν 13<sub>6</sub>, ἔθηκεν ἰδεῖν 13<sub>22</sub>, ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν 13<sub>24</sub>; πολυήρατον ἄστν 4<sub>21</sub>, χρόνος ἀστοῖς 10<sub>1</sub>; ἔρχεται οἴκαδ' ἐκάστῳ 4<sub>27</sub>, εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος 11<sub>5</sub>, ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ 13<sub>25</sub>, δόξαν ἕκαστος 13<sub>34</sub>; ἔθηκεν ἀναξ 13<sub>53</sub>, ἐνθάδ' ἀνάσσω 19<sub>1</sub>; Κύπρις ἰοστέφανος 19<sub>4</sub>; ἐν ἔπτ' ἔτεσιν 27<sub>2</sub>, δέκ' ἔτη 27<sub>14</sub>; τῇ δ' ἔκτῃ (?) 27<sub>11</sub>; ἔχοντας ἦθη 36<sub>12</sub>.

In 4<sub>11</sub>, 13<sub>12</sub> ἀδίκους ἔργμασι, in 13<sub>36</sub> κούφαις ἐλπίσι the short form of the dative is correct.

For οὔτι or οὔτε of the MSS. Hermann, read οὐ ἔ in 13<sub>27</sub> αἰεὶ δ' οὐ ἔ λέληθε διαμπερές, ὅστις ἀλιτρόν. In 13<sub>67</sub> ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὖ ἔρδειν occurs. Both cases fail to prove the existence of *F*.

Cases of internal hiatus resulting from the disappearance of *F* and preserved in poetry for all time will be found enumerated in the sections upon Vowel Contact.

389.] The disproportion <sup>2</sup> between the cases of the retention of *F* and those of its neglect is proof enough that the sound was practically dead in Asia Minor at least by the year 700 B. C. and in Attika by the commencement of the sixth century. The evidence presented by one species of lyric reacting upon that presented by another, enforces this conclusion. The cases of retention in the elegy are no matter for wonderment. It is surprising that, with all the dependence upon the *largo fiume* of epic language, there were not more cases of the apparent survival of the sound. It is in iambic poetry, whose affiliations are so different from those of the elegy, that we are surprised to discover traces of the appearance of *F*. As regards the *Foi*'s, Fick's suggestion that δέ οἱ were practically pronounced under one accent (δέοι) would play havoc with the digammated pronoun in Homer and Pindar. μηδὲ εἰς in Hipponax 28 is a 'fixed combination,' it is true, but that is just what δέ οἱ is not. Nor is the parallelism of ἄλλοτε ἄλλος Phokyl. 15, Solon 13<sub>76</sub>, 15<sub>4</sub> in place. Such an hiatus in the *elegy* needs no special defence. The history of οἱ and kindred forms in Pindar <sup>3</sup> shows pretty clearly that in Doric poetry this pronoun was a stronghold of the *F*. In the choral parts of tragedy (*Trach.* 649, *Elektra* 196) we still find an echo of the epic and Pindaric use. Perhaps the constant

<sup>1</sup> Bergk καλὰ ἔργα. As the elegiac poets regard the penult of καλός as *anceps* (καλόν Solon 13<sub>24</sub>), and as a substitute is necessary for the κακά of the MSS., κάλ' is here preferable to καλά. But see Sitzler, *Studien z. d. Elegikern*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Excluding Theognis and Herodas, *F* is retained in the elegy 2, in iambic poems 4, in the melic of Solon 1: it is violated in the elegy 24, in iambic poems 53, in the melic of Anakreon 17, in the melic of Solon 1.

<sup>3</sup> Heimer, *Studia Pindarica*, p. 47 ff.



apparent hiatus before the word in the epos influenced the construction of nascent iambic verse, or the hiatus is a survival of the period antecedent to that of the 'founder' of iambic verse<sup>1</sup>. The Simonideian οὐδ' ἄν τιν' εὖ ἔρξειεν recalls E 650 ὅς ῥά μιν εὖ ἔρξαντα, where the ictus alone would account for the retention of the length. The older poetry held fast to the prose quantity of the εὔ- in εὐεργός, -εργής, -εργεσίη.

### 390.] Digamma upon Inscriptions.

#### 1. Asiatic Ionic.

There are no examples. It is useless to cite all the words from the older inscriptions where initial *F* might have been placed. A few noteworthy instances are Ἀναξίλεως in Miletos, Bechtel 93 (not much later than 600 B. C.), Ἀναξιμάνδρου 94 (of the same date), Ἰστια[ίος] 97 (between 520 and 504 B. C.); Erythrai Ἐκαταίης 198 (fifth century); Chios 174 A<sub>5</sub> ἕξς, C<sub>22</sub> κο[ί]νοπίδης, D<sub>5</sub> οἰκίην, D<sub>17-18</sub> τοῖκ[ό]πεδον (fifth century); Teos 156 A<sub>3</sub> ἰδιώτη, B<sub>21, 25</sub> εἰδώς (fifth century).

#### 2. Island Ionic (Kykklades).

A. Naxos. Upon a dedicatory inscription from Naxos, *B. C. H.* XII (1888) p. 464, written βουστροφηδόν, we read, according to Homolle:

Fi[φ]ικαρτίδης : μ' ἄ : νέθεκε : ho : Νάησιος : ποιέσας.

The inscription dates, according to Homolle, from the second half of the seventh century before our era; a conclusion adopted by Schoeffer in his *De Deli insulae rebus*, p. 20 (Berlin, 1889).

B. Naxos. On the base of the Apollo colossus dedicated by the Naxians at Delos, dated by Kirchhoff at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the fifth century (see Roberts, I § 35) we read (Bechtel 25 = Rob. I 27 = I. G. A. 409):

τ]οῦ AFYTO λίθου εἴμ' ἀνδριὰς καὶ τὸ σφέλας

i. e. αἴντοῦ, as was read by Bentley, and is read by almost all scholars, with the exception of Roehl (θάεν), and of Bergk and Wilamowitz, who equates θαῖντοῦ with θαητοῦ, i. e. θαυμαστοῦ, and compares θωντὰ ἔργα Hsd. *Asp.* 165.

C. Amorgos. An early *abecedarium* I. G. A. Add. 390 = Rob. I 159 B contains Γ.

#### 3. Western Ionic (Euboia).

A. Chalkidian vase inscriptions of the fifth century (from Magna Graecia):

Fiώ Roberts, I 190 C.

Ὀφάρτης Roberts, I 190 L.

Γαρνφόνης Roberts, I 191 C.

<sup>1</sup> Arist. *Poet.* 4.

Digamma has in each case the form  $\Gamma$ , except Rob. I 190, 2  $\epsilon$  EIO =  $\Phi\iota\omega$  (?).

B. From Rhegion, a colony of Chalkis:

$\Phi\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  and  $\delta\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\Phi\iota$  (for  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\sigma\alpha\Phi\iota$ ), cf. Bechtel 5, Rob. I 180, I. G. A. 532. The  $F$  has the same form as in the *abecedarium* of Amorgos.

$\Phi\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Rob. I 181, I. G. A. 533.

These forms occur upon a marble block found at Olympia, dedicated by Mikythos of Rhegion after 467 B.C., when he migrated from Rhegion to Tegea. The second  $\Phi\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  is, according to Roberts, not by the same hand as the first, and is dated by Furtwängler after 450 B.C.

1.  $F$   $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota[\sigma]\rho$ , conjectured by Blass in Bechtel, No. 6 A, occurs in an inscription written in the Eleian dialect by the artist. The donor of the gift to Apollo wrote in Ionic (Bechtel, 6 B); cf. No. 215.

2. In Hyele (Velia), a colony of Phokaia, we find  $\Upsilon\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  172 I (450-400) and  $\Upsilon\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  172 II (350). This orthography proves merely that the Phokaian  $\upsilon$  was  $u(oo)$ , not  $\ddot{u}$ . The name of the city is Oskan and not connected with  $\Phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , whose  $F$  is not above question. Antevocalic  $f$  does not become  $\upsilon$  in Ionic.

391.] Upon the examples of Chalkidian  $F$  Tudeer<sup>1</sup> bases his contention that  $F$  was still alive in Euboian Ionic when Chalkis sent its colonies to the West, and that in Euboia itself it was lost between the eighth and the sixth centuries. But it can readily be shown that none of the inscriptions cited under Western Ionic are free from the suspicion of containing a non-Ionic element.  $\Gamma\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\phi}\acute{o}\nu\eta\varsigma$  contains a Doric  $\bar{a}$ <sup>2</sup>; cf.  $N\acute{\alpha}\tau\varsigma$  Rob. I 190, 2, and  $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$  or  $\chi\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha$  *ibid.* 1 K. And if we read  $\Upsilon\acute{\omega}\Phi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ , as seems probable, the initial part of the name is Doric for  $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ , as Fick has shown (*Odyssee*, p. 10). An  $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$  is known as the name of the brother of Mennes, tyrant of Kyme. Fick explained the ingression of the Doric forms on the supposition that the vases containing these non-Ionic forms were manufactured in Himera, and that the speech of Himera was a mixture of Chalkidian Ionic and of Doric<sup>3</sup>. But whether the vases in question were made in a Chalkidian colony or in Chalkis itself is a moot point that cannot be decided until ampler excavations in Euboia place us in possession of richer material. Meanwhile it should not be overlooked that from other cities of the West we possess vase inscriptions in mixed dialect, and that in Attika itself, as Kretschmer has shown, *K. Z.* XXIX 391 ff., there was a part of the population engaged in various handicrafts which

<sup>1</sup> *De Digammo*, p. 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Not as Kirchhoff, *Alphabet*,<sup>4</sup> p. 126, thinks, a peculiarity of Chalkidian Ionic.

<sup>3</sup> Thuk. VI 5:  $\phi\omega\eta\eta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\acute{\xi}\upsilon\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \Delta\omega\acute{\rho}\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ .



did not speak pure Attic. Kretschmer has collected a considerable number of inscriptions upon Attic vases which are in the Doric dialect, and concludes that the Chalkidian vases mentioned above came from Attika. At all events, whether the explanation of Fick or that of Kretschmer is correct, the infusion of Doric phonetics into the Chalkidian vase inscriptions is sufficient to undermine our belief in the presence of *F* in Chalkidian Ionic, be it the dialect of a colony or of the metropolis. A similar line of argument militates against the Ionic character of *Φοικέων* and *Φοι* in the inscriptions from Rhegion. Rhegion was settled by Chalkidians and Messenians (Herakl. Pont. fr. 25). In I. G. A. 388 the name of the Samian Pythagorês appears in the Doric form of *Πυθαγόρας* under the influence of the Rhegine dialect<sup>1</sup>.

**392.]** Finally, the cases of *F* upon the inscriptions from Naxos. *Fi[φ]ικαρτίδης* is by no means a certain transcription.

On the sign supposed to be *F*, Homolle says: '*Semble en effet porter à sa partie inférieure un troisième trait qui en ferait un E*;<sup>2</sup> *mais on se persuadera aisément que c'est là un simple accident de la pierre; car la ligne n'a ni la même longueur, ni la même direction que les deux traits supérieurs* [this is not clear from the facsimile]; *elle n'a plus non plus la même netteté.*' The third character may be either  $\oplus$  or  $\odot$ . The fourth would seem to be  $Y^2$ , but of the shaft to the left the editor says again that it seems an error: '*non seulement parce qu'il manque de netteté, mais parce qu'il viendrait butter beaucoup trop haut sur la haste verticale.*'

*Fiφιιάδας* is attested in Boiotian inscriptions (C. D. I. 488, six times), but *Fiφικαρτίδας*, cited by Homolle from C. D. I. 713 A<sub>1</sub>, is not above suspicion. The inscription begins  $\Phi\iota K-$ , which Keil read  $\iota[\phi]i-$ , a name known to us from Nikander and Suidas. The *ductus literarum* at least permits in the present case the reading *Εἰθυκαρτίδης*. *Εἰθυκράτης* is no uncommon name. Upon one of the Styrian lead tablets, I. G. A. 372<sub>113</sub>, the first *v* of *E(ῡ)θύμαχος* has the form of  $\iota$ , where *Εἰθυ-* should doubtless be read. Cf. Boiot. *Εἰθυκράτους* C. D. I. 814<sub>11</sub> (with non-Boiot. -*ους*). The *ει* of the Styrian name is perhaps due to dissimilation from *ευ* because of the *v* of the following syllable. *Εἰλεῖθυίει* § 225 may be so explained.

Above all suspicion, however, is the Naxian *F* in *αFῡτοῦ*, though none of the other letters upon the inscription are characteristic either in form or in use (Kirchhoff, *Alphabet*<sup>4</sup>, p. 86).

**393.]** The peculiar position occupied by the *F* in *αFῡτοῦ*, singular

<sup>1</sup> The chief ancient authority on the existence of the *F* was Trypho, who wrote a treatise on the dialect of Himera, Rhegion, &c. If Trypho's ascription of *F* to the Ionians (παθ. λεξ. § 11) is based upon its presence in the above cited inscription or in the fragments of Stesichoros of Himera or of Ibykos of Rhegion, it builds upon an insecure foundation.

<sup>2</sup> This is not indicated in the translation of Blass' *Aussprache* by Mr. Purton, who has added *Fiφικαρτίδης* to the note of the German edition.



enough in a word that did not have the spirant<sup>1</sup> originally, is rendered the more unique from the fact that all other Naxian inscriptions, except that referred to above, have lost the letter<sup>2</sup>. The Attic *ναφυ*[*πηγός*] C. I. A. IV C 373<sup>234</sup> and *αφύταρ* *ibid.* IV C 477 P, the exact parallel to *αφύτοϋ*, show beyond all doubt (1) that *αφύτοϋ* is not a slip of a stonecutter who intended to engrave AFT but could not forbear inserting the Y; (2) that the spelling *αφν* was an attempt to represent the sound *au* (i. e. *a + u*) more suitably than by *av*, i. e. *a + ü*<sup>3</sup>; (3) that the sound of the diphthong *au* could not, in the opinion of the stonecutter or of those who entrusted him with the work, be adequately reproduced by *αF*<sup>4</sup>, and finally (4) that the Ionic of Naxos and the Attic of the sixth century B.C. possessed the character *F*. But from the *F* of *αφύτοϋ* and *αφύταρ* it by no means follows that the sound *F* was still alive among Naxians and Attics. The disappearance of *F* in Attic, though occurring in the period subsequent to the Ionic migration eastward, is yet early enough to permit us to assume that its use in the sixth century was an archaism. The letter was held fast by its use as a numeral. But its ordinary, its natural phonetic use was gone. A *δέρFη* in the sixth century was an impossibility, an *αφύταρ* a possibility. Upon the *αφύταρ* inscription *F* is absent from *ιδεῖν* and *ἡργάσατο*.

394.] How soon after their settlement in Asia Minor the Ionians lost *F* is not certain. But by the sixth century in Naxos at least the sign was old-fashioned. One portion of Ionic territory abandoned its possession sooner than another. The speech of the Kyklades, which still shows traces of its preservation, may be demonstrated on other grounds<sup>5</sup> to have been conservative. Hence, even if *Φιφικαρτίδης* should be correct, it does not follow that contemporary Eastern Ionic possessed the sound. There can be no doubt that by the close of the eighth century *F* must have disappeared from the ordinary speech of the Ionic Dodekapolis.

The connection between this conclusion and the attitude of the Homeric poems towards *F* cannot be dealt with here<sup>6</sup>. There seems no reason for the belief of some scholars that wherever we

<sup>1</sup> *αὐτός* from *ἄ-ῡ-το*; cf. Skt. *u*. The *au* is pan-Hellenic; cf. Doric *αῦς*.

<sup>2</sup> *Δεινομέγεος* Bechtel 23, *Δειναγόρης* 24, *κορη* 23, and *ἐκηβόλωι* 23, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Blass, *Aussprache*<sup>3</sup> 74. Actual diaeresis of *av* is not to be assumed, despite Kirchhoff.

<sup>4</sup> In Pamphylian we find *ἄFταῖσι*.

<sup>5</sup> In the differentiation of the *ē*-sounds, in the retention of the rough breathing.

<sup>6</sup> On the Ionic character of *F* in Homer, see Fritsch in *Zeit. f. Gym.-Wes.* XXXVIII 612, Cauer in *Jahrb. d. phil. Vereins* X 294, Kretschmer in *K. Z.* XXIX 390 ff., XXXI 285, 442, Brugmann, *M. U.* V 43, Monro *Hom. Gram.*<sup>2</sup> § 405, van Leeuwen, in *Mnemosyne* XIX 149.

have a trace of *F* in the epic, the verse in question is Aiolic. That the loss of *F* in Ionic-Attic preceded its disappearance in Aiolic is no proof that the presence of the spirant in Homer is an Aiolism. In the earlier period of the Ionic cultivation of the epos *F* may have been a living sound in certain parts of Ionia, while in others it may have passed out of existence. We do not know that the diction of Homer reflects any single Ionic dialect. In the later accretions to the poems the Ionic rhapsodes may have imitated the effects produced by *F* without being conscious of its existence. The *F* controversy, so far as it concerns Homer, is to a great extent interwoven with the question when an oral was abandoned for a written transmission.

### 395.] Combinations of Digamma.

*Fρ* (initial) becomes *ρ*. There are no indications of the spelling *βρ*. Medial *Fρ* becomes *ρρ* in ἄρρητος, ἀπόρρητος in Hdt., ἰσόρροπος in Hdt., Hippokr., but ἔρεξα, &c., Hdt. *ε̄-Fρύ-s* became *ε̄ρύs* in all dialects (*ε̄* is a prosthetic vowel).

*ρF*, *λF*, *νF*, *μF* lost their *F* with compensatory lengthening § 224, 253, 254. The assimilation of *κF* to *κκ* is younger than that to *ππ*. \**φάρμακκος* has become *φάρμᾱκος* (§ 162). On *μικκός* see § 353.

*τF* becomes in Ionic *σ*, as in *σέ, τέσσερες* = Skt. *catvāras*. On *σειώ* (§ 219, 4), see Brugmann *Gr. Gr.* p. 32.

Initial *σF* becomes (1) *ʼF*, then *h*, and (2) perhaps *σ*. *ἴσος* (Homeric *ἴσος*) is from \**FιτσFος*. In Herodas 393 for *ισσᾱι* of the MSS. we may read *ἴσος' ἄν*, but *ἴσ' ἄν* is preferable.

### *The Breathings in Ionic.*

396.] The Ionians, who introduced the sign H (*Heta*) to denote the rough breathing, at an early period adopted *ψιλότης*. The Ionians of the Dodekapolis were the first to use H as the mark of *ē* (*Eta*). *Heta* was the name for *η* in all non-Ionic countries (including Attika) which retained the rough breathing until the year 400 B.C. After that time the use of H for *η*, and not for *h*, led to the adoption of the name *ἦτα*, which is originally Ionic.

### 397.]

Ionic *ψίλωσις* is attested by the ancients, who drew no accurate lines to mark its extension in Ionic territory.

Apoll. Dys. *Synt.* 55<sup>19</sup> ἐπεὶ τὰ ψιλὰ μετατιθέασιν οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ τὰ δασέα εἰς ψιλὰ κ.τ.λ.; Eust. 156<sub>49</sub> ψιλωτικοὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ Ἴωνες οὕτω καὶ Αἰολεῖς, cf. 920<sub>41</sub>; Tzetz. *Ex. Il.* 62<sub>20</sub> οἱ Αἰολεῖς τε καὶ Ἴωνες πάντα τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν δασυνόμενα ψιλοῦ(σι) καὶ διὰ ψιλοῦ συμφώνου ἐκφωνοῦσιν, cf. 119<sub>27</sub>. The following list contains the chief



examples of words adduced by the ancients in proof of the adoption of the *lenis* by the Ionians. No account is here taken as to whether or not the ordinary aspirated form is due to the loss of an initial spirant. Many of these words are also called Aiolic by the grammarians.

αἰρέω in ἀπεῖλεν Aug. 669, ἀποαιρέω Schol. Ven. A on A 275 (interlinear). ἀνδάνω in αὐτώδης Apoll. *Pron.* 94 C, ἄδοι Eust. 1561<sup>51</sup>. ἄδου Greg. Kor. § 18. ἄλλομαι in ἄλτο An. Ox. III 401<sup>29</sup> Aiolic or Ionic. ἄμαξα Eust. 913<sup>47</sup>, 1263<sup>2</sup>, 1372<sup>14</sup>, 1387<sup>9</sup>, 1636<sup>28</sup>, Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 450 (Doric, Aiolic, Ionic, κοινή). ἄρμα Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 156, *Chil.* V 726, *Posthom.* 65, *Ex. II.* 78<sub>3</sub> (Hippon. 42). ἀφή Tzetzes, *Chil.* V 726 (κάφη Hippon. 7). ἔλιξ Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 450 (Attic ἔλιξ). εἰλίσσω (εἰλίχατο Hdt. VII 90) Eust. 234<sup>11</sup>. ἔνη Eust. 1866<sup>12</sup>. ἦλιος in ἀπηλιώτης<sup>1</sup> Hdt. IV 22, Apollon. in Hdn. II 379<sup>23</sup> (Choir. *Dict.* 698<sup>31</sup>), II 839<sup>28</sup> (Choir. *Dict.* 878<sup>2</sup>, An. Ox. IV 374<sup>5</sup>, cf. 198<sup>5</sup>), Greg. K. § 18, Apoll. *Pron.* 3 A, *Adv.* p. 139<sup>14</sup> (Schn.), Eust. 83<sub>3</sub>, 1562<sup>38</sup>, Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 156, 413, ἀντήλια Eust. 83<sub>3</sub>, 1562<sup>38</sup> (ἀπηλικέστερος Hdt. III 14 but ἀφηλικέστερον = πρεσβύτερον Greg. Kor. § 134). ἑορτή Et. M. 351<sup>56</sup>. ἔπηλις Eust. 1562<sup>38</sup>, Arkad. 31<sup>12</sup>. ἦμος Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 412 (παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς καὶ δασύνεται). Ἥφαιστος Apollonios in Hdn. II 839<sup>29</sup> (Choir. *Dict.* 878<sub>3</sub>, An. Ox. IV 374<sub>4</sub>). ἱεσθαί Suidas s. v. πρόκα, Hdt. VI 134 (ἰέναι often occurs in the MSS. of Hdt.). ἰκνέομαι in ἀπικόμην &c. Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. § 18, Vat. 699, Aug. 669, Birnb. 678<sup>39</sup>, Et. Gud. 428<sub>3</sub>, 439<sup>60</sup>, An. Ox. I 318<sup>33</sup>, Et. Mag. 624<sup>16</sup>. ἱρεύς Eust. 1623<sup>61</sup>, cf. 515<sup>35</sup>. ἱρηξ Eust. 920<sup>44</sup> (but ἱρηξ Greg. K. § 66, who quotes Hesiod), 1248<sup>48</sup>, 1734<sup>17</sup>. ἵππος in ἐπ' ἵππον Leid. 629, ἐπ' ἵππων Joh. Gr. 235, Vat. 694, λεύκιππος Eust. 83<sub>2</sub>, 524<sup>28</sup>, 1562<sup>37</sup>, Tzetzes on Hsd. *W. D.* 156. The asper in ἵππος is due to that of the preceding article. ἐπίσταμαι Apollonios in Hdn. II 839<sup>27</sup> (Choir. *Dict.* 877<sup>34</sup>, An. Ox. IV 374<sub>4</sub>), Et. Mag. 364<sup>53</sup>. ἰστία in ἐπίστιον Hdn. II 379<sup>25</sup> (Choir. *Dict.* 699<sub>1</sub>), II 146 (on Z 265), An. Ox. IV 198<sub>6</sub>, Greg. Kor. § 89, Eust. 1562<sup>33</sup>, 46<sup>46</sup>. ὀδός in αὐτόδιον Eust. 1562<sup>37</sup>, 1605<sup>12</sup>. οἶος Greg. Kor. § 18. ὀμίχλη Et. Mag. 624<sup>14</sup>, Et. Gud. 428<sub>2</sub>, An. Ox. I 318<sup>33</sup>. ὀρᾶν Joh. Gr. 235, Leid. 629, Vat. 694 (ἐπορᾶν), Joh. Gr. 240, Aug. 668, Birnb. 678<sup>13</sup>, Apoll. *Synt.* 55<sup>22</sup> (κατορῶ). ὄρκος in ἐπιορκῆσαι Scholiast Ven. A on IX 193. ὄς in ἀπ' ὦν Aug. 669. ἀπουρίσαι Eust. 1282<sup>15</sup>, cf. 1774<sup>36</sup>. ὦρα in κατωραΐζεται· σεμνύνεται Hesych. (Ionic?); cf. Et. M. 448<sup>45</sup>.

### 398.] Spiritus asper in the Inscriptions.

Since the inscriptions offer the most valuable evidence for the presence or absence of the rough breathing in Ionic, all

<sup>1</sup> On ἀπηλιώτης see § 410.



examples which afford absolute proof of the use of the *asper* (*i.e.* actual presence of *h* or aspiration of a *tenuis*) will be adduced below. Only from the inscriptions previous to 403 B.C. will be cited examples of words which might have been provided with the *asper*, but are without it, and from those of a later date only cases of aspirated *tenuis*. Roberts' method of aspirating such old Ionic inscriptions from Asia Minor as are free from all taint of Atticism is not to be defended. Certainty in so elusive a matter as the placing of the correct *spiritus* cannot be expected in the later inscriptions. Bechtel puts the *lenis* in quite late documents provided they contain some Ionic form. In many of the inscriptions from the fourth century which contain Attic forms the same scholar adopts the *lenis*, while in others he uses the *asper*. All *Κοινή* inscriptions should have the aspirated forms.

A divergence in the treatment of the initial *spiritus asper* between the divisions of Ionic constitutes one of the chief marks of sub-dialectal difference. Only the Asiatic Ionians adopted *ψιλότης*. The dialect of Western Ionic and that of the Kyklades have retained the rough breathing.

Medial *σ* upon its disappearance left an intervocalic *spiritus asper*, which, if the initial syllable of the word was provided with a *lenis*, was in Attic and some other dialects transferred to the beginning of the word. Thus *ἔω* is from \**εῦῶ* < \**εῦσω* Lat. *ūro*. Asiatic Ionic must be regarded as rejecting, the dialect of the islands and of Euboia as adopting, this phonetic principle. In Asiatic Ionic *ἱερός* or *ἰρός*, in Thasos and Siphnos *ἱερός* resulted from \**ισερός*, \**ιέρος*.

399.] **Asia Minor, including the Ionic of the Dodekapolis** and of the colonies, even when these are islands such as Iasos, Leros, Teos, Chios, Samos, Samothrake. Care will be taken to notice whether the dialect of the islands differs from that of the metropolis.

The Ionians of the East, *i.e.* those included under this division, had lost the initial *asper* at the time of our earliest inscriptions from Asia Minor, while all the other Ionians had preserved it.

Miletos: Θ in the older group of Milesian inscriptions never denotes *h*; and H in the younger group is likewise always used for *η*. In the Abu-Simbel inscription, however, Θ may denote either *h* or *η* (Θαγήσερμος, ΤΗλεφος), though not all forms capable of receiving the *asper* are provided with Θ. But there is nothing to show that those words in the Abu-Simbel document which receive the *asper* were written by Milesians; and the evidence of Πά(μ)βις ο Φολοφώνιος makes for the assumption that all that part of the inscription which is the work of Ionians is to be written without the *asper*. 93 οἱ, Ἠγήσανδρος; 94 οἱ; 96

ἡμέας; 97 Ἰστια[ίος]; 98 ὁ; cf. also Roberts I 132 *bis* from Naukr. (ὑπ[οκρητή]ριον), and 132 *ter* from Naukr. (ὁ), Bechtel 237, Ἡρης Naukr. I 447 is to be read Ἡρη not Ἡρη, cf. No. 689. ἀπ' ἐκάστου occurs in 100<sub>2</sub>. In 102<sub>2</sub> Bechtel writes ἱερή, since the coin is of the fourth century; cf. likewise ἱερῇ in Pantikap. 123, and Ephesos 150, both late inscriptions.

Prokonnesos: H is used for η only. 103 ὑποκρητήριον, τοῦρμokraτeος and ἡθμόν (cf. ἀπηθέω). Roberts' question as to the propriety of writing ἡθμόν is otiose, although Ηηθμόν appears on the Attic copy. This copy has several cases of H. In later times, at least, ἡθμός was the proper form; cf. Scholiast on Apoll. Rhod. I 1294 (quoted by Roberts).

Iasos: No. 104 dates from about the middle of the fourth century and its forms may receive the Attic *asper*. No. 105 is also Attic in colouring.

Kyzikos: In the second part of 108 (dating perhaps from the first century B.C.) Bechtel writes the *lenis* because of its archaistic character. But the contemporary dialect of Kyzikos must have followed the Κοινή usage.

Priene: In No. 144, about 350 B.C., from the territory of the Πανιώνιον, we find κατάπερ, though Bechtel writes the *asper* on initial vowels. This κατάπερ is not decisive as to the deaspiration of Ionic in Priene in the middle of the fifth century. See below under Chios.

Ephesos: H is used for η throughout in No. 145. καθάπερ in No. 147<sub>11</sub> occurs in an inscription almost entirely Hellenistic. ἐπεξῆς 148<sub>34</sub> dates, according to Dareste, from about the period of king Mithridates.

Kolophon: ὁ with no sign of Θ in No. 152 from Abu-Simbel, Roberts I 130 E: Πά(μ)βις ὁ Ολοφώνιος. Roberts' ὁ is incorrect.

Smyrna: ἐφ' ἴση in C. I. G. 3137<sub>75</sub> is late.

Teos: Ἐλεσίβιος ὁ Τήιος in No. 155 from Abu-Simbel. Roberts' (I 130 B) Ἐλεσι- and ὁ are incorrect. In No. 156 (middle of the fifth century) H is used throughout for η, never for h. The sole trace of aspiration is καθημένον (B 31). C. I. G. 3094<sub>12</sub> has καθ' ἔτος and Le Bas-Waddington 87 ἀφ' ἴσου (both late inscriptions). In No. 158 which contains scarcely a remnant of Ionic, we find, line 20, ἀπήγησιν despite καθάπερ lines 4, 25, καθισταμένοις line 32. See below under Chios.

Abdera: Ἐρμῇ and Ἐρμooστράτου in No. 162=Rob. I 143. H is used for η throughout. Cf. the coin legends Ἐπ' Ἐρμokraτίδew 163<sub>3</sub>, Ἐπ' Ἡροδότου 163<sub>5</sub>, [Ἐ]π' Ἡροφάνε[os] 163<sub>6</sub> (see on Erythrai below), Ἡγησαγόρης 163<sub>4</sub>. Ἐρμῇ occurs in No. 171 Lampsakos. Ἐρμίew 180 Chios, but Ἐρμίαι is written in Eryth. 204<sub>14</sub> (about 354 B.C.).

Chios: H is employed in No. 174=Rob. I 149 to denote η.



There is no sign of the *spiritus asper*. In 174 A ἡ's line 2, Ἑρμῶνοσσαν 2, Ἑρμωνόσσης 4, ἕξ 5, ἐβδομήκοντα 7, ὄση 8, ἑκατόν 13, οὐροφύλακες 15, 19, οἱ 18; in 174 B πέντ' ἡμέρη[ι]σιν 5, ἡμέρην 15, and ὅ τι 20; in 174 C ἡ 3, ὁ 10, Ἰκέσιος 14, Ἱγεπόλιος 14, ἐπτακοσίων 18 and 25; in 174 D Ἱ[κ]εσίου 14, ἐνός 19. In 175=Rob. I 150 we find ὀδόν.

μεθέληι 174 A 11 is to be explained as καθημένον in Teos, κάθοδον in Halikarnassos, *i.e.* by the assumption that in a compound the original rough breathing is preserved, whereas, when occurring in the uncompounded form, an aspirated word becomes subject to the influence of later phonetic laws of Ionic and suffers deaspiration. Cf. καθημένη Sim. Am. 7<sub>90</sub>, κάθοδος Anakr. 43<sub>6</sub>, καθεύδοντα Hippon. 61 (attributed by Schneidewin to Hipponax), καθεύδει Anakr. 88<sub>2</sub>; καθάπερ and καθισταμένοις Teos, καθημένων on an Ionic papyrus of the fourth century B.C. (*Philol.* XLI p. 746). That this principle, differentiating the simple from the uncompounded words, did not obtain throughout the length and breadth of the dialect is clear from the numerous forms in Herodotos and from Teian ἀπήγησιν. Both of these forms must be held to be innovations, not survivals. ἀφήγησις was the old compound, which, existing side by side with uncompounded words in ἡγ- from ἡγέομαι<sup>1</sup>, became ἀπήγησις. So too with ἐπίμερον in Sim. Am., κατάπερ in Priene, Halikarnassos. See Fick *B. B.* XI 247, Bechtel *Ion. Inschr.* p. 98. The same principle may account for such forms as καθεύδω in Sappho.

Maroneia: Ἐπὶ Ἡγησαγόρεω 196, 10, Ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείδω 196, 11.

Erythrai: In 206 A 14, 36, 42, B 14, 45, 50, 60 we find ἐφ' ἱεροποιοῦ, but ἐπὶ ἱερο[ποιοῦ] C 14, cf. C 8. This shows that the non-elision of the ι does not prove that the vowel of the following word began with the *lenis*.

Samos: Θ and Η are employed to denote η. τῆρηι 211, Ἡφαιστίων 212. Roberts has the first correct, the second wrong, as also [Ἡ]ραγόρης ὁ in his No. 154=Bechtel 213, where read [Ἡ-] and ὁ. No. 216 οὔρος, not ὄρος, since there is no Η on the stone (Attic ΗΟΡΟΣ is found in C. I. A. I 493 ff., also in Samos I. G. A. No. 8). Cf. § 253. No. 221<sub>32</sub> with καθότι is from 322 B.C.

Amorgos (inscriptions of Samian origin, see § 400): In 228=Rob. I 158 A, ἈΗρσίων is read by Bechtel Ἀρσίων, by Roberts Ἀηρσίων, which is a new and strange name. Ἀρσίων (with aspirated ρ) is the hypocoristic form of Ἀρσίνοος. Bechtel compares ΦΘράΘσο=Φράξον in Rob. I 25 (Delos).

Halikarnassos: Η is used for η, not for *h*. Bechtel 238=Rob.

<sup>1</sup> Even in Doric we find such names as Ἀγησίλαος with the lenis of ἄγω, in contrast to Ἀγηίστρατος from ἄγέομαι. Cf. Ἀγίέω Bechtel 131, 11, from Olbia.



I 145 has  $\delta$  1,  $\delta$ , 'ΑλικαρναΤ[έω]ν 2,  $\iota\epsilon\rho\eta$ [ι] 3,  $\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ [νον] 5,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi'$  οὐ 18, ἄδος 19, κατὰπ[ε]ρ 19, ὀρκῶ <ι>σ[αι] 20, ὅ τ[ι] 20, οἱ 21, ὕστερον 22, ὄρκον 24, ὀρκοῦν 26, ἡμί[ε]κτον 26, ὄρκον 27, οὔτινες 29, ὅτε 30, ὕστερον 31, ὥστε 34,  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  36, 'Αλικαρνησσ- 40 and 41, ὅς 43, ὄρκια 44, κατόπερ 43. The only form that indicates  $h$  is  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\delta\omicron\nu$  40, on which see under *Chios*. In No. 246<sub>5</sub> we find  $\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\delta\rho\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  on a stelè of unknown period. All the other inscriptions from Halikarnassos are certainly late.

Mylasa: *C. I. G.* 2693, c. 4 has  $\kappa\alpha\theta'$  ἔτος. See above under *Teos*.

Adespota: No. 255 with TETEPEI =  $\tau\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\iota$  has been referred by Bechtel to an Asiatic-Ionic source on account of the absence of the aspiration. Cf.  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$  Simon. *Amorg.* VII 113, Hippon. tr. 18<sub>3</sub>. See § 134, note, Roberts I p. 374.

In No. 260 = Rob. I 166 we read  $\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\omega\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , though the ultimate provenance of the inscription is uncertain. There is no H.

#### 400.] Kyklades (Island Ionic).

Naxos:  $\Theta$  and H represent (1) the *spiritus asper*, (2) the short or long *e* sound related to an original A (see § 166). (1) In No. 23 = Rob. I 25  $\Theta\kappa\Theta\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\iota$  stands for  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\eta$ -<sup>1</sup>. Aspirated  $\rho$  and  $hs$  for  $\chi s$  occur in  $\Phi\Theta\text{PA}\Theta\Sigma\text{O}$  ( $\Phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\omicron\nu$ ). In No. 24 = Rob. I 26 A  $\text{EKH}\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\iota$  there is no denotation of  $h$ ; No. 26 = Rob. I 28 HO. Cf. Roberts §§ 33, 35. (2)  $\text{Νικάνδρ}\Theta$ ,  $\Theta\kappa\Theta\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\iota$ ,  $\iota\omicron\chi\epsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\Theta\iota$ ,  $\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\Theta$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\gamma\nu\eta\tau\Theta$ ,  $\Delta\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\Theta\omicron$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda(\lambda)\Theta\omega\nu$  in No. 23 = Rob. I 25;  $\Delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\gamma\acute{\omicron}\rho\text{Hs}$ ,  $\text{EKH}\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\iota$  in No. 24 = Rob. I 26 A; 'ΑλξΗνωρ,  $\acute{\epsilon}]\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\text{H}\sigma\epsilon\nu$  in No. 26 = Rob. I 28;  $\text{ΚαριώνH}$  Rob. I 29.

Amorgos (inscriptions of Naxian origin, see § 399): H denotes both  $h$  and  $\eta$ . No. 31 = Rob. I 160 B  $\text{H}\Gamma\text{ποκράτης}$ ,  $\text{H}\Gamma\text{ποκλήης}$ : No. 33 = Rob. I 160 F  $\eta\lambda$ [ι]οs where in  $\text{H}^\Lambda$  the H stands for  $h\acute{\epsilon}$ . H represents  $\eta$  in  $\Delta\text{H}\mu\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\text{Hs}$ ,  $\mu\nu\text{H}\mu\alpha$ ,  $\tau\text{Hs}$  in No. 29 = Rob. I 158 D;  $\tau\text{Hs}$  in No. 32 = Rob. I 160 C, also in Rob. I 159 B (an *abecedarium*), and in the very obscure inscription, Rob. I 160 A:  $\Phi\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\Theta\text{s}$  (?),  $\sigma\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\text{H}\nu$ . In *B. C. H.* VIII 24 (10. 16)  $\kappa\alpha\theta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  is due to the analogy of  $\kappa\alpha\theta'$  ἔτος with inorganic  $h$  from F.

Keos: H denotes  $\eta$  (pan-Hellenic). In No. 40 = Rob. I 31 A, H by an error stands for E in  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\parallel\theta\text{H}\sigma\alpha\nu$ ; see Roberts *ad loc.* In No. 41 = Rob. I 32,  $\chi\rho\nu$ ]σHν,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\text{H}\xi'$ , and  $\text{H}=\eta$  are quite doubtful; in No. 42 = Rob. I 31 B,  $\Xi\epsilon\iota\nu\text{H}\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\text{E}\acute{\upsilon}\delta\text{H}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ : in No. 46 = Rob. I 33 B, [ $\text{A}$ ]φροδίτHι,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\text{H}\kappa\epsilon\nu$ . We find but one word in the older inscriptions (apart from the doubtful  $\eta$  mentioned above):  $\text{Ιστ}\iota\text{H}\iota$  (Bechtel No. 45 = Rob. I 33 A) which must be transcribed 'Ιστίη. No. 43 = Rob. I 32 A

<sup>1</sup> The initial  $\Theta$  is not an error for  $\text{BE}$  but a peculiar sign, used elsewhere (Delos and Oropos), for  $\acute{\epsilon}$ .

(after 420 B.C.) has no sign for the *asper*, H representing  $\eta$  ( $=\bar{a}$ ) and  $\eta < \epsilon + a$ , except in  $\delta\iota\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\theta\text{H}\iota_{17}$ ,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{H}\iota_{23}$ .

Delos: H stands for  $h\epsilon$  as in Naxos and Oropos. Cf. No. 53 = Rob. I 24 A HKHBΩ[λωι], where H also represents  $\eta < \bar{a}$ .

Paros: H appears for  $\eta$  only. No. 58 = Rob. I 16 has  $-\epsilon\beta\delta\sigma\text{[}\mu\eta\text{]}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\text{H}\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\chi\sigma\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\text{H}\sigma\epsilon\nu$ : No. 59 = Rob. I 17  $\Delta\text{H}\mu\omicron\kappa\upsilon\delta\text{H}\varsigma$ ,  $\text{T}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\delta\iota\kappa\text{H}$ ,  $\sigma\tau\text{H}\sigma\alpha\nu$ ,  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\text{H}\iota$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\text{H}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\text{H}\mu\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\text{H}\iota$ : No. 60 = Rob. I 15  $\mu\text{H}\tau\text{H}\rho$ ,  $\theta\nu\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\text{H}\rho$ ,  $\pi\omicron\iota\text{H}\mu\alpha$ : Rob. I No. 18  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{[}\epsilon\theta\text{H}\kappa\epsilon\nu$ .  $\epsilon\phi\eta\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  67 is from Roman times. Rob. I No. 19 = *I. G. A.* 406, a boundary stone, has HOPOS TOIEPO. If this is Ionic the transcription must be Hoûpos not Hópos. It is unfortunate that upon no Parian inscription before 403 B.C. do we find any word capable of aspiration<sup>1</sup>; else we might settle the question whether Rob. I 19 contains an example of  $\text{H} = h$ , or whether HOPOS is Attic ὄρος and the boundary stone of Attic provenance<sup>2</sup> (as the Samian HOPOS *I. G. A.* 8, cf. *C. I. A.* I No. 493 ff.). The absence of H from IEPO is to be noticed, because in Siphnos (Rob. I No. 20) we have HIEPΩN and in Thasos IHPON for HIPON (No. 70 = Rob. I 23).

Thasos: H denotes  $\eta$ , *e.g.* in  $\text{N}\nu\mu\phi\text{H}\iota\sigma\omega$ ,  $\text{N}\nu\mu\phi\text{H}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\text{H}\iota$ ,  $\theta\text{H}\lambda\nu$ , &c. in No. 68 = Rob. I 22.  $\acute{\alpha}\mu$  is expressed by AM in the same inscription (cf. § 292, 3). In No. 70 = Rob. I 23 we find IHPON which stands for HIPON (cf.  $\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$  Bechtel 71, and  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  717) rather than for IEPON, as Roberts (*I* p. 61, note 1) assumes; cf. IEMI for EIMI in Theodosia, Bechtel No. 125. In *J. H. S.* VIII 402, a document of the fifth century, H denotes  $\bar{e}$ .

Siphnos: H represents  $h$  in  $\text{H}\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$  (Bechtel No. 88 = Rob. I 20), the only inscription of ancient date. Were others extant, H would express  $\eta$  as well as  $h$ .

Lastly, we must examine the inscriptions of—

#### 401.] Euboeia.

##### A. Chalkis and Colonies.

Kyme: H represents  $h$  twice: in  $\text{H}\nu\pi\acute{\upsilon}$  Bechtel 3 A = Rob. I 177 A, and in  $\Theta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  Rob. I 173.  $\eta$  is expressed by E in the oldest inscriptions free from any encroachment of the Ionic alphabet.

Rhegion: H represents  $h$  in HOΣΣA Rob. I 180 (but see § 373). In the parallel inscription, Rob. I 181, the same word has no H, the only letter preserved after  $\chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$  being O. PHγινος occurs on a coin legend, hence  $\text{'P[}\eta\text{]}\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  in Bechtel

<sup>1</sup> Except perhaps  $-\epsilon\beta\delta\sigma\text{[}\mu\eta\text{]}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  No. 58, though here the medial  $h$  was scarcely to be expected.

<sup>2</sup> The latter supposition is more probable than to hold with Kirchhoff and Roberts *I* § 29 that the H is an archaism similar to that found on Attic boundary stones of a later period. Fick places the inscription at the earliest about 400 B.C. because *asper* and *lenis* appear.



6 B must be without H= $\hbar$ . In Bechtel No. 6 B, Ionic H is used for  $\eta$  [ $\Gamma\lambda$ ]ανκίHς, ΈρμHι, and there is no sign for  $\hbar$ : O stands for  $\delta$ , Έρμ $\hbar$ ι for Έρμ $\hbar$ ι. This inscription is later than 450 B.C.

Bechtel No. 13=Rob. I 179 is of Chalkidian origin. In lines 7 and 11 we find Θότι, line 8 Θο, line 9 Θαιρεί[σ]θω. Rob. I No. 183 contains Hιπ(π)οδρόμης: it is a Chalkidian inscription from Gela.

We may here insert the vase inscriptions: Hιππολύτη Rob. I 188 B, cf. Έχιππος Rob. I 189 (΄Ρόπιος with no H, 188 K), Hιπ(π)αίος 190 I G, Hίπ(π)ος 190 II A, Hηρακλῆς 191 B and also 192 B.

### B. Eretria and Styria.

Eretria and Oropos: Under Eretria we may class Oropos No. 18, where (line 18) we find αὐθημερόν, ἀφ' ἐκάστου (line 35), ἐγκαθεύδειν (line 36), ἐγκαθεύδοντος (line 39), καθεύδειν (line 44); and finally Hσπέρης (lines 46-47)=Hεσπέρης<sup>1</sup>, the sole instance of H on the stone, which is certainly older than 377 B.C. This case of H is an archaism according to Wilamowitz in *Hermes* XXI p. 98.

Styra: Bechtel No. 19 contains the following names in point: ΕὐHάγης 108 (the only example of medial H in Ionic inscriptions), Hεσχατίων 110, Hυπεί(ρ)ων 111, Hηγεμονεύς 200, Hιππώνδης 373, Hομήριος 374 (cf. *I. G. A.* 372). E in No. 19 represents  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$  (pan-Hellenic),  $\eta < \bar{a}$ , spurious EI, and (rarely) genuine EI (12, 265). No H is found in Έρμόκριτος 371, nor in Παῖβος 82, Πύμβις 299.

Certain *adespota* may be referred to the Ionic of Euboea or of the Kyklades on the score of possessing  $\hbar$ . Bechtel No. 265, found near the Parthenon and dating before Ol. 80, has Hυιός, but Hγέλοχος. No. 266 is also classed as Ionic by Bechtel. In line 4 we find Hυύς.

### *Spiritus Asper in Literature.*

#### 402.] The Iambographic Poets.

Iambographic poetry best reproduces the speech of the people. Cf. Fick *Bezz. Beitr.* XI 246 ff.

Archilochos: Archilochos has retained with but two exceptions the influence of the *asper*. These exceptions are ἐπ' ἡμέρην 70<sub>2</sub>, where most of the MSS. have ἐφ', and ἐπ' ἡβης 115. The *asper* appears in ὑφ' ἡδονῆς 102, ἐφ' ἡπατι 131 (. . . παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ

<sup>1</sup> On Θ or H= $\hbar$ , cf. Naxos 23, Delos 53 ἐκηβόλωι. In Styra 19<sub>200</sub> HE is= $\hbar\epsilon$  (Έγεμονεύς). Hεσχατίων occurs 19<sub>110</sub>.



διὰ δασέος Athen. III 107 F), θῆτέρηι 93, Γλαῦχ', ὄρα, or Γλαῦκ', ὄρα 54 by force of the punctuation. In verbs compounded with a preposition (which prove but little if the rule upheld § 399, under *Chios*, be here available): ἄφελκε 42, ἐφέπων 132, ἐφήμερος 213, κάθημαι 873, καθαιρεῖ 116. The evidence of Parian or Thasian inscriptions is in itself not sufficient warrant for ascribing to Archilochos a thoroughgoing use of the *asper*.

Simonides of Amorgos: ἐπίμερον 751, τοῦτέρου 7113, but χῶς 241, τοῦθ' ὄρα 780, ἐφήμεροι 13, καθημένη 790, and ἀφεῦσα 241. In view of similar inconsequences in other poets, it would be an over-refinement of criticism to explain ἐπίμερον in contrast to ἐφήμεροι, by referring it to the character of the settlement of Amorgos, i.e. by Naxians, Samians, and Milesians<sup>1</sup>. As Simonides was by birth a Samian we might expect a constant disregard of the *asper*. Naxian influence alone could have introduced the rough breathing.

Hipponax: κάφῃ 71, ἀκούσατ' Ἰππώνακτος 131, τοῦτέρου 183 ('ἰωνικῶς'), ὀδύνῃ πιαλεῖ 21 B, κῶπόλλων = καὶ ὁ Ἀπ- 31, ὠπόλλων = ὁ Ἀπ- 45, ἐπ' ἀρμάτων 42, κατ' ὕπνον 89. The *asper* however appears in ἀγεί 11 (where its existence is improbable, cf. § 156), θαίματια 83, κοῦχ ἀμαρτάνω 83, and in ἀφέω 75 and καθεύδοντα 611 (see above, § 399). As an iambic poet of the Asiatic mainland, Hipponax represents with tolerable fidelity the speech of his countrymen.

Ananios has γνοίῃ χ' ὄσφ in the choliambic fragment No. 3, but κῆμέρης 510 (tetr.), cf. Chios 174 B 14. καθείρξαι occurs in 31.

In *Herodas* we observe nearly sixty cases of the presence of the *asper*, and only twenty of the *lenis*. The *asper* has been misplaced in χῆρωτες 794.

#### 403.] Elegiac Poets.

Instances of deaspiration in the texts of elegiac poets from the twelve cities are extremely rare: Xenophanes 210 has ταῦτα κ' ἅπαντα, according to the majority of the MSS., though Bergk follows *B* in reading χ' ἅπαντα. In 219 we find τοῦνεκεν, a form which is however also epic (Hesiod).

The elegiac poets usually accept the aspirated forms through inability to break with epic tradition: Mimnerm. 127 ἐφ' ὕδωρ, 128 ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων and ἀφικόμεθα 92: Xenophanes 117 οὐχ ὕβρις and ἀφίκιοι: Phokylides of Leros has οὐχ ὁ 11.

#### 404.] Melic Poets.

In the melic poets there are scarcely any traces of the placing of the *lenis* for the *asper*: Anakreon has ἔσκατορᾶς 16 (Apoll.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπίμερον and ἐφήμεροι have a parallel in Herodotos' ἀπικέσθαι by the side of ἀφικέσθαι in Xenophanes.

*Synt.* 55), ἐπίστιον 90<sub>4</sub>, but οὐκέθ' ἦβη, κάθοδος 43, καθεύδει 88<sub>2</sub>, λευκίππων 12 B from original ἵππος.

#### 405.] Herodotos.

In view of the unanimous testimony of the inscriptions of Ionic Asia Minor as to the loss of the rough breathing, it is imperative that the text of Herodotos should be made to conform to the dialect of his day. The influence of an initial rough breathing may however be admitted to a certain extent. In compounds it has aspirated a preceding tenuis; though in numerous instances such forms as ἀπίκετο may be justified with the same propriety as the Teian ἀπήγησις, on which see § 399, under *Chios*.

The following instances of the occurrence of the *lenis* or variation between *lenis* and *asper*, deserve notice. Words with an initial *F* are expected to show the *lenis*.

ἐδώλια I 24 in *C b*. ἔργω, ἔργνυμι: ἐσεργνῦσι II 86, κατεργνῦσι IV 69, κατέργοντες VI 102, εἶρξε III 136 (*v.l.* ἔρξε), ἔργεσθαι VII 197 (*v.l.* εἶργ- and εἶργ-): ἔρκτήν is however found IV 146. ἔρξαν V 65, ἀπέρξαντες IV 62, but ἔρδον IX 103 (*P* ἔ-), ἔρδεσκε VII 33 (*P*); cf. Sim. K. 520 ἔρδη: on ἔρδω in Hesiod, see Rzach's *Dialekt d. Hsd.* p. 359. ἔσμός V 114. ἦώς though ἔω is a frequent *v.l.*; ἐωθινός occurs in III 104; in ἦώς, as in other words here mentioned, the *lenis* is original (ἦώς < ἄχσως). ἱρηκας II 67, cf. Eust. II. 920<sub>44</sub>: τὸ δὲ ἱρηξ ἰωνικῶς ψιλοῦται, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἱεραξ δασύνεται. In III 76, despite ἱρήκων in MSS. *Rd*, we read with Stein the form with the *lenis*. ὄλμος, οὖλος, οὐρίζειν. ὦρη *heed, care* III 155 (ὦρη most MSS.), as in the tragedians. ὦρη *season* II 4, I 32. εἰλίσσω has the *asper* II 38 according to Stein, as εἰλίχατο VII 90, though Eust. 234<sub>11</sub> wrote εἰλ-; cf. Tzetzes on Hesiod, *W. D.* 450: τὸ ἐλιξ Ἀπτικοὶ δασύνουσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ψιλοῦσιν. ἰστίη has the *asper*.

The non-aspiration of ὑπέατι in the MSS. of Hdt. IV 70 deserves notice, as the deaspiration of words with initial *v* is extremely rare in the Greek dialects, with the single exception of Aiolic. Cf. ὑδρίαν I. G. A. 321<sub>45</sub>, ὑπεδέξατο C. I. A. I 442<sub>5</sub>, ὑπαργύρω C. I. A. I 165<sub>6</sub>, 173<sub>4</sub>, ὑπάργυρα C. I. A. I 32 B 28; see Roberts I § 43. This *lenis* appears before *v* only in those dialects whose *v* was the old sound *oo* (*u*).

#### 406.] Occurrences of tenuis for aspirate in Herodotos.

The MSS. of Herodotos have the tenuis (1) before an initial guttural spirant and (2) not infrequently in compounds.

1. A final tenuis is not aspirated:—οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι I 5 (cf. § 348), and so also in the case of ἀπό, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, ὑπό, and ἀντί<sup>1</sup> (Bredow, p. 203 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> ἀντ' ἄδου Greg. Kor. § 18, who also cites οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν.



2. In compounds whose tenues are due to the influence of the lenis of the uncompounded word.

ἀπαρμένους II 121 (δ); ἀπηλιώτης IV 22 (§ 397); ἀπικνέοντο IV 125, cf. ἀπίξονται Charon 9 (§ 397); αὐτημερόν II 122, VI 139; ἐπέδρης I 17, v. l. ἔδρης, ἐπέδρην V 65 (ἔφεδρον V 41); ἐπεξῆς II 77; κατά=καθά I 208 (elsewhere κατὰ τά, but καθ' ὥς IX 82) where Kirchhoff would prefer κατ' ᾧ; κατά περ I 118, 131, 169, κατύπερθε II 5; κατίσαι II 121 (ε), cf. II 126; κατηγέοντο IV 125, ὑπηγεομένης Demokr. 92. All MSS. have καθεύδουσι in Hdt. IV 25, with which we may compare καθεύδει II 95. Stein has κατ- in both cases. In VIII 49 the MSS. have ἀφ-, Stein ἀπείτο. Dindorf incorrectly conjectures ἀπήσειν in VII 193 for ἀφήσειν, since there is an obvious reference to ἀφήμι in order to explain Ἀφέται.

In the Herodoteian crasis of ὁ + αὐτός to ὠτός (§ 258) we find the *asper* vanishes; cf. τοῦτερον (but θάτερα IV 157 and οὔτερος I 34).

407.] As the case now stands it is impossible to discover the exact usage of Herodotos as regards compounded words; and it will continue to be impossible until we are placed in the position of being able to control by the inscriptions the form of each word whose second component part originally began with the *asper*. In fact, as we know that κάθοδος is a legitimate Ionic form of the fifth century, it may be doubted whether ἔφεδρον in Hdt. V 41 is not correct and ἐπέδρης I 17 a fictitious form<sup>1</sup>. Great as are the limitations in respect of our knowledge of the Ionic *asper*, it should be recognized that to write ἐπέδρης in one case and ἔφεδρον in another (as the editor of Dietsch's text does), is not in accordance with probability, whatever may be said for the advisability of such a procedure from the point of view of the textual critic who has not the courage to disregard MS. evidence.

#### 408.] The Asper in Hippokrates.

Hippokrates usually employs the *asper* in the same way as the Attic. οὐκ ὑπέστρεψεν II 664, according to Ermerins, where Littré (with *A F G I*) reads οὐχ; οὐκ οἶον II 74 (Littré οὐχ), οὐχ ὑποδέχεται II 76 in both Ermerins and Littré. In VII 96 for ἐφ' ἄμαξαν, a v. l. is ἐπ', cf. Homeric ἐπ' ἄμαξαν M 448 (see § 397), VII 326 κῶμφαλός=καὶ ὁ ὄμφ. (in θ). On ἀπ' ὄτεων in II 74, see Gomperz, *Apologie der Heilkunst*, p. 77, where other forms are discussed: ὑπ' ὄτεν VI 34, VI 98, ὠτός VIII 588, ἀπίκηται VII 8, ἀπικνέεται VI 390, ἐπόδοισι VI 508, μετεωῦτοῦ VI 114 (in *M*), where other MSS., except *A*, have μετ' ὠτοῦ.

#### 409.] Pseudo-Ionists.

Aretaios has the *asper* throughout, or with such insignificant

<sup>1</sup> See Thumb, *Asper*, p. 58.



exceptions as not to disturb the usual Attic practice. The medical writers form a pronounced exception to Herodotos and his imitators. Lukian: *Dea Syria* ἀπικνέομαι very often; but ἀφῆς *V. A.* 6, &c.; ἐπικνέεται § 15, with ἐφ- three times, κατ- three times, κάθηται § 16; κατ' §§ 17, 44; μετήσομαι § 18; ὑπηγέονται § 57, ὑφ- § 46; ἀντ' § 12; οὐκ § 52.

In the *De Astr.* there are nine cases of ἀπ in composition and ἀπ' ἡμέων § 21; μετέποντα § 13.

Arrian: ἀπηγέομαι, ἀπικνέομαι in all ten times, with φ four times; ἀπ' § 3, the only certain place; ἐπεῖναι § 11; ἐφ- four times; ἐπ' § 32, ἐφ' five times; κατ- twenty-seven times (κατάπερ, κατύπερθε, κατοράω, κατορμίζονται, κατηγεομένων, κατήκω), καθ- thirteen times; κατ' §§ 11, 29, 30, καθ' four times; μεθ- not μετ-; ὑφ- not ὑπ-; οὐχ ὅ § 5.

Abydenos: ἀπίκατο 1; καθορμίζονται 1; μετίει 1.

Eusebios: ἀπεστήκεε 8; ἐπ' 5; προσεκατέατο 8; κατ' ὅτεω 5; καθ- twice; οὐκ ἀμαρτεῖν 2, ἀπ' 6.

Eusebios Myndios: ἀπ'- but once and no case of ἀπ': ἐπησθείην 1, ἐφ- twice; ἐπ' 44, 63, ἐφ' twice; κατηγεομένους 63, καθ- twice; οὐχ 14, 36, 53.

In the supposititious letters of Herakleitos κατ- occurs once (12). These letters have ἀφ', as that of Thales.

*Vita Homerī*: ἀπικνέομαι twenty-three times, ἀπηγέομαι §§ 22, 23, ἀπικνέομαι, κατήμενος § 9, κατίζων 10, 12; elsewhere καθ-. So also ἀφ', μεθ'.

#### 410.] **Varia.**

In Attic we find a few instances of the *lenis* that may be ascribed to an Ionic source: ἀντήλιος *Agam.* 519, *Aias* 805, ἀπηλιώτης *Kykl.* 19 and in prose and inscriptions. ἐπημαξευμένα occurs in *Antig.* 251. Even Aristophanes has ἀπηλιαστής *Aves* 110. See § 397.

ἐποδώκει, the reading of the vulgate *Persai* 656, cannot be defended as an Ionism of tragedy, and is to be abandoned on other grounds.

In late inscriptions we find the *asper* even where Classic Attic has the *lenis*: καθ' ἐνιαυτόν *B. C. H.* VIII 24<sub>10, 16</sub> (Amorgos), ἐφ' Ἰση *C. I. G.* 3137<sub>75</sub> (Smyrna), ἀφ' Ἰσου Le Bas-Waddington 87 (Teos), καθ' ἔτος *C. I. G.* 3094<sub>12</sub> (Teos).

### *Sentence Phonetics.*

#### 411.] **Assimilation of Consonants.**

The assimilation of a nasal to the consonant of the following word is very common.

ν becomes μ before π; Kyzikos 111<sub>9</sub>, Zeleia 113<sub>25</sub>, Naukr. 139 C, Ephesos 147<sub>6, 12</sub>, Abdera 162, Erythr. 206 B 58, Samos

221<sub>11</sub>, Halik. 240<sub>13</sub>, 21, 29, 30, 33, 35, 37, 41, 47, Mylasa 248 B 7, 8; No. 261.  $\nu$  becomes  $\mu$  before  $\phi$ : Zeleia 114 F, Eph. 147<sub>6</sub>.  $\nu$  becomes  $\mu$  before  $\beta$ : Halik. 240<sub>38</sub>, Eph. 147<sub>2</sub>.  $\nu$  becomes  $\mu$  before  $\mu$ : Eph. 145, Chios 174 C 24, Erythr. 206 A 25, Halik. 240<sub>51</sub>.  $\nu$  becomes  $\gamma$  before  $\kappa$ : Ephesos 147<sub>14</sub>, 16, Teos 158<sub>20</sub>, Chios 174 C 22, Erythr. 206 A 47, B 29, Halik. 240<sub>16</sub>, 18, 25, 34.  $\nu$  becomes  $\lambda$  before  $\lambda$ : Halik. 240<sub>8</sub>, 23, 31<sup>1</sup> ('Ελλιμένιος Thas. (L) 8<sub>8</sub>, cf. *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 18).  $\nu$  becomes  $\sigma$  before  $\sigma$ : Halik. 238<sub>41</sub>.  $\kappa$  becomes  $\gamma$  before  $\beta$  in ἐγβαλεῖν Teos 158<sub>21</sub>. Cf. the variations in Herodoteian MSS. between Ἐκβάτανα and Ἀγβάτανα.  $\kappa$  becomes  $\gamma$  before  $\delta$ : Chios 174 B 22 (καγδικασάντων), Head *H. N.* 504.  $\kappa$  becomes  $\gamma$  before  $\lambda$ : Samos 220<sub>35</sub> (ἐγλείπει). We may also notice Ἀνκάος on an Ionic vase *C. I. G.* 7375, Ἐνκαιρος Styra 19<sub>185</sub>, συνγράφη<sup>2</sup>, *J. H. S.* VIII 402<sub>21</sub> Thasos. In Herodas we find -νγ- 177, -νπ- 190, σνγ- σφιγγε 525.

## DECLENSION.

### 412.] The Dual.

By the fifth century the use of the dual in the literary monuments of Ionic had entirely passed out of existence. Recent editors of Herodotos are rightly unanimous in extirpating the two cases in which all the MSS. agree in its retention: I 11 δυοῖν ὁδοῖν παρουσέων Γύγη δίδωμι αἵρεσιν, 91 ἐκ γὰρ δυοῖν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε. Elsewhere δυῶν, δυοῖσι are the forms adopted. While the inscriptions have no instance of δυοῖν, δυῶν occurs in Chios 174 D 14, a document which however inflects the numerals after the Aiolic norm. Hipponax 29 has δὺ ἡμέραι as might be expected. Hippokrates avoids the dual with such persistency that it may be doubted whether he employed it at all. All of the examples quoted from the Hippokratic corpus are found in the treatises of the younger school. These are VI 472 δυοῖν διαφόρου . . . συμφόρου where the MSS. have διαφόροις or διαφόρων: VII 120 ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν ( $\theta$  has the pl.): VII 128 τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ πονέετόν τε καὶ ἐξέχετον ( $\theta$  has the pl.): VII 138 δυοῖν: VIII 54 ἀμφοῖν: VIII 76 τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν in  $\theta$  (*v. l.* has the pl.): VIII 326 τῷ πόδε ( $\theta$  has the pl.), τοῖν ποδοῖν (not in  $\theta$ ), τῷ μηρῷ ( $\theta$  has the pl.), τοῖν σκελοῖν (τῶν σκελέων in  $\theta$ ): in IX 84 we find such an anomaly as δυσὶ γαστέραιν: VIII 144 τοῖν σφυροῖν but  $\theta$  has ἐκ τῶν σφυρῶν: VIII 236 τῷ

<sup>1</sup> But τὴν Δ- 240<sub>36</sub>, ἐν Δ- 240<sub>38</sub>, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ΣΥΝ for ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ, Ephesos, Head *H. N.* 495, Samos *ibid.* 516.

χεῖρε ( $\theta$  has the pl.). As regards the Ionic writers of the Renaissance under Hadrian, Lukian *d. S.* § 30 adopts ὀργυιέων δυοῖν, Arrian δυοῖν § 7, δοκίμω ἄνδρε § 17, ἀμφοῖν τοῖν χεροῖν 16, τοῖν σκελοῖν 14 *bis*, ἐκατέρω 14. Aretaios writes once τὸ πόδε, but not elsewhere where pairs of the parts of the body are spoken of. These cases of the occurrence of the dual must be regarded as deviations from normal Ionic in the direction of Attic. See § 573 for the dual in conjugation.

#### 413.] Gender, &c.

1. The grammarians regarded as Ionic the use of the following words as feminine: ἡήρ Eust. 775<sup>15</sup>, 1566<sup>14</sup>, κίων 1390<sup>48</sup>, 1399<sup>50</sup>, 1923<sup>57</sup>, ἑλαφος 1652<sup>36</sup>, ἵπποι (cf. Et. M. 473<sup>32</sup>), κύνες, ἡμίονοι 877<sup>62</sup>, 1390<sup>49</sup>, ἑλλός 1390<sup>48</sup>, ὄνος Et. M. 473<sup>35</sup>, ὄρνιθες Eust. 1126<sup>46</sup>, βοῦς Et. M. 473<sup>36</sup>, Eust. 1390<sup>48</sup>, σῦς, χοῖρος 1752<sup>14-26</sup>, Athen. IX 375 C, χῆνες 1876<sup>45</sup>, ῥινός 679<sup>45</sup>, 1926<sup>54</sup>. ῥοῖζος too is feminine in Ionic according to Eust. 1631<sup>2</sup>, Schol. i 315 and Photios II 135; ἀστράγαλος (but cf. Anakr. 46) Bekk. Anecd. I 454<sup>25</sup> = Bachm. Anecd. I 154<sup>21</sup>. In comparison with Doric, Ionic has to show a larger number of nouns whose feminine gender awakened the attention of the grammarians. Occasionally the use of the masculine for the feminine is noticed, as in the case of ἄσβολος in Hipponax (Bekk. Anecd. I 17<sup>22</sup>); ἄρριχος when masculine is Ionic, when feminine Attic: Et. Mag. 149<sup>30</sup>, Bachm. An. I 146 (Bekk. An. I 446), cf. Eust. 1163<sup>19</sup>, 1533<sup>58</sup>, Schol. Arist. *Aves* 1309. Joh. Gr. 240 holds that ἔσπερος (Hom.) is Ionic for ἑσπέρα, cf. ὁ τιάρας Hdt. I 132, τιάρη VIII 120. ὁ κόγχος is found in a Delian document, Ditt. *Syll.* 367<sup>179</sup>. In Hippokr. VI 198 ὁ φάρυξ where  $\theta$  has the fem., so VI 212. An Ionic change from the fem. to the neuter is claimed by the An. Par. III 156<sup>13</sup> on the score of παρειά; *ibid.* III 464<sup>13</sup> κέλευθα for κελεύθους.

2. Such forms as νιέες, ἐρίηρες, ἐρυσάρματες for νιοί &c. are called Ionic by Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. K. 444, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667.

3.  $\phi$ i is archaistic in all post-Homeric monuments, as indeed it is in Homer. θεόφι in Naukr. I p. 63, No. 28 (Παρμενίσκος θεόφι) is perhaps the only occurrence of  $\phi$ i in a prose document. This inscription is not necessarily Ionic.

### Â Declension.

#### 414.]

This declension embraces masculines in -ης, feminines in -η and -ᾶ, where other dialects have -ās (Attic -ης in part), -ā (Attic -η except after vowels and ρ) and -ᾶ. The dialects vary considerably in their adoption of the forms in -ᾶ.

Masc.	Fem.	Plur.
ης	η, ᾶ	αι
εω, εω, ω, ευ, εος, ευσ	ης, ης	εων, εων, ων
ηι	ηι, ηι	ηισι, ηις, αις
ην, εᾶ	ην, ᾶν	ᾶς
η, ᾶ	η, ᾶ	αι.



In the following discussion of the cases of the singular, especial attention is directed to the occurrences of Ionic  $\eta$  = Attic  $\bar{a}$  after  $\rho$  and vowels. Most of the inscriptional forms are enumerated and the date of the ingression of the Attic  $\bar{a}$  noted. On forms where  $\eta$  was preceded by  $\epsilon$ , see § 263. For cases of the presence of Ionic  $\eta$  in Attic, see § 72.

Hdt. has  $\eta$   $\psi\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\eta$ ,  $\eta$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta$ ,  $\eta$   $\phi\omicron\nu\eta$ . There are many words which end in  $-\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$  instead of  $-\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ . Hippokr. and Hdt. have  $\eta$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$  and  $\tau\omicron$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ .  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\psi$   $\alpha\beta\delta\eta\eta\alpha$ , not  $\eta$   $\psi$   $\alpha\beta\delta\eta\eta\alpha$ , is the form in the Ionic of Hdt.

#### 415.] Nominative Masculine (Inscriptions).

The inscriptions have generally preserved throughout the fourth century the specifically Ionic  $\eta$  after  $\rho$  and vowels. See § 172.

1. After  $\rho$ :  $\rho$   $\theta\eta\nu\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  Teos 161 (2),  $\rho$   $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  Naxos 24,  $\rho$   $\eta\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  Abdera 163 (4), Samos 217,  $\rho$   $\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  Ephesos 151 (1),  $\rho$   $\delta\eta\mu\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  151 (2),  $\rho$   $\nu\theta\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  Samos 226 (1) bef. 350 B. C., 262 Asiatic Ionic (after 408 B. C.), Thasos (L) 10 B<sub>2</sub>, Head *H. N.* 512, 518,  $\rho$   $\pi\rho\omega\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  Halik. 240<sub>22</sub> and in several other examples from the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre dating from 300–275 (first and second periods according to Bechtel).

The Attic  $\bar{a}$  has forced an entrance in  $\rho$   $\nu\kappa\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$  Eph. 147<sub>2</sub> (300 B. C.), cf.  $\rho$   $\nu\kappa\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  Thasos (L) 71<sub>0</sub>;  $\rho$   $\alpha\nu[\alpha]\xi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$  Smyrna 153<sub>12</sub> an inscription which is almost Attic.  $\rho$   $\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$  Thasos 82 A 5 (225–200 B. C., cf.  $\rho$   $\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  Thasos (L) 4 B 9 about 300);  $\rho$   $\phi\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$  Erythrai 206 B 55 (after 278 B. C.), cf.  $\rho$   $\phi\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  Thasos (L) 6 D 8 (about 300 B. C.); [ $\rho$   $\eta$ ]  $\rho\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$  Thasos (L) 14 A 11 and in eight names in  $-\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$  from the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre (15 C 11, 20 A 9, 16<sub>12</sub>, 18 C 8, 18 C 6, 18 B 13, 19 B 8, 15 A 5, 15 B 5, 15 A 10, 16<sub>6</sub>);  $\rho$   $\theta\eta\nu\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$  Klazom. Head *H. N.* 491.

In No. 215 = Rob. I 156 we find  $\rho$   $\nu\theta\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$   $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  attached to an offering of Euthymos, a Lokrian  $\alpha\pi\delta$   $\text{Ζεφυρίων}$ . As this Pythagoras is called by Pausanias (VI 6 4 ff.) an inhabitant of Rhegion, he doubtless belonged to the Samians who came in 494 B. C. to Sicily (Hdt. VI 23) and became subjects of Anaxilas of Rhegion. Cf. Loewy (*Insch. gr. Bildhauer*, No. 23) and above, § 172.  $\rho$   $\nu\theta\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\eta\varsigma$  in 261 is the name of an immigrant Ionian in Salymbria, a colony of the Doric Megara.

2. After  $\iota$ :  $\rho$   $\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Styra 191<sub>73</sub>,  $\rho$   $\kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  195<sub>6</sub>,  $\rho$   $\chi\alpha\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  191<sub>51</sub>,  $\rho$   $\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  192<sub>55-258</sub>,  $\rho$   $\nu\eta\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  192<sub>92-293</sub>,  $\rho$   $\sigma\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  194<sub>45</sub>,  $\rho$   $\delta\omicron\nu\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  21, Euboian Ionic.  $\rho$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Erythr. 206 B 16,  $\rho$   $\tau\omicron\sigma\omega\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Halik. 240<sub>42</sub>,  $\rho$   $\alpha\iota\nu\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Thasos (L) 35,  $\rho$   $\gamma\lambda\alpha\nu\kappa\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Rhegion 6 B,  $\rho$   $\epsilon\nu\kappa\omicron\iota\eta\varsigma$  Keos 44 B 9,  $\rho$   $\pi\alpha\nu\sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Thasos 78 B 3,  $\rho$   $\mu\eta\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Thasos 75 B 9,  $\rho$   $\pi\alpha[\mu]\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Thasos (L) 19 A 6,  $\rho$   $\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Rob. I 190, No. I, E,  $\rho$   $\tau\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  Latyshev II 202.

Attic  $-\iota\alpha\varsigma$  is found e.g. in  $\rho$   $\mu\alpha\pi\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  Mykonos 92<sub>21</sub> (Makedonian period),  $\rho$   $\mu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  104<sub>23</sub> and  $\rho$   $\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  104<sub>30</sub> Iasos (before 353 B. C.),  $\rho$   $\alpha\nu\tau\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  Eph. 150 (time

of Hadrian), 'Ιππίας, Πανσανίας Smyrna 153<sub>31</sub> an almost Attic inscription, Κριτίας Thasos 82 A 7 (225-200 B.C.), 'Εστίας Erythr. 206 A 9 (cf. 206 B 16 'Εστίης), Πανσανίας Perinthos 234 B 42, and Thasos (L) Νικίας 11 B 4, 'Αμφίας 12 A 4.

3. After ε: Αινέης occurs on a Chalkidian amphora in Rob. I 189 F.

4. After υ: Παναμύης Halik. 238<sub>31</sub>, gen. Παναμύω see § 429; Σληύης Naukr. I 235, name of a barbarian Ionized.

Attic ā occurs in Μαρσίας Iasos 104<sub>7</sub> (before 353 B.C.).

5. Other nominatives in -ῆς: 'Αριστῆς Erythr. 206 B 21, 'Ερμῆς<sup>1</sup> Samos 220<sub>32</sub>, 'Αθηνῆς on an Abderite coin in the British Museum (*Catal.* 71, No. 48), Λε(ω)νῆς Keos 44 A 5, 'Ηγῆς Chios 179, cf. 'Ηγίης in Hdt., 'Απελλῆς Iasos 104<sub>15</sub>. For other forms, see § 263, 3. On the development of the declension of the hypocoristic -ās, -ādos for -ās, -ā, see below, § 546.

If 'Ηγέας and 'Ελπέας Keos 44 B 4, B 16 are not Attics, these two names are the two earliest examples (except Πυθαγόρας, above under 1) of the expulsion of the Ionic sound. The document is perhaps older than 400 B.C. It is highly probable that these individuals are not Ionians. The name Δημέας Delos 57 is from a much later period (second century). On Μικᾶς Thasos (L) 14 A 7, 'Ηρᾶς Thasos (L) 18 C 3, see § 165, note. On supposed cases of -eās in the Styrian lead tablets, see § 157.

#### 416.] Nominative Masc. (Lyric Poets).

'Ερμῆς Hippon. 55 B; 'Απελλέης Anakr. 72 B is not different from 'Απελλῆς cited under § 415, 5. Μεγίστης in Anakr. 41 may be read Μεγιστῆς (cf. Μεγιστᾶς upon Attic and Boiotian inscriptions). 'Αναξαγόρας Anakr. 105 is corrupt.

#### 417.] Nominative Masc. (Prose).

In Hdt.<sup>2</sup> 'Ερμῆς, βορῆς (e.g. VI 44 no MS. has -έης), 'Αριστῆς, Πυθῆς, &c., § 263, 3. Αινείης Menekrates in Dion. Halik. *A. R.* I 77 (Jac.).

#### 418.] Nominative (Accusative) Feminine in -ᾶ.

The Ionic dialect, while presenting many traces of resemblance to Attic and other less closely connected idioms in respect of the retention of -ᾶ in the nom. fem., pursues a different path from Attic especially in the treatment of abstract nouns in -ειη from -εσ- stems. When Ionic has -ᾶ, this termination is not the property of this dialect alone.

<sup>1</sup> In ζΗΞ ~ ϜϜΗ on a vase in Overbeck's *Atlas zur Kunstmythol.* pl. IV, No. 6, ΗΞ is a dittography.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. § 1 'Αρχίης.

Examples of  $\tilde{a}$ :  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\tilde{a}$ <sup>1</sup> Hdt. VII 135, and Eurip. *Ion* 1264, *Androm.* 702, and in Plato, whereas in Doric we have  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\bar{a}$ , Pindar, *Ol.* XIII 11, and so *Ion* 1416 (?). Cf. schol. Ven. on  $\Gamma$  130.  $\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$  is referred to § 177.  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\tau\alpha$  in Hdt., Anaxag. 5, Archil. 16, Mimm. 6, Solon 20, 1363, Tyrst. 7;  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\tau\alpha\nu$  Sol. 2718, 112, Sim. Am. 7104, 114, Sim. K. 516, Demokr. 194, inscrip. adesp. No. 265 in Bechtel's collection, cf. § 439 II A.  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$  Hippokr. VI 368, VIII 310, 312 (also in Menander, no. 498, Kock).

In many cases this  $\tilde{a}$  is difficult of explanation<sup>2</sup>. Many words belong to the class of which  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\tau\alpha$  is an example, the iota of the pre-Hellenic suffix  $-ia$  having been transferred to the radical syllable ( $\mu\omicron\tau\iota\alpha$ ,  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\tau\alpha$ ). Thus  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\phi\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\alpha$ ,  $\sigma\phi\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\alpha$  are to be derived from  $\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\iota\tilde{a}$ . Where there is a variation between a short and a long vowel as in the case of  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\alpha$ , it has been suggested that the form with  $\tilde{a}$  is due to the influence of such doublets as  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\tilde{\alpha}$ . It is, however, by no means certain that the confusion between  $-\bar{a}$ , the nominal suffix, and  $-\tilde{a}$ , the adjectival suffix (§ 174), is older than the creation of a  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\tilde{a}$  from  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\bar{a}$ .

Whether  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\delta\tau\alpha$  Hdt. IX 102 or  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\tau\alpha$  (Stein, Holder) is the correct form is not clear. *C* has  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\tau\alpha\nu$ , *P*  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\tau\eta\nu$ . The same variations recur in the case of the name of a Phokian town, VIII 33. Here *R* has  $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\tau\eta\nu$ .

In some cases the MSS. of Hdt. have retained, in opposition to their procedure elsewhere, the forms in  $-\epsilon\iota\tilde{a}$ ,  $-\omicron\iota\tilde{a}$ . Thus we find  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\pi\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$  (§ 176),  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ ,  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$  (§§ 178, 441). Hdt. has both  $\Phi\acute{\omega}\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha$  and  $\Phi\omega\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota\eta$  according to the MSS. (§ 179).

Adjectives in  $-us$  have feminine  $-\epsilon\iota\alpha$  or  $-\epsilon\alpha$ , § 219. Hdt. has  $\delta\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  III 32.

#### 419.] Hyper-Ionic $\eta$ for $\tilde{a}$ .

The maleficent ignorance of the late grammarians and scribes did not fail to lay its hands upon the  $\tilde{a}$  which was a genuine heirloom of the Ionic dialect. To these sciologists  $\eta$  was the one unmistakable sign of Ionic lineage. Not only was the  $-\tilde{a}$  after  $\rho$  attacked by them, but also the  $-\tilde{a}$  in the feminine of nouns and adjectives where it follows upon  $\iota$ . The dialectological treatises

<sup>1</sup>  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\eta$  in Hdn. I 255<sup>16</sup>, 324<sup>21</sup>, II 426<sup>7</sup>. cf. Bekk. An. I 66<sup>23</sup> ( $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\eta$  καὶ  $\tau\acute{o}\lambda\mu\alpha$ ,  $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta$  καὶ  $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta\alpha$ ). It is not elsewhere attested. Joh. Gr. 241  $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$  δὲ καὶ συστελλομένῃ τῷ  $\alpha$  ἀντὶ τοῦ  $\eta$  Ἴωνες, Δωριεῖς δὲ ἐκτεινομένῃ. Cf. Phrynich. (L.) p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> See Misteli K. Z. XVII 177, XIX 119; Osthoff's *Forschungen*, II 25; Brugmann, *M. U.* II 201, *Grundr.* I § 639; Wheeler's *Nom. Accent*, 35 ff.; Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 64, Johansson, K. Z. XXX 411.



of Gregory and the Gramm. Meermannianus are the heirs of this error. Gregory § 10 (cf. § 45 and Gramm. Vatic. p. 696) says τὸ *ā* εἰς *η* τρέπουσιν . . . Ἦρα Ἦρη, σφαῖρα σφαῖρη: the Gramm. Meerm. p. 650 Ἦρα Ἦρη, χώρα χώρη, ὥρα ὥρη, σπείρα σπείρη, where dialect forms are confounded with pan-Hellenic formations (σφαῖρα, σπείρα). In Hdt. I 204 all the MSS. have μοῖρην; in IV 120 *d* has μοῖρη, and so too the Aldine edition which generally accepts the perversities of the hyper-Ionizing movement. In II 17 it alone has μοῖρην. μοῖρην recurs in Lukian's *Astrol.* § 10, μοῖρη Euseb. § 9. νεαίρη is found in the pseudo-Hippokrates VII 312, 316, 320, where, however, the Vienna codex *θ* (the oldest MS. of Hippokrates) has -ρα. εὐρέη is found in III 212. In Hdt. IV 120 the Aldine edition has μίη, a form repudiated by the MSS. of the historian, though occurring in Hippokrates<sup>1</sup> and Aretaios. Hyper-Ionic οὐδεμίη appears even in Solon XIII 46, where no MS. pronounces in favour of the genuine Attic and Ionic form. οὐδεμίην is also found in Lukian *Syr. D.* 19, *Astr.* 27, 29. In the inscriptions there occurs no case of nom. or accus.; μῖας Olynth. 8 B 13 is Attic. μῆς Sim. Am. 2 (conj.), Herodas 1<sub>41</sub>, 7<sub>79</sub>, μῆ Theognis 664 (in *A*), Herodas 5<sub>66</sub>, are the genuine Ionic forms which were the starting-points for the creation of the hyper-Ionic μίη. In the vulgate of Herodas III 1 we find μνίην.

In the fem. of adj. from masc. -us, Hdt. usually has -εα (§ 506). εη is found in some or all MSS.: τρηχέη IV 23, τρηχέην IX 122, βαθέην I 75, δασέη IV 109, δασέην IV 21. Hippokr. has δξέη VI 172 (*θ*), 174, VIII 132, δξέην 178, 180, θηλείην VIII 274 (-ιαν *θ*). βαθέην even occurs in Homer, Π 766 (Nauck βαθύν). παχέην is found in the MSS. of Sim. Amorg. 31 B. The pseudo-Ionists not infrequently have *η*. Lukian *Syr. D.* ἡμισέη 14, θηλέην 15, 51; Arrian, πλατείην 16, τραχέη 23, 37 (cf. 32); βαθέην 27; Eusebios § 5 ἰθείη, Euseb. Mynd. 63, εὐρέη. Cf. τρηχέην Anth. Pal. VII 315.

If in the one passage in an inscription where such an *η* form appears (Latyshev II 370):—

Ἦδε[ι]η κέϊμαι, θυγάτηρ τε ἅμα μοι Φιλον[ικ]η  
μνήμην [δ'] ἔστησε[ν] Σάτυρος Π[ι]σ[τ]οξένο(υ) [ᾤδ]ε.

the form Ἦδε(ι)η were certain, the forms adduced above might stand on a better footing. While the omission of the *ι* presents no difficulties (cf. Ἦδέα C. I. A. III 2324, 3186), Aschik's limitations as an epigraphist are such as to throw suspicion upon his transcription. Aschik himself suggested Ἦδ[ιστ]η. As Latyshev remarks, the *ο* for *οϛ* in the genitive would permit us to place the inscription in the fourth century; a date much too early in my opinion

<sup>1</sup> μηδεμίην II 180 (μίαν in 2269), μίην VIII 334 (μίαν *θ*), οὐδεμίην II 648 (-αν *A*), II 658 in but one MS. All have μίαν II 664, as Herodas 1<sub>22</sub>, 61, 572.

for the emergence of the hyper-Ionic  $\eta$ . Until the stone is rediscovered, no weight should be attached to its evidence.

**420.] Ionic  $\eta$  = Attic  $\alpha$ .**

Old Attic with its  $-i\alpha$  in abstract nouns was like Ionic with its  $-i\eta$ . Since, so far as we can make out, Ionic rarely, if ever, adopted the  $-i\alpha$  termination (§§ 175, 178), there is a divergence between the two allied dialects, which has been brought about by the transference in later Attic of the ending  $-i\alpha$  from the feminine adjectival stems to the category of abstract nouns. We are never certain when we find a form like  $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  in later Ionic that it is not due to the influence of Attic; though no reason may be adduced why Ionic should have refused to admit the innovation which changed to such an extent the character of the prose speech in Attic.  $\iota\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$  is attested as Herodoteian (§ 177), despite  $\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$  in Homer and other dialects. On  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\acute{\iota}\eta$ ,  $\text{Μηδελ\acute{\iota}\eta\nu}$ , see § 179.

Mimn. 96, Hdt. I 15, 149 have  $\Sigma\acute{\mu}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\nu$ ; so *Vit. Hom.* 5 (but  $\Sigma\acute{\mu}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\upsilon\alpha$  2).  $\sigma\acute{\mu}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta$  is found in Hdt. III 107.  $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta$ <sup>1</sup> may be an adjective form from  $\pi\rho\upsilon\mu\acute{\nu}\acute{o}\varsigma$  (Brugmann, *Berichte d. sächsischen Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1883, 191).  $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\nu}\alpha$  on this view might be an analogue of  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ , though it may have been formed as other words in  $-\alpha$  (above).  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\nu$  Hdt. I 194 (cf. VII 180) is clearly erroneous.

For the Attic form  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon\alpha$ , we find an apparently Ionic form  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon\eta$  in Plato *Lys.* 221 A, *Phil.* 31 E; cf. Trypho in Apoll. *Conj.* 228, Schn. (quoting o 407), Hdn. II 456<sub>10</sub> = An. Ox. II 302<sub>18</sub>, Et. Gud. 74<sub>54</sub> and Schanz' *Proleg.* to Gorgias p. VII. With the form  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon\eta$  we may compare  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\eta$  mentioned by Hdn. II 372<sub>10</sub> = An. Ox. I 339<sub>12</sub> (cf. I 368<sub>19</sub>).  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon\eta$  and  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\eta$  are not hyper-Ionisms, but genuine Attic formations whose  $\eta$  still resists satisfactory explanation.

**421.] Inflection of  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ ,  $\mu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  = Attic  $\gamma\hat{\eta}$ ,  $\mu\nu\hat{\alpha}$ <sup>2</sup>.**

The following forms of the word  $\gamma\hat{\eta}$  occur:—

(1)  $\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , found in Homeric and Old Ionic  $\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  Mimnerm. 12<sub>9</sub>, Kallinos 14. (2)  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  does not occur in any case of the singular, but is attested by  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota$  Zeleia 113<sub>40</sub> (shortly after Granikos),  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Hdt. IV 198<sup>3</sup>,  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota\varsigma$  Mylasa, C. I. G. 2693 F 9,

<sup>1</sup>  $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta$  is found in the tragic poets and in *Wusps* 399.

<sup>2</sup> See Merzdorf in Curtius' *Stud.* IX 225, Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXV 146, XXXII 349, Fick, *B. B.* XI 250, Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 54, Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 264, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 126, Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 19, 39, Johansson, *B. B.* XV 183 ff. The last named scholar proposes to explain the interrelation of  $\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\nu\hat{\alpha}$  in the manner described above.

<sup>3</sup>  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  A B R,  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\hat{\omega}\nu$  C,  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\hat{\omega}\nu$  P,  $\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\hat{\omega}\nu$  dz.



according to Le Bas, No. 414, γέας Chios 174 C 12 (fifth century), Halikarn. 240<sub>3</sub> (not much later than 400 B.C.), Mylasa 250, C. I. G. 2693 F 6 according to Le Bas, No. 414, Latyschev II 353, in an inscription from the Μουσ. κ. βιβλ. quoted by Bechtel, p. 147, Olymos 251<sub>6</sub> and Le Bas 338 (both late), Zeleia 114 F, and in a fragment of Demokritos preserved by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I p. 304 A. The nom. γέη is not found in any part of Ionic. (3) γῆ = γᾱ in Doric, Eleian, Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, &c. and = δᾱ in Doric, ζᾱ in Kyprian, occurs in Hdt. I 193, Herakl. 21, 23 (?), 76 (?) in Pherekydes of Syros in a fragment quoted by Diog. Laert.; in γῆς Herakl. 68, cf. § 430; in Teian γῆι, 156 B 9, γῆ Herodas 2<sub>23</sub>; in γῆν Herakl. 8, Hdt. I 30, Teos 156 A 6, Iasos 104<sub>31</sub>, Erythr. 204<sub>16</sub>, Halik. 238<sub>9</sub>, 240<sub>7</sub>, 12, 16, 18, &c., Amphip. 10<sub>4</sub>.

μνέ[α] is a probable conjecture, Paros 62, μνῆς Herodas 7<sub>79</sub>, 91, μνῆν Herodas 2<sub>51</sub>, 52, μνέαι Hdt. II 168, VI 79, μνέων Hrd. 2<sub>22</sub>, μνέας Hdt. III 13, 89, μνέας Hrd. 7<sub>90</sub>. μνᾱ is found in μνᾱς Hipponax 20<sub>3</sub>, Hrd. 5<sub>21</sub>, Thasos in *J. H. S.* VIII 402, l. 10. μνέες is a strange reading in the *Syria Dea* § 48. Cf. ἡμιμνήιον Paros 62, δίμνεως Hdt. V 77.

The explanation of these forms is as follows:—

\*γᾱῑ-ῑᾱ \*μνᾱ-ῑᾱ

Nom. \*γᾱῑ-ῑᾱ \*μνᾱ-ῑᾱ

\*γῆᾱ \*μνῆᾱ

Gen. \*γᾱῑᾱς \*μνᾱῑᾱς (cf. Lokr. μναιᾱῖος).

From γῆα, μνῆα, Ionic γέᾱ, μνέᾱ may arise directly, and from gen. γᾱῑ-, the Old Ionic nom. γᾱῑα; from μνᾱῑς > μνᾱῑῑς comes the Ionic nominative μνᾱ, contracted from \*μνᾱῑ (cf. Δανᾱ, from Δανᾱ(ι)η, found in the Hekataian Δανᾱ, § 273). Attic μνᾱ is derived from \*μνᾱῑ by a similar transference of the weak case-form into the nominative. Ionic γῆ is to be derived from \*γῆῑ, whose final ῑ is due to the influence of that of γᾱῑῑς. γῆῑ became \*γέῑ by shortening of the first ῑ before the second ῑ. The former presence of ῑ in the word for earth is probable, less certain in μνᾱ.

In compounds we have γεω- derived from γῆο-<sup>1</sup>; γαιο- (§ 211) from γᾱῑ- the weak case-form; and γειο- from γῆο-. δίμνεως is derived from -μνηο-.

## 422.] Nominative Feminine in η after ρ and vowels (Inscriptions).

Νικάνδρη Naxos 23, Οούρη Naxos 23, Ἀρισταγόρη Erythr. 206, C 38, one of the few Ionisms in 206, Μνησιδώρη Amorgos 39, Βιττάρη Priene, *Mitth.* XVI 291. Ὀλβίη is a form preserved till late imperial times (§ 173), Μιλησίη 99 Miletos, Ἐκαταίη Parion 115, Ἰωνίη Pantikap. 121, Κο]μοσαρύη Phanag. 167, Ἡρη Naukr. 447, 841 ff., ἱερῆ Pantikap. 123, Ephesos 150, time of

<sup>1</sup> γηοχέοντι Hdt. VII 190 is suspicious. Ionic γεω- has forced its way into a Doric poem of Theokr. I 13 = V 101.



Hadrian, <ἱερε(ι)η, cf. Hdt. ἱρεῖη I 175, V 72 (§ 177), Κλεαγόρη Eretria, *A. J. A.* VII 247 (No. 2), Ζωβίη *ibid.* 249 (No. 20). Δωροφέα Rob. I 29 (fifth century) is not Ionic. In Chian inscriptions in Paspates' *Glossary*: Ἀρτεμισίη 13, Σαμίη 13; in Latyshev II: Ἰτίη 97, Λειμείη p. 310; Ἰκεσίη Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 296. Attic -iā in Εὐ(π)ορία Pantik. 121, Κασταλία Phanag. 168, &c.

#### 423.] Nominative Feminine in η (Lyric Poets).

Uncontracted -έη in adjectives is unusual even in -αλέη, *e.g.* Ἀγχαλέη Hippon. 99, with which cf. ἀργαλέη Anakr. 43<sub>5</sub>, κερδαλέη Archil. 89<sub>5</sub> (-ῆ in Ammon. and An. Par.). ἀργυρέη is the correct form in Anakr. 33 according to Bergk, and Rossbach, *Metrik* III 567, ἀργυρή according to Hiller in the *Anthologia Lyrica*<sup>1</sup> No. 29; the latter form is correct. πορφυρέη Anakr. 23. Archil. 19<sub>1</sub> has συκῆ in an epigram (Renner -έη).

#### 424.] Nominative Feminine in η (Prose).

Hdt. has σιδηρέη I 39, a form obsolete in the Ionic of the fifth century (see under Accus.). On ἀδελφή, see § 263, 1. κενεή in Aret. 146 is from κενερός. For διπλήη, in all MSS. of Hdt. III 42, we must read διπλή<sup>1</sup>, which occurs in Hippokrates (§ 263, 3, b).

#### 425.] Genitive Masculine.

The form of the genitive in Ionic possesses a peculiar interest both from the variety of its formation and from the interrelation of vowels. -āo is Homeric, Boiotian and in a few cases Kyprian, -ā is Doric and Aiolie, an ā which must have differed in pronunciation from that of τιμά. Homer's -εω is generally diphthongal, and in Ionic the ω is without effect upon the accent.

#### 426.]

The Ionic genitive according to the grammarians:—(1) -εω preceded by a consonant, ἀγκυλομήτεω An. Par. IV 86<sub>28</sub>, Et. M. 11<sub>12</sub>, Et. Gud. 518; [Αἰνείδεω Et. Gud. 520;] Ἄλτεω Eust. 1225<sub>39</sub> (cf. schol. Nik. Alex. 8), the only instance in Homer of dissyllabic -εω. Read Ἄλτα, C having Ἄλταο; Ἀρχίεω Greg. K. 384. Ἀτρείδεω Hdn. I 408<sub>12</sub>=An. Ox. III 228<sub>14</sub>, Hdn. II 313<sub>6</sub>, 314<sub>4</sub>=An. Ox. I 347<sub>20</sub>=An. Par. III 115<sub>3</sub> (Ἰωνες καὶ οἱ ποιηταί), Hdn. II 679<sub>23</sub>, II 267<sub>10</sub>=An. Ox. I 157<sub>2</sub>=An. Par. III 338<sub>7</sub>, Hdn. II 665<sub>20</sub>=Choir. 120<sub>30</sub>, An. Ox. III 231<sub>29</sub>, Choir. 134<sub>18</sub>, An. Ox. I 9<sub>11</sub>, I 19<sub>32</sub> (-έω), I 248<sub>6</sub>, II 404<sub>22</sub>, Et. M. 153<sub>48</sub>, 53, Et. Gud. 519, 83<sub>30</sub>, Joh. Gr. 242, Greg. K. 385, Meerm. 655, Eust. 13 init., schol. Ven. A on B 461, O 214; ἀλλητέω Hdn. I 408<sub>18</sub>=An. Ox. III 228<sub>19</sub>; Θαλέω Hdn. I 408<sub>19</sub>; Καυσέω An. Ox. III 228<sub>19</sub>; Κόμειω Hdn. II 679<sub>23</sub>, An. Ox. 231<sub>28</sub>, Choir. 134<sub>18</sub>; Λαέρτεω Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655; Λαερτιάδεω Joh. Gr. 242; Μύκειω Hdn. II 679<sub>3</sub>=An. Ox. III 231<sub>6</sub>, Choir. 139<sub>34</sub>, Bekk. An. 1399; Ξέρξεω

<sup>1</sup> Bredow proposed διπλόη, a form found in Hippokr. III 186, 250.

Hdn. II 313<sub>6</sub> = An. Ox. I 347<sub>19</sub> = An. Par. III 115<sub>3</sub> (*Ἰῶνες καὶ οἱ ποιηταί*), Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Vat. 695, Excerpt. Birnb. 677<sub>9</sub>; *Ὀρέστω* Hdn. I 408<sub>13</sub> = An. Ox. III 228<sub>14</sub>, An. Ox. I 193<sub>2</sub>, I 20<sub>3</sub>, Et. M. 153<sub>48</sub>, 52, Et. Gud. 83<sub>29</sub>; *Πέρστω* Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Vat. 695, Birnb. 677<sub>9</sub>; *Πηλείδω* Hdn. II 267<sub>10</sub> = An. Ox. I 157<sub>3</sub> = An. Par. III 338<sub>7</sub>, An. Ox. I 9<sub>11</sub>, Et. M. 153<sub>49</sub>, 154<sub>5</sub>, Et. Gud. 5<sub>20</sub>, Eust. 13 *init.*, Meerm. 655; *Πηληιάδω* Hdn. II 314<sub>5</sub> = An. Ox. I 347<sub>26</sub> (cf. 346<sub>27</sub>), An. Par. III 115<sub>9</sub>, 299<sub>33</sub>, Eust. 12 *ad fin.* Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Birnb. 677<sub>9</sub>; *Πηλειάδω* (*sic*) Meerm. 655, Vat. 695; *Πριαμίδω* Hdn. II 314<sub>5</sub> = An. Ox. I 347<sub>25</sub>, Hdn. II 655<sub>21</sub> = Choir. 120<sub>30</sub>, An. Ox. II 404<sub>22</sub>, An. Par. III 115<sub>9</sub>; *τοξόττω* Joh. Gr. 241 B.

(2) Forms with a vowel preceding *-εω*: *Αινείω* Hdn. I 408<sub>13</sub>, cf. An. Ox. III 229<sub>29</sub>, Hdn. II 665<sub>17</sub> = Choir. 120<sub>25</sub>, An. Ox. I 9<sub>11</sub> (*-έω*), Et. M. 153<sub>49</sub>, Eust. 13 *init.*, Greg. K. 385; *Ἀσίω* and *Ἀσίω* Hdn. I 52<sub>15</sub>, I 408<sub>16</sub>, II 243<sub>32</sub> = Schol. B D L V on B 461, II 479<sub>14</sub>, An. Ox. I 193<sub>2</sub>, I 20<sub>8</sub> (*Ἀσίω*), Et. M. 153<sub>45</sub>, 53, 154<sub>1</sub>, Et. Gud. 83<sub>23</sub>, 27, schol. Ven. A on B 461, Greg. Kor. 385; *Βορέω* and *Βορέω* Hdn. II 317<sub>32</sub> = schol. V on H 238, cf. II 705<sub>28</sub>, An. Ox. I 20<sub>7</sub>, Et. M. 153<sub>56</sub>, Et. Gud. 83<sub>34</sub>, Eust. 444<sub>27</sub>, 994<sub>37</sub>; *Ἑρμείω* and *Ἑρμείω* Hdn. I 408<sub>14</sub> = An. Ox. III 228<sub>16</sub>, An. Ox. I 20<sub>4</sub>, Et. M. 153<sub>50</sub>, 53, Et. Gud. 83<sub>30</sub>, Eust. 13 *init.* 444<sub>28</sub>, schol. Ven. A on O 214, *Ἑρμείω* schol. Nik. *Alex.* 8; *ἔϋμμελίω* Hdn. I 52<sub>15</sub>, I 408<sub>16</sub>, II 243<sub>33</sub> = schol. B D L V on B 461, II 479<sub>15</sub>, Et. M. 153<sub>57</sub>, Et. Gud. 83<sub>23</sub>, Eust. 444<sub>27</sub>.

#### 427.] Genitive Masculine (Inscriptions).

The following list of inscriptional forms does not include nouns which are elsewhere declined in part according to the *-εσ* declension, *e.g.* *Ἀραξέργευσ* Myl. 248 A B C 1, names in *-πείθης*, *-φάνης*, *-άλκης*, &c., which may be found § 527. Other cases of the admission of *-εος* or *-ευσ* have been inserted. Inscriptions whose date is quite doubtful have been omitted. The forms in *-ᾱ* and *-ου* are not Ionic, and those in *-εος*, *-ευσ* are due to the influence of sigmatic stems which have affected the accusative as well as the genitive singular. On the *-ω* forms, see below. The *-εϋ* forms are not yet satisfactorily explained. Bechtel (*B. B.* X 282) claims that this *-εϋ* is in reality an Ionic spelling for *-εο* (cf. § 246) and that this *-εο* represents *-εω* by a change of *-ω* to *-ο*. The fact that no example of the change of final *εω* to *εο* is known in Ionic or any other dialect, does not increase our sympathy for Bechtel's explanation of *ἑθεόρεον*, *θεοροί*, &c.: that *εϋ*, which originally arose from final *-εω*, forced its way into a medial syllable. See § 287. Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 19, endeavours to account for *-εο* by assuming that the *ω* of *-εω* became *ο* under the influence of the final *ο* in the ending of the O declension (*ἵππο*).

	ΕΩ	Ω	ΕΤΣ
VI Cent.	Δεινοδίκεω Naxos 23 Λαμπσαγόρεω Amorgos 29		
V Century	Λυκκίδεω Rhegion 6 B Κ[ρ]ιτωνίδεω Paros. epigr. 60 'Ερμοκρατίδεω Abd. 163 <sub>3</sub> 'Απολλωνίδεω Halik. 238 <sub>11</sub> -ιδεω Milet. 96, Rob. I 136, cf. Kirch. <sup>4</sup> 26 Μολπαγόρεω Abd. 163 <sub>8</sub> Πρωτέω Abd. 163 <sub>13</sub> Πυθέω 256, unc. loc. Θεικυιλώνε[ω] Halik. 238 <sub>7</sub> [Μ]εγαβάτεω Halik. 238 <sub>11</sub> 'Η[ραγ]όρεω Samos 213 Φαναγόρεω Perinth. 233 'Αρχαγόρεω Halik. 240 C D	'Ασίω Chios 174 C 27 'Αννικῶ Chios 174 C 13 Πυθῶ Chios 174 D 4 Λυσῶ Chios 174 D 17 Πα]γαμύω Halik. 238 <sub>12</sub> , 240 A 11 Μικιννῶ Halik. 240 A 38 'Αρχαγορῶ <i>ibid.</i> B 3 Βρώλω Halik. Ditt. <i>Syll.</i> 6 D 22	
IV Century	'Ερμέω Amorg. 230 'Ερμέω Sam. 220 <sub>31</sub> (this form also Chios, Paspates 34) 'Ερμίεω Chios 180 'Εχεκρατίδεω Amorg. 35 epigr., perhaps third cent. Μορμυθίδεω Milet. 99 'Απολλωνίδεω Chios 176 (and Paspates 43) Στρατωνίδεω Naukr. Bechtel, 139 C 'Ηρακλίδεω Maron. 196 <sub>11</sub> Φάνεω Iasos 104 <sub>11</sub> , 50 Φάνεω Alalera 163 <sub>17</sub> ἱππάρχεω Kyz. 111 Σκύθεω Phanag. 164 'Αθηνέω Maron. 196 <sub>6</sub> 'Απελλέω Maron. 196 <sub>7</sub> εὐεργέτεω Myl. 248 C 9 Ποίκεω Teos 157 <sub>5</sub> 'Ηγησαγόρεω Maron. 196 <sub>10</sub> 'Ι[σ]αγόρεω Kyz. 109 'Ηραγόρεω Samos 218 Νυμφηγέτεω Samos 219 Μάν[ε]ω Pantikap., Lat. II 116 'Ατώτεω <i>ibid.</i> II 164 Σπιθάμεω <i>ibid.</i> II 381 Εὐαλκίδεω <i>ibid.</i> II 154 <sup>1</sup>	Παυσανίω Abd. 163 <sub>16</sub> , and Cat. Brit. Mus. Thrace II, No. 57 Πακτύω Myl. 248 C 3, 13	'Ηρακλίδεω[s] Keos 49 Οὐλιάδεω Iasos 104 <sub>7</sub> Φοινικίδεω Iasos 104 <sub>27</sub>





	ΕΩ	Ω	ΕΥΣ
III Century	<p>Φιλωνίδεω Thasos 77 A 5  'Αλκίδεω Th. 75 A 11  Νικίδεω Th. 75 B 1  'Απολλωνίδεω Th. 78 B 15  Λεωνίδεω Th. 78 C 13  Κοσμί(δ)εω Th. 79  Πειραντίδεω Th. 80  Φιλ]οξενίδεω Th. 81  Ληίδεω Th. 81  Φρυνικίδεω Th. (L.) 74  Βραττίδεω Th. (L.) 7 B 9, 105  Εὐαλκίδεω Th. (L.) 310  Θυωνίδεω Th. (L.) 46  Νικίδεω Th. (L.) 89  'Αλεξίδεω Th. (L.) 912  Φιλιστίδεω Th. (L.) 1012, 12 B 9  'Αναξαγόρεω Th. 75 B 7  Πυθαγόρεω Th. 78 A 6  'Αθηναγόρεω Th. 79 (cf. Μανδραγόρεω Paspas. 1, Chios)  'Ηραγόρεω Th. (L.) 38  Σφοδραγόρεω Th. (L.) 4 B 7  Λεαγόρεω Th. (L.) 710  Σημαγόρεω Th. (L.) 83  Πρηξαγόρεω Th. (L.) 106  Κυδραγόρεω Th. (L.) 12 B 11  Χάρμεω Th. 75 B 3  Κ]άννεω Th. 80  'Αριστέω Th. 81 B 10  Θαλέω Eryth. 206 B 46  Βεδαύρεω Th. (L.) 33  Τηλεφάνεω Th. 51  Πρόκεω Th. 1010  'Αγίεω Olbia 13111 (III C?)</p>		<p>[Ἡ]γη[το]ρί(δ)εὺς Thasos 77 A 14  Λεώδεὺς Th. 77 B 7  'Αμφικλείδεὺς Th. 77 B 10  'Αριστείδεὺς Th. 77 B 14  Θεοτιμίδεὺς Th. 81 B 14  Φασιη(ρ)ίδεὺς Th. 82 A 6, Th. (L.) 6 B 1  Θρασωνίδεὺς Th. 82 A 13  'Αγλαΐδεὺς Th. 82 B 12  'Ονομασικλείδεὺς Th. (L.) 6 C 11  Διο[σ]κουρίδεὺς Th. (L.) 11 C 11  'Αλκιάδεὺς Th. (L.) 12 C 6  Πυλάδ[ε]ὺς Th. (L.) 1310  'Ιππαγόρεὺς Th. (L.) 3 B 2  Πυ]θαγόρεὺς Th. 81  Λυσαγόρεὺς Th. (L.) 11 A 6, 11 C 10  Νικαγόρεὺς Th. (L.) 12 A 6  Παγγήθεὺς Th. (L.) 6 C 7  Δημεῦς Th. (L.) 11 A 3</p>
II Century and later	<p>Μηδίκηω Kyz. 108 B 1.  Χάρμεω Teos 160  Πόρκεω Maron. 195.  ἱππάρχεω Kyzik. Mitth. X 202.  Φαρνάκιῶ Lat. II 299 (late epigr. with Doric forms)  Ζεύξεω Eretria, 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff.</p>	<p>Μενώνδω { Eretria,  Χαιρίω { 'Εφημ. ἀρχ.  1887, 83 ff.</p>	

ΕΟΣ	Α	ΕΥ	ΟΥ
<p>Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος Thasos 73</p> <p>Ζεφυρίδεος Th. (L.) 2</p>	<p>Χαιρέα Thasos (L.) 14 A 6</p> <p>Πειθία Th. (L.) 14 A 12</p> <p>Ἀπολλᾶ, Κλεανδρίδα Iasos, J. H. S. IX 341, No. 2</p>	<p>Ἀριστεύ Eryth. 206 B 9</p> <p>Ἀκεσ]τεύ Eryth. 206 A 33</p> <p>Πυθεύ Eryth. 206 C 35, and Smyrna 153<sub>25</sub></p>	<p>Ἐρμού Eryth. 206 B 43</p> <p>Φαναγόρου Eryth. 206 B 56</p> <p>Πυθέου Eryth. 206 C 15</p> <p>Καλλίου Eryth. 206 C 20</p>
	<p>Ἀνδρία Delos 56<sub>88</sub></p> <p>Χειρέα Th. (L.) 15 A 9</p> <p>Ἀρκεσίλα Th. (L.) 18 C 12</p> <p>Ἀναξίλα Th. (L.) 20 A 15</p>		<p>Ἀσκληπιάδου Paros 67</p> <p>Πυθέου Delos 56<sub>50</sub></p> <p>Προκλείδου C. I. G. 3105 Teos</p> <p>Ἐρμαγόρου Pharos 87</p> <p>Ἐρμού Teos 158<sub>22</sub></p>



The above tabulation shows that  $-\epsilon\omega$  holds its own until the fourth century. At this period its supremacy was attacked by other forms of Ionic complexion, as  $-\omega$ ,  $-\epsilon\nu$ ,  $-\epsilon\nu\varsigma$ . The last mentioned form is due to the desire to give an Ionic stamp to  $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , which had made its way in from Attic. On the other hand the purely Attic forms in  $-\omicron\nu$  gradually gain power. That so few examples of  $-\omicron\nu$  appear under the head of the third and following centuries is due to the fact that only such inscriptions as contain any trace of Ionism however slight have been taken into account. By the end of the third century  $-\epsilon\omega$  is practically dead. The ending  $-\tilde{a}$  is non-Ionic and in place on inscriptions in the names of Dorians only.

C. I. A. II 4, B 19 (about 400 B. C.), the only Attic inscription showing a form in  $-\epsilon\omega$ , contains a list of banished Thasiotes. The Rhodian  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  is due to the influence exercised by Ionic upon the native dialect. The Ionic  $\Sigma\alpha\mu\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$  (for  $-\delta\tilde{a}\varsigma$ ) occurs C. I. G. 2534.

$\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , read by Prof. Gardner on an electrum stater, Rob. I p. 177, cannot be correct. If not  $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , the Ionic form of the seventh century would be  $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\omega$ .

#### 428.] Genitive Masculine (Lyric Poets).

The genuine Ionic poetical form is  $-\epsilon\omega$ , which in the lyric poets, as in Hesiod, must always<sup>1</sup> be read as one syllable (even when a short vowel precedes), except when  $-\epsilon\omega$  is reduced from  $-\epsilon\epsilon\omega$ . Besides  $\epsilon\omega$  we meet with (2) the epic (Aiolic)  $-\tilde{a}\omicron$ , (3) the Doric  $-\tilde{a}$  only in the Megarian Theognis, and (4) a few cases of Attic  $-\omicron\nu$  which must give place to  $-\epsilon\omega$  in case the poet is of Ionic stock. In the late parts of Theognis this  $-\omicron\nu$  may be defended.

##### 1. $\epsilon\omega$ .

##### A. Iambographic Poets.

Archilochos:  $\Gamma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\epsilon\omega$  25,  $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\epsilon\omega$  47 (trim.), cf. § 438, 1,  $\text{''}\text{A}\rho\epsilon\omega$  48 trim.,  $\text{A}\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\omega$  70 tetr.; on  $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\tilde{\iota}\delta\epsilon\omega$ , cf. Bergk on No. 104 and § 233.  $\text{A}\nu\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\epsilon\omega$  28 is merely a conjecture of Elmsley. The MSS. have  $\text{A}\nu\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , cf. § 531, II 2.

Hipponax:  $\text{''}\text{A}\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\omega$  15<sub>2</sub>,  $\Gamma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\epsilon\omega$  15<sub>4</sub> trim.,  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\omega$  64,  $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\omega$  77 for the incorrect  $\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon$  of Eustathios.

Herodas:  $\text{A}\tilde{\iota}]\delta\epsilon\omega$  1<sub>32</sub>,  $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega$  39,  $\text{M}\acute{\upsilon}\tau\tau\epsilon\omega(?)$  4<sub>36</sub>,  $\text{''}\text{A}\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  4<sub>73</sub>,  $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\epsilon\rho\kappa\tau\epsilon\omega$  5<sub>42</sub>,  $\beta\upsilon\rho\sigma\omicron\delta\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\omega$  6<sub>88</sub>, and so  $\text{''}\text{A}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\omega$  3<sub>61</sub>; probably  $-\epsilon\omega$  is reduced from  $-\epsilon\epsilon\omega$  in  $\text{P}\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  1<sub>76</sub>. The only exception to the rule stated at the head of this section is presented by  $\text{P}\rho\eta\chi\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$  4<sub>23</sub> ( $\omicron\iota$  II.  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ ), which is a contaminated form.

<sup>1</sup> On the exception  $\text{P}\rho\eta\chi\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$  Herodas 4<sub>23</sub>, see under 1 A below.  $\Phi\alpha\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\omega$  is also an exception in Latyshev II 299, a very late epigram. Here the open  $-\epsilon\omega$  was a necessity.

B. *Elegiac Poets.*

Tyrtaios: Μίδεω 12<sub>6</sub>, Κινύρεω 12<sub>6</sub>, Τανταλίδεω 12<sub>7</sub>.

Theognis: Αιολίδεω 702, Ἀίδεω 703, 802, 1124, Βόρεω 716.

Solon: Ἀίδεω 24<sub>8</sub> and πολυτέχνεω 13<sub>49</sub>. The recurrence in Solon of the Ionic elegiac form ought to guard us against substituting therefor the Attic forms. Anakreon too has Ἀίδεω 43<sub>5</sub> (melic) and Αἰγείδεω 99 (eleg.).

Phokylides: 1 Φωκυλίδεω Bergk, as elsewhere, *v. l.* -ίδου; 3 Φωκυλίδεω, Stobaios -ίδου, 4 Φωκυλίδεω, Stob. -ίδου, 5 *vulgo* -ίδου, 6 -ίδεω.

Σμερδίεω (-υυ-) occurs in the pseudo-Simonideian epigram 184<sub>8</sub>.

2. -āo, an imitation of epic usage<sup>1</sup>, cf. § 446, 3: Ἀίδαο Theog. 244, 427, 906. Αἰήταο Mimn. 11<sub>5</sub>. Πίσαο Xenoph. 2<sub>3</sub>, 2<sub>21</sub>.

Αἰήταο, the only example of -ao from an older poet of Ionic birth, is, however, not to be suspected because the verse immediately preceding has been lost. Αἰήτεω τε πόλιν is therefore an otiose conjecture. τελέων in the same fragment is an exception to the tendency to contraction. In the MSS. we often meet with -ao as *v. l.*, *e. g.* Tyrt. 12<sub>6</sub>.

3. Doric -ā in Theognis: Εὐρώτα 785, 1088.

4. Attic -ου(?).

Archilochos is said by Eust. Il. 518<sub>22</sub> to have used the genitive Ἄρου "κατ' Ἰάδα διάλεκτον." This is scarcely correct, and Bergk reads Ἄρεω (frag. 48), though he does not change μολοβρίτου Hipponax 77. Phokylides' name appears as Φωκυλίδου in MSS. of Stobaios and Strabo (see above on -εω). ου often occurs as *v. l.*, *e. g.* Theog. 702. In 1014 the pseudo-Theognis has Ἀίδου. This form was not possible in the elegy before the rise of Attic poetry.

## 429.] Genitive Masculine (Prose).

1. -εω from nominatives in -ης preceded by (a) a consonant or (b) any vowel except ε. Examples: (a) Hdt. Ἰσαγόρεω, Λευτυχίδεω, Ἀρταβάτεω, Κρητίνεω, Μάνεω, Κανθαύλεω, Ἀμύντεω (cf. Ἀμύντα § 427), Ἐπιάλτεω, Ξέρξεω; Hippokr. Ἀνταγόρεω II 664, but Ἀγλαΐδου same page, Φρυνιχίδεω II 704, Οἰκέτεω III 60; Demokr. Ἀίδεω *Mor.* 54; Herakleitos Τευτάμεω; Xanthos Ἀλυάττεω, Σαδυνάττεω, cf. Müller, *F. H. G.* I p. 40 *b*; Pherekydes of Leros Βρόντεω, Στερόπεω, Ἀργεω 76, Αἰήτεω 60. Lukian uses no other form except -εω, while Arrian in the *Indikè*, and Eusebios

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. 611 is corrupt: Αἰακίδαο γὰρ Ἰωνικῶς καὶ Αἰακίδεω Ἀττικῶς. The more accurate grammarians thought that the Homeric -ao was either Aiolic or Boiotian, but Tzetz. Ex. Il. 117<sub>26</sub> opines that ἐκατηβελέταο is Ionic, -εω Attic.



Myndios are not so conservative in following Ionic usage. The *Vita Homeri* has -εω throughout (6, 17, 38). Even in the supposititious letter of Pittakos to Kroisos (Diog. L. I 81) we find, together with Aiolisms, Ἀλνάττεω.

(b) After ι: Hdt. νερνίεω, Πανσανίεω, Ἀσίεω, Ἀνδίεω; Uranios 12 κοχλίεω, cf. Ἑρμίεω in Chios and Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* p. 109.

After υ: Hdt. Μαρσύεω, Πακτύεω, Πρωτοθύεω.

After ω: Hdt. Κώεω.

After αι: Hdt. Ἀρταχαίεω.

After ει: Αἰνείεω Menekrates *apud* Dion. Halik. p. 77 (Jac.).

After ευ: Hdt. Ἀλεύεω.

2. If, however, the ης of the nominative was preceded by ε, εεω in the genitive is avoided by the hyphaeresis of one ε (or, what is practically the same thing, by the contraction of εω to ω) in order to escape the hiatus<sup>1</sup>. In confirmation of this explanation, which was adopted by the ancients<sup>2</sup>, the following forms are cited from Hdt.: Ἀριστέω, Ἀνδρέω, Πυθέω (found in Herodas), βορέω, Ἑρμέω; βορέω from Hekat. 67; Ἑρμέω from Lukian, *Syr. d.* 38 *Astr.* 20, Euseb. Mynd. 63, cf. Homeric Ἑρμείω, βορέω; Ἑρμέω hymn Herm. 413, Aphr. 149. In § 263, 3 it is shown that the nom. of these nouns in the fifth century was not -εης, as is generally assumed, but -ῆς. No form in -εεω is permissible. Dindorf's βορέεω is a creature of his imagination deriving no support from the statement made in An. Ox. I 207, &c.

If with these Herodoteian forms cited in 1 a and 2, we compare those known to us from inscriptions, certain noteworthy differences come to light. Whereas Hdt. has Πανσανίεω VIII 3, the inscriptional form is Πανσανίω, and whereas Hdt. has Πακτύεω I 158, the Mylasian document has Πακτύω. From the fifth century there is a considerable number of inscriptions which place the termination -ω from -εω < -εεω after consonants, *iota*, and *upsilon* beyond peradventure, whereas in the text of Hdt. there is no instance of the contraction of -εω derived from -εεω. That the inscriptions in no wise impeach the validity of the Herodoteian -εω, is clear from Ἀσίεω and Πυθέω. Between Πυθέω and Πυθῶ there can be no radical difference. The -ω form, so far from being a distinct grammatical innovation designed to dislodge the older form in -εω, is probably nothing more than a difference of writing to express more exactly the pronunciation. In fact the extent of the pronunciation of -εω as -ω in the speech

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bennett's *Cyprian Dialect*, p. 29. When εε is followed by a vowel, hyphaeresis of one ε never takes place in case εε was originally separated by *φ*. Cf. Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 323 note.

<sup>2</sup> Eust. Il. 994<sub>37</sub> τὸ δὲ Βορέω Ἰωνικὸν ἐστὶ, συγκοπὲν ἐκ τοῦ Βορέεω. Cf. § 426, 2.



of the people eludes observation; but it was no doubt more widely diffused than might be inferred from our texts. We have already noticed (§ 428) that a dissyllabic *-εω* is not found in any genuine fragment of older Ionic lyrical poetry.

It has been held<sup>1</sup> that the Homeric forms *Αινείω* E 534, *ἔϋμμελίω* Δ 47, 165, Z 449<sup>2</sup>, and the inscriptional *Ἀσίω*, *Παναμύω*, *Πακτύω*, &c., warrant our formulating the rule that whenever *-εω* is preceded by any vowel (not merely by *ε*) it becomes *-ω*. So long however as we have *Ἑρμῖεω* and *Ἀγίεω* in the stone records, it is futile to maintain that the numerous instances of *-εω* after *ι* and *υ* represent the efforts of the grammarians and copyists to foist upon Ionic prose a form foreign to the idiom of the dialect.

In Attic literature *-εω* occurs only in the case of an Ionic name or in that of a name which passed into Attic through an Ionic source. *E.g.* *Θαλέω* Plato *Rep.* X 600 A, *Τήρεω*, *Πυθέω* Thuk. II 29, *Καμβύσεω* Xen. *Kyrop.* I 2, 1 (*-ου* Dind.).

The tendency to introduce Homeric forms into the text of Herodotos appears in *Γηρυόναο* in the Romanus, IV 8.

Attic *-ου* appears in *βορέου*<sup>3</sup> III 102 (C), IV 51 in *R* (and so in Arrian *Ind.* 2) in *Μαρσίου* VII 26 and *Ἀριστέου* IV 15. Stein follows the MSS. in editing *Κυνέου* VI 101. In VIII 11 *ABsv* have *Αισχραίου* (adopted by Stein) the rest *Αισχρέου*.

Occasionally the MSS. of Hdt. have *-εος* by transference to the *-εσ* declension, *e.g.* *Σιτάλκεος* IV 80, where Stein reads *-εω* with *P*, *᾽Οτάνεος* III 71, 84, 88, 144. *᾽Αστυάγεος* is the regular form in Hdt. *᾽Τσάνης* is inflected according to the consonantal declension though *᾽Οτάνης*, &c., have also forms of the *Â* declension.

#### 430.] Genitive Feminine (Inscriptions).

The genitive feminine has *-ης* after *ρ* (*Σέρρης* Hdn. I 371<sub>6</sub>): *᾽Ηρης* Samos 226<sub>2</sub>, Naukr. Bechtel 237. In fact the form *᾽Ηρης* was kept in the language of dedications long after it had disappeared from the speech of the people. Thus the Samian *᾽Ηρης* 226<sub>2</sub> dates from the time of Augustus or Tiberius<sup>4</sup>. Cf. §§ 172, 173. The Attic *᾽Ηρας* occurs in Samos 220<sub>36</sub> (346-45 B. C.), 221<sub>37</sub> (322 B. C.), *᾽Ηρας Τελείας* Erythr. 206 C 15 (after 278 B. C.). See Head, *H. N.* 517.

After *ι*: *δασείης* Zeleia I 14 E 4, *Μητροβίης* Latyshev II 248, cf. p. 306, [*Θεοδο*]σίης *ibid.* II 8, *γερουσίης* Ephesos (Wood's

<sup>1</sup> So Erman in Curtius' *Stud.* V 294 ff., Fritsch, *Stud.* VI 126. This is also the view of Kirchhoff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀσίω* A D and Aristarchos in B 461, added to this list, is now often read *᾽Ασίω* as in C. See Leaf *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. C. I. A. I 321<sub>29</sub>, and Hesychios s. v. *βορροῦ*, Hdn. II 649<sub>35</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> Genitives in *-ρης* occur in a very late period of Ionic, *e.g.* *κοσμηπείρης* in C. I. G. 3032, and in Wood, *Discoveries*, App. 8, No. 14. Even in the MSS. of the New Testament such forms as *σπείρης*, *μαχαίρης* appear. See § 173, footnote.

*Discoveries*, App. 6, No. 19, 302 B. C.); of the same period *προθυμίας* l. l. No. 21. Quite late forms are *ἱππωνίης* Kyzik. 108 B<sub>5</sub> (first century), *Μαιανδρίης* Kyz. 112 (first century), *Λυκίης Corp. Inscr. Sem. I*, No. 45, pl. 8. Of Attic provenance are *Προξενίας* No. 261, *ὑγείας* 129<sub>14</sub> Olbia (period of the empire).

After *υ*: *Καμασαρύης* Latyschev II 19<sub>5</sub>.

The Ionic genitive is *γῆς*, *e.g.* Herodas 1<sub>54</sub>, Halik. 238<sub>17</sub>, Teos 156 B 22, inscriptions free from all trace of Atticism; also 264 *adesp.* See § 421. *γαίης* in Latyschev II 37 (epigram) is the epic form.

#### 431.] Genitive Feminine (Lyric Poets).

-*ης* is regularly contracted in the earlier period of the Ionic lyric: *πορφυρής* Sim. Am. 1<sub>16</sub>, *γαλής* 7<sub>50</sub>, *χρυσῆς* Mimn. 1, Theog. 1293, 1381, as in Homer (Renner -*ῆς*), *ρόδῆς* Archil. 29<sub>2</sub> (tr.), *συκῆς* Anan. 5<sub>2</sub> (tetr.). Open *εη* is found in *ἀργαλέης* Solon 4<sub>39</sub> (eleg.), adjectives in -*αλεος* often remaining uncontracted.

#### 432.] Genitive Feminine (Prose).

Herodotos has *σιδηρέης* I 38, 39, for which the contracted form should be read. Open *εη* occurs in *Τεγέης* VI 105, *Θυρέης* I 82. When *Ϝ* disappears between *εη*, contraction does not result, *e.g.* Hdt. *νέης* I 60, Aretaios 170 *κενεῆς*. In adjectives in -*υς* we have -*ης*, *e.g.* *θηλέης* Hdt. II 35.

#### 433.] Dative (Inscriptions).

The dative of the *Â* declension has in Ionic three endings, -*ηι*, -*η*, -*ει*. The occurrences of -*η* and -*ει* are rare.

##### 1. The ending -*ηι*.

We find *ηι* after *ρ* and vowels in every Ionic inscription from the earliest to the latest times, whether in pure dialect or tainted with Atticisms (*e.g.* Eph. 147) except (1) in the specific cases of -*η* and -*ει* mentioned below, and (2) in the few instances of -*αι* which are given below in the note. Even in late imperial times -*ηι* occurs, *e.g.* *Είλειθυήι* Paros 66.

Cases of -*αι* in the dative singular. *Ἀμύνται* 8 A 2 Olynthos is not an Ionism. *δημοσίαι* 261 (of the fifth century) is an Attic inscription except for *Πυθαγόρην* (§ 415, 1), cf. *δημοσίηι* Mylasa 248 B 11; so also *ιδίαι* 72<sub>5</sub> Thasos (third century), *ἐννοίαι* Eph. 147<sub>8</sub>, an inscription almost Hellenistic, the only Ionisms being *χρυσέωι*<sub>19</sub>, and [ἐφ' Ἰσηι] καὶ ὁμοίηι<sub>11</sub>, cf. Samos 221<sub>28</sub> where this formula recurs. Other Atticisms are *Ἀγροτέραι* 165<sub>3</sub> Phanagoreia (latter half of fourth century, cf. *Θευδοσίης*, l. 4), *Ἀστάραι* Phanag. 167, *Θεαί Σωτείραι* Keos 52 (Roman period), *Ῥγεία* Paros 67 (time of the empire), *Ἐρμίαι* Eryth. 204<sub>11</sub> (not much before 345-44 B.C.). *Ἐρμηι* is always the dative of *Ἐρμῆς*, *e.g.* *Ζελεία* 162, *Λαμψακ.* 171. No case of -*αι* occurs before 350 B.C.



## 2. The ending -η.

The oldest example of the expulsion of *iota adscriptum* is Μάνη Kyzikos 108 A, an inscription of the sixth century. The later copy (108 B), dating from the first century B. C., has also Μ[ά]νη. Next comes αὐτῇ Chios B 175<sub>4</sub>, an epigram of the fifth century, and then τῇ βουλῇ Erythrai 199 (after 394 B. C.), an inscription which preserves ωι throughout; ἐ]μ Μαλυνείη in 201, another Erythraian inscription of the fourth century (early part)<sup>1</sup>; Mylasa 248 C 15 (355-54 B. C.) δημοσίη; Zeleia 113<sub>15</sub> τῇ πόλει (shortly after Granikos); τῇ βουλῇ Priene (territory of the Πανιώνιον) 144<sub>2</sub> (middle of the fourth century). From the Roman period we have Οἰκιστῇ and Πυθίη Miletos 101. The latter form occurs also in C. I. G. 2885 and B. C. H. I 287; ἀ[γ]αθῇ [τύ]χη Olbia 129<sub>1</sub>, Προστάτῃ 129<sub>2</sub> (period of the empire). In imperial times -ΗΙ and -Η, not -ΕΙ, occur on Attic inscriptions.

## 3. The ending -ει.

The ending -ηι is often written ΕΙ in Attic after the year 380 B. C. ΕΙ prevails after 300 B. C., decreases from 200 on and ceases entirely with 30 B. C. (Meisterhans, p. 30 ff.). We find the following examples of this orthography in Euboian Ionic: ἐκατέρΕΙ τΕΙ πόλΕΙ Eretria 15<sub>6</sub> (between 410 and 390); στῆλΕΙ Eretria 15<sub>17</sub><sup>2</sup>. ΤΕΙ θυσίΕΙ Oropos 18<sub>27</sub> (from 411-402 B. C. or between the Peace of Antalkidas and 377); ἰδίΕΙ Oropos 18<sub>14</sub>.

-ει is thus substituted for -ηι in the dative about the beginning of the fourth century.

δυνάμει Teos 156 B 32 is a locative, all the datives in this inscription ending in -ηι. The subjunctives have -ει, which is not from -ηι, cf. § 239.

In Oropos, No. 18 the subjunctive termination is -ει throughout. In Olynthos -ηι is not affected. In Amphipolis 10 -ηι is the dative form, -ει the subjunctive ending.

The Kymaian inscription Rob. No. 173 has ΕΙ in the subj. κλέψηι; and in Becht. 3 A=Rob. 177 A we have τΕΙ κλίνΕΙ, which we transcribe with ηι. Cf. κλίνηι Keos 436.

4. It is noticeable that, whereas in Attic -ει gains ground towards the end of the fourth century B. C., in those inscriptions from the Kyklades and the Ionic mainland of Asia Minor which show Attic influence (notably Eph. 147, 300 B. C.) there is no trace of a dative in -ει<sup>3</sup>. As far as Ionic is concerned, the weakening of -ηι to -ει in the dative is restricted to Euboian Ionic. In other Ionic regions we find ει from medial ηι; see § 235.

<sup>1</sup> An I, found upon the stone after the Η, is held by Bechtel to be a break in the marble.

<sup>2</sup> The ΕΙ's of No. 16 (Eretria) are not to be counted, since -ωι, not -οι, is found in the datives.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. B. C. H. VI 6 ff. (=Bechtel, No. 56), a Delian inscription (185-180 B. C.), which has η and ει, e.g. τῇ l. 6, 7, τεῖ l. 2, 27; πέμπτηι l. 61; τρεῖτηι l. 62.



Dubois suggests Τῆ]ρει Παλ[α]ίης for |ΡΞΤΓΔΛ|Ξ B. C. H. VI, p. 190 (Amorgos). This is quite improbable. Cf. Ἡρη Paros 65, Samos 223.

#### 434.] Dative Singular (Lyric Poets).

The open -εῖ is found only in κυνέῃ Tyrt. 11<sub>32</sub> which is an Homeric reminiscence. εῖ was contracted in the earliest period of the Ionic lyric. *Scriptio plena* occurs in σφαίρῃ πορφυρέῃ Anakr. 14<sub>1</sub>.

#### 435.] Dative Singular (Prose).

The genuine contemporary form occasionally comes to light in the MSS. of Hdt., e. g. κυνῇ IV 180, where Stein's κυνέῃ is entirely unsupported. But βορέῃ V 33, VI 139 is without *v. l.*; so too δωρεῇ III 130, γενεῇ I 3, 35. νῇ is adduced from the Σαμίων ὄροι by Hdn. II 912<sub>3</sub> (nom. νῆ = νέα). A crude hyper-Ionism is ἡμερέῃ in Abydenos I.

Some MSS. of Hdt. have -εῖ by transference to the -ες declension, e. g. Κναξάρεῖ I 73, 74, cf. -ῃ I 16. Ἀστυάγεῖ, or -εῖ, is the regular form in the MSS., e. g. I 74, 119, 129.

#### 436.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Inscriptions).

1. *Masculine* in -ην, e. g. Ἀρισταγόρην Mykon. 92<sub>14</sub>, Πυθαγόρην 261, name of a Salymbrian on an Attic monument (cf. § 415, 1 note), παλαιστρην Naukr. Bechtel 139 C. Attic forms are Νικαγόραν Eph. 147, 8 (300 B.C.), Ἀμύνταν 8 A 5, not an Ionian; Ἐρ]μίαν Erythr. 204<sub>25</sub> (345-44 B.C.) is the earliest instance of the admission of the Attic form.

#### 437.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Lyric Poets).

Ἐρμῆν Hipponax 32 is the regular post-Homeric form in all branches of Ionic. Βορέην in Tyrt. 12<sub>4</sub> is the Homeric form.

#### 438.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Prose).

1. Hdt. has βορῆν in all MSS. I 6, 174, III 97, IV 31, VII 189, 201. Elsewhere there is fluctuation between βορέην and βορῆν (II 101, IV 22, 116) or all MSS. have βορέην. The latter is the form found in Lukian, *Syr. d.* 28. The correct form is βορῆν though rejected by Bredow, Stein, and Holder. Ἐρμῆν is found in all MSS. V 7. μύκην is Hekataian, cf. μύκῃ in Archil., § 428. See § 545.

2. The overreaching character of the -ες stems is manifest in the declension of proper names of the Ἀ declension, whose genitives and datives in Herodotos end regularly in -εω, -ῃ, but whose accusative have -εα<sup>1</sup>. In the attack upon the Ἀ de-

<sup>1</sup> These accusatives in -εα are frequently called Ionic by the grammarians. Apoll. *Adv.* p. 191<sub>a</sub> (Schn.) cites Ξέρξεα, Πολυδέκτεα (not in Hdt.), Γύγεα. Cf. Hdn. II 835<sub>23</sub> = Choir. 866<sub>25</sub> (cf. Choir. 561<sub>22</sub>, 601<sub>3</sub>, 860<sub>23</sub>). Ξέρξεα is usually selected as the example. Cf. An. Ox. IV 211<sub>30</sub> and IV 363<sub>26</sub>, An. Par. IV 232<sub>27</sub>.

clension, the accusative appears to have offered the first avenue of approach, the genitive the second.

Some of the examples of the accusative in *-εα* may here be given, while the reader is referred to Bredow, pp. 225 ff., for a complete list of the forms in question. I give merely those cases where Stein has adopted the accusative in *-εα*<sup>1</sup>: (1) names in *-δης*: *Λεοτυχίδεα* VI 65, 73, 85; *Ἱπποκλείδεα* VI 129; *Μιλτιάδεα* VI 35, 37 *bis*, 39, 135, 136 *bis*: (2) names in *-γορης*: *Ἀρισταγόρεα* V 32, 33, 65, but *Ἀρισταγόρην* V 35 *bis*, 37; *Στησαγόρεα* VI 38; *Λυσαγόρεα* VI 133: (3) other names: *Μιτροβάτεα* III 120 *bis*, 126, 127, but *Εὐροβάτην* IX 75; *Γύγεα* I 10, 11, but *Γύγην* I 8, 15; *Ἀλυάττεα* I 73, 74, III 48; *Κανδαύλεα* I 10, 11, 12; *Ἀράξεα* I 205, 209, 211, III 36, but *Ἀράξην* IV 11; *Ξέρξεα* IV 43, VII 4, 38, 46, but *Ξέρξην* VII 5, 6 *bis*, 12, 17 *ter*, 27, 56, 118, 120, 130, 145, 208, 210, 223, VIII 22, 25, 69, 110, 113, 114, 118 *bis*, 119, IX 1, 116 *bis*; *Ἀρτοξέρξεα* (*sic*) VII 151 *bis*, 152; *Πέρσην* VIII 3, 108, 109, and throughout; *Δηιόκεα* I 96; *Καμβύσεα* III 1 *bis*, 2 *bis*, 3, 10, 15, 31, 32, 34, 44, 62, 64, 66, 73; *Ὀροίτεα* III 120, 121, 124, 125, &c.; *Σανδώκεα* VII 196; *Φαρνούχεα* VII 88 (Arrian's *Anab.* has *-χην*); *Ἐπιδάλτεα* VII 213, but *Ἐπιδάλτην* VII 218 *bis*, as VII 214; *Ὀτάνεα* III 141, V 25, VI 43, VII 61, but *Ὀτάνην* III 76; *Ἀστυάγεα* is the regular form in Hdt.

In the pseudo-Ionists these accusatives in *-εα* in proper names occur, *e.g.* *Ἄττεα* Lukian, *Syr. d.* 15, but *Ἄττην* *Ikarom.* 27; in Arrian *Ὑδάσπεα* 3<sub>10</sub>, 19<sub>6</sub>, *Ὑδραώτεα* 3<sub>10</sub>, *Γάγγεα* 4<sub>2</sub>.

The presence of this metaplastic form in proper names gave rise to the view among the hyper-Ionizing scholars that even in appellatives this *-εα* was permissible. We find *δεσπόττεα* Hdt.<sup>2</sup> I 91, IV 43, III 1 (*-ην* in *R*), VII 88 (*-ην* *PR*), and in Lukian, *Syr. d.* 25. *δεσπότην* is found in all MSS. I 212, III 134, IV 136. *ἀκινάκεα* is found in III 118, but *ἀκινάκην* VII 54, a reading rightly adopted by Stein. The same editor rejects *κυβερνήτεα* the reading of *R* in VIII 118, a form adopted by Bredow and Krüger. In these common nouns the activity of the *μεταγραφάμενοι* does not seem to have extended much beyond the expulsion of *-ην* from the accusative. But that they tampered with other case-forms appears from *ἀκινάκεος* in all MSS. IV 62. The Aldine edition has *ἀκινάκεϊ* in the same chapter.

### 439.] Accusative Feminine (Inscriptions).

#### 1. Accus. in *-ην*.

Et. M. 386<sub>18</sub>, Eust. 1946<sub>28</sub> (*Ἀστυάγεα*). Sometimes the form is mentioned without being specially referred to Ionic, *e.g.* Bekk. An. II. 957<sub>13</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Stein as a rule adopts *-ην* where Bredow prefers *-εα*.

<sup>2</sup> For Brugmann's purpose (*Grundr.* II § 395) this form may be regarded as genuine.



A.  $\eta$  after  $\rho$  and  $\iota$  in  $\rho\rho\epsilon\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$ <sup>1</sup> Erythr. 199<sub>5</sub>, 202<sub>10</sub>, 203<sub>7</sub>, Iasos 105<sub>10</sub>, *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 2 (elsewhere Attic  $\bar{a}$ ), Zeleia 114 A B C E;  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Naukr. 753;  $\omicron\lambda\iota\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Thasos *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 20,  $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Zeleia 113<sub>19</sub>,  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Keos 43<sub>15</sub>, Halik. 240<sub>14</sub>,  $\epsilon\phi\eta\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Paros 67,  $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Iasos *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3 (from the third century),  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Teos 156 B 30;  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\eta\nu$  Thasos 72<sub>10</sub>,  $\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\pi\omega\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Teos *Mitth.* XVI 292, and in the forms found in the epigrams preserved in Latyschev II ( $\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  167,  $\eta\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$ ,  $\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  171).  $\text{N}\acute{\iota}\kappa\bar{\alpha}\nu$  Paros 72<sub>8</sub> is from  $\text{N}\acute{\iota}\kappa\bar{\alpha} < \text{N}\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\eta$ , cf. § 273.

Attic forms:  $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\upsilon\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  261, an Attic sepulchral monument to Pythagorēs of Salymbria and dating from the fifth century.  $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  Zeleia 114 A B C (shortly after Granikos), Iasos *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, Samos 221<sub>27</sub> (322 B.C.), Eph. 147<sub>10</sub> (300 B.C.);  $\pi\rho\omicron[\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  Samos 221<sub>8</sub>;  $\epsilon\text{[}\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  Erythr. 206 A 17 (after 278 B.C.);  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  Teos 158<sub>27</sub> (very late).

B. After  $\epsilon$  in adjectives denoting material, and in nouns.

It is a significant feature of the dialect that  $\epsilon + \eta$  is always contracted, whereas  $\epsilon\omicron\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$  are retained, at least in the official language, till after Christ. Examples are  $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\eta\nu$  Erythr. 199<sub>14</sub> (after 394 B.C.), 202<sub>12</sub> (about 350 B.C.);  $\chi\rho\nu[\sigma\eta\nu$  has been restored upon an epigram Keos 41.

In nouns  $\epsilon + \eta$  is contracted:  $\kappa\omega\lambda\eta\nu$  Miletos 100<sub>3</sub>.  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\eta}\nu$  Paros 59 epigr. is poetical.

## 2. Accus. in - $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ .

A. From nouns in - $\acute{\alpha}$  (pan-Hellenic, cf. § 418).  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$  Teos 156 A 10 (Ol. 76-77), Halik. 240<sub>44</sub> (fifth century), Erythr. 204<sub>17</sub> (345-44 B.C.);  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha\nu$  Mylasa 248 C 9 (355-54 B.C.);  $\gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$  Mil. 100<sub>5</sub>;  $\mu\omicron\iota\tau\rho\alpha\nu$  in No. 265 *ad esp.*, before Ol. 80 probably, in honour of Ἡγέλοχος, an Ionian from Euboeia or the Kyklades:  $\epsilon\rho\mu\omega\nu\omicron\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$  Chios 172 A 2 is =  $\epsilon\rho\mu\omega\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ , the  $\omicron$  of the penult being due to assimilation.

Attic forms:  $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$  Samos 221<sub>8</sub> (322 B.C.), cf. § 178.  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  is the regular form in Ionic inscriptions: Zeleia 114 A B C D E (after Granikos), Ephes. 147<sub>1</sub> (300 B.C.), Iasos 105 (late), *J. H. S.* IX 341, 2, 3 and 4, Erythr. 199<sub>6</sub> (after 39 B.C.), 202<sub>9</sub> (about 350 B.C.?) despite  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon(\lambda)\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  Kyzik. 108 B 3 (first cent.) Cf. § 175.

B. From adjectives in - $\upsilon\varsigma$ , fem. - $\epsilon\iota\alpha$  (Pan-Hellenic) we have  $\delta\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$  Miletos 100<sub>2</sub>, cf. §§ 219, 419, 441.

## 440.] Accusative Feminine (Lyric Poets).

$\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\nu$  occurs in Hipp. 32. Open  $\epsilon\eta$  is found in  $\kappa\nu\epsilon\acute{\eta}\nu$  Tyr. 11<sub>32</sub>, the Homeric form, as  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\eta}\nu$  Solon 27<sub>10</sub>, epigr. Paros 50  $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\eta\nu$  is found in Hipponax 34,  $\kappa\omega\lambda\eta\nu$  Xenoph. 5 (Renner - $\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$ ).

<sup>1</sup> The  $\eta$  of  $\rho\rho\epsilon\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\eta$  holds its ground when that of other words has succumbed to the Attic  $\bar{a}$ .



χαλκέην is found in Herodas III, χρυσήν in Phoinix of Kolophon *apud* Athen. 495 E. From ἀθρόος we have ἀθρόην Archil. 35.

#### 441.] Accusative Feminine (Prose).

1. Herodotos has in all MSS. κυνέην I 84, II 151, 152, 162, συκέην I 193, IV 23, χαλκέην II 151, χρυσέην I 52. For λεοντέην IV 8, as is edited by Stein, most of the MSS. have λεοντήν, *Ῥ* λεοντήν. In this reading we have an indication of the genuine form of the fifth century which is supported by διπλήν V 90 (all MSS.<sup>1</sup>) despite διπλέη III 42 in all MSS. Cf. § 263, 3. διπλήν is found K 134, τ 226.

Open *εἰ* occurs in δωρεήν II 140, III 84, 97; ἰδέην I 80, IV 109; Μαλέην IV 179, VII 168, Πέην Lukian, *Syr. d.* 15.

When *F* disappeared *εἰ* remained open: *e.g.* στερεήν Hdt. I 52.

2. Accus. in -ᾶν from nom. in -ᾶ (§ 418).

With *εὐνοίαν* (§ 439 2, A) we may compare the Herodoteian form, which, although the nom. is *εὐνοίη*, is *εὐνοίαν* in III 36. So also *διάνοιαν* I 46, 90, II 162, IX 45. Other Attic forms are *ἐπιμέλειαν* VI 105, *εὐ-* or *ἐμμέλειαν* VI 129. See §§ 175 and 178. Ὠρείθυιαν or Ὠρειθυίην are both found in the MSS., § 178. On the hyper-Ionic μοίρην Hdt. I 204, see § 419; on πρόρην, § 420. *μίαν*, not *μήν*, is the correct form, Hdt. I 164, Herodas I<sub>22</sub>, &c.; cf. § 419.

Hdt. has *δασέαν* III 32 (MSS. *δασεΐαν*). On other forms from the -*us* adj., see § 506.

#### 442.] Vocative Singular.

Herodotos III 34, 35, 63, &c. has the vocative Πρήξασπες from the analogy of the -*es* stems; cf. Στρεψιάδες *Clouds*, 1206, Ἡράκλειδες Herodian II 690<sub>33</sub> (from a comic poet). The reverse procedure appears in Κυπρογένη Theognis 1323, Arkadian Ἀτέλη C. D. I. 1205, and Aiolic Σώκρατε, &c. Πρηξάσπης is inflected in Hdt. according to the consonantal declension, though in III 75 *sz* have the genitive in -*εω*.

Hipponax has Ἐρμῇ I<sub>2</sub>, 16 *bis*, 21 A, 89, and so Herodas 7<sub>74</sub>. Other forms are Μιμνῇ 49, Anakreon Σμερδίῃ 5, Μεγιστῇ (or Μεγίστη) 16<sub>2</sub>, 74<sub>3</sub>.

Vocatives in -ᾶ from names in -ης: Λυκάμβα Arch. 94, Κυνάγχα Hippon. I<sub>2</sub>, Κανδαῦλα Hippon. I<sub>2</sub>. κριτή (Hipponax I 18) stands for κριτά according to Priscian (*Hipponax* εὐθες κριτή *pro* κριτά). Cf. Ἥλιε καλλιλαμπέτη Anakr. 27. The Homeric *νύμφα* would seem to be Aiolic, despite the statement of the schol. Ven. A on Γ 130 that it is Ionic. This form of the vocative is in reality pan-Hellenic, though retained with greater consistency by Aiolic than any other dialect.

<sup>1</sup> Bredow reads *διπλόην* as Hippokr. III 186, cf. 250. The adj. in the fem. when *ā* follows is *διπλεία* = Ionic *διπλή* < *διπλέη*; when *o* follows it is *διπλός*, cf. *διπλοί* Aischyl. fr. 33. *διπλόη* is a substantive.

**443.] Nominative Plural.**

On γέαι Zeleia, No. 113<sub>40</sub> (after Granikos), δύο μνέαι Hdt. VI 79, cf. § 421. λιναί Samos 220<sub>21</sub> is an unusual contraction in an adjective of material. The contracted form is also found in Hdt. This nom. is scarcely Ionic. γαλαί IV 192, Hrd. 7<sub>90</sub> is a doubtful form because εαι is often left open, while εη is contracted. Cf. Merzdorf in *Studien*, VIII 145.

**444.] Genitive Plural.**

Homer -άων, -έων<sup>1</sup> (and -ῶν, when ι precedes and in the forms of the article and pronoun), Boiot. -άων, Doric and Aiolie -ᾶν. In Ionic we have -έων or -ῶν in both masculine and feminine.

In Homer we find τάων and τῶν, in the later Ionic only τῶν. In other dialects which preserve in the declension of nouns a fuller form of the genitive, the article presents the shortest form possible according to the laws of the dialect in question. Thus in Thessalian we find τᾶν κοινάων as well as τᾶν κοινᾶν, in Boiotian τᾶν δραχμάων. τέων was too ponderous a form. ἔων was never used for ῶν.

-εων is attested as Ionic by Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. 379, Gram. Meerm. 649 (-άων Aiolie, cf. 655), Vat. 696, Hdn. II 2<sub>2</sub>, Et. M. 787<sub>39</sub>, Drakon 160<sub>27</sub>, An. Ox. I 278<sub>18</sub>; Doric (!) An. Ox. I 382<sub>13</sub>, Et. Gud. 493<sub>34</sub>. Herodian II 229<sub>15</sub> = An. Ox. I 239<sub>2</sub> also wrongly attributes the termination -εων to the Dorians. In the passage referred to, for Δωριεῖς read Ἴωνες, because of the statement made in II 2<sub>1</sub>.

**445.] Genitive Plural (Inscriptions).**

600-500 B. C.		500-400 B. C.	
ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ	ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ
ἀλ(λ)θον Naxos 23. This form has been re- garded as stand- ing for ἀλληον not for ἀλλήων, on the ground that no diph- thong possesses more than three morae. If this is the case -εων is the direct descendant of -ηον. See B. B. XI 268		Ἀβδηριτέων Abd. 163 <sub>2, 8</sub> Ἐλεητέων Velia 172 <sub>1</sub> (450-400) Μαρ[ω]νηιτέων 196 <sub>2</sub> Maroneia Μαρωνιτέων 196 <sub>3</sub> Μαρωνιτέων 196 <sub>4</sub> and Cat. Brit. Mus. 125, No. 15 front Σαλμακιτέων Halik. 238 <sub>2, 13</sub> δρ[αχ]μέων Keos 436 (after 420) Νυ[μ]φέων Siph. 88	Μαρωνιτῶν Cat. Brit. Mus. 125, No. 15 reverse

<sup>1</sup> In Homer dissyllabic -εων is found but three times: πυλέων H 1, M 340, θυρέων φ 191; -εων 20 times in Il., 19 in Od.; -ῶν at verse end in Σκαιῶν Γ 263, Ζ 307, κλισιῶν Ψ 112, δμφῶν τ 121; παρειῶν Ω 794, δ 198, 223, λ 529, π 190, τρυφαλειῶν M 339, Μαλειῶν τ 187, παλαιῶν β 118. But in all these instances dissyllabic -εων is excluded by the metre.

400-300 B. C.		300-200 B. C.	
ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ	ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ
<p>Νεοπολιτέων Neap. 4<sub>2</sub>; 84, bet. 400-350</p> <p>Ἀμφιπολιτέων Amph. 10<sub>5</sub>; No. 11 (424-358)</p> <p>δημοτέων Orop. 18<sub>15</sub> (411-402, or between Antalk. Peace and 377)</p> <p>Ἀβδηριτέων Abd. 163<sub>14, 15, 16</sub>, bet. 400-350</p> <p>Τορετέων 127 Pan- tikap., or Pha- nagoreia (387- 347)</p> <p>Μαρωνιτέων Ma- ron. 196<sub>6, 13</sub></p> <p>δραχμέων Orop. 18<sub>10, 16</sub> (411-402, or between Antalk. Peace and 377)</p> <p>Καλωνέων Eryth. 201<sub>23</sub></p> <p>Θηγέων Eryth. 201<sub>19</sub></p>	<p>Νευπολιτῶν Neap. 4<sub>1</sub>, 350-300</p> <p>Αἰνετῶν Ainea 12</p> <p>Αἰνητῶν men- tioned Becht. p. 7 (Alex. the Great period)</p> <p>Ἴητῶν Ios 91</p> <p>Alex. the Great</p> <p>πολιτῶν Zeleia 113<sub>3, 28</sub> after Granikos; Iasos 105<sub>4</sub></p> <p>Μαῖτῶν Pantik. 119, 120, 122, Phanag. 166, 167, 168, latter half of the cent.</p> <p>Τορετῶν Phanag. 165, latter half of the cent. Cf. also Lat. II 36</p> <p>Ῥελητῶν 172<sub>2</sub>, about 350 B. C.</p> <p>Μασσαλιητῶν Mas- salia Becht. p. 106</p> <p>Ἀθηνῶν Samos 216 Attic form, 365-322 B. C.</p> <p>ἄδικιῶν Oropos 18<sub>19</sub> (411-402, or between Peace of Antalk. and 377 B. C.)</p>		<p>ἐξεταστῶν Eryth. 206 A 25 (after 278 B. C.)</p> <p>ἐπιπραθεισῶν Eryth. 206 C 20 is Attic (after 278 B. C.).</p> <p>ἰ]ερητειῶν Eryth. 206 A 14, C 53 (after 278 B. C.).</p> <p>δραχμῶν Eryth. 206 B 49, C 49</p>

200 B. C. ———		Of doubtful date	
ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ	ΕΩΝ	ΩΝ
<p>Ὀλβιοπολιτέων Olbia 130<sub>2</sub>, 2nd cent.</p> <p>Ὀλβιοπολιειτέων Olbia 130<sub>3</sub>, 2nd cent.</p>	<p>Ἰουλιητῶν Keos 52, Roman period</p> <p>Μινοήτῶν Samos 232 (Roman)</p> <p>Κεραμειητῶν Kera- mos 253 (Rom.)</p> <p>δικῶν Teos 158<sub>21</sub></p> <p>Μουσῶν Teos 158<sub>23</sub></p>	<p>Νυμφέων Μυχιέων Naxos 27, in letters of a tolerably early period</p> <p>Νυμφέων Samos 219 (fourth cent.)</p>	<p>Βαργυλιητῶν 252</p>



Especially noteworthy are the following forms: ἀδικιῶν Oropos 18<sub>19</sub>, on a document that retains -εων after a consonant; βοηγιῶν and λαμπαδαρχιῶν Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292 (perhaps before 350 B.C.); Naxos 27 preserves -εων after ι (Μυχιέων). Cf. Ἀσίῳ and Ἐρμῖεω in Chios. Cf. § 289, 2.

The evidence of the inscriptions warrants the statement that the Ionic termination -εων after consonants was not attacked by the Attic -ῶν until the middle of the fourth century. After the fourth century -εων is practically dead.

#### 446.] Genitive Plural (Lyric Poets).

There are four sets of forms in the lyric poets<sup>1</sup> of which the first two are Ionic; (1) Ionic -έων, (2) -ῶν, (3) Homeric (Aiolic) -ᾶων, (4) Doric -ᾶν. Between (1) and (2) there is no essential difference.

1. Ionic -έων is invariably monosyllabic.

##### A. *The Elegiac Poets.*

Tyrtaios: ψυχέων 10<sub>14</sub>.

Theognis: πετρέων 176 (cf. v. l. πετρῶν), πολιητέων 219, μεριμνέων 343, 1153, Κυψελιδέων 894.

Solon: Μουσέων 13<sub>51</sub> (by conj.: the MSS. have -άων and -ῶν) also 26<sub>2</sub>, where Fick calls for the Attic -ῶν, as in Ἀθηνῶν 336<sup>2</sup>, and δεσποτῶν 36<sub>12</sub> (so Bergk). See under 2.

Mimnermos: μελεδωνέων 6<sub>1</sub>. See under 2.

Xenophanes: Ἑλλαδικέων 5<sub>4</sub>. See under 2.

##### B. -έων in the iambic poets and Anakreon.

Archil. Μουσέων 1<sub>2</sub>, τερπωλέων 22, Γυρέων 54<sub>2</sub>, θυρέων 127.

Hipponax: κριθέων 43<sub>2</sub>.

Ananios: μεσέων 5<sub>9</sub>.

Phoinix of Kolophon: κριθέων 1<sub>1</sub> (Schn.).

Herodas: βροντέων 7<sub>65</sub>, μνέων 2<sub>22</sub>, Μοιρέων 4<sub>30</sub>, Μουσέων 37<sub>1</sub>, πορνέων 2<sub>36</sub>, χιλέων 3<sub>4</sub>, ἀστροδιφέων 35<sub>4</sub>, and so δημοτέων 2<sub>30</sub> and ἡμερέων 360.<sup>4</sup>

Anakreon: σατινέων 21<sub>12</sub>, Μουσέων 94<sub>3</sub> (eleg.).

2. Ionic -ῶν.

Mimnermos: 7<sub>3</sub> πολιτῶν, 6 μελεδωνῶν in Bergk, for which read μελεδωνέων or μελεδῶνων; cf. μελεδῶνες Od. τ 517.

Xenophanes: 5<sub>4</sub> ἀοιδᾶων . . . Ἑλλαδικῶν, which may be read -έων.

Hipponax: Βακχῶν 91 (MSS.). Αἰνειῶν 42.

Theognis: Μουσῶν 769, 1056, κριθῶν 1249, θυελλῶν 1273, ἀνιῶν 344, ταχεῶν Ἀρπυιῶν 715, πολιτῶν 455, κακῶν μεριμνέων

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Renner in Curtius' *Stud.* I 201 ff.

<sup>2</sup> So also -ῶν for ὑμέων 11<sub>5</sub>, ἡμέων 137<sub>2</sub>.

343, 1153; cf. *v.l.* 176, 219, 343, 1153. Verses 455, 769, 1249, 1273 have been regarded as spurious.

Solon: In the elegies *Σαλαμυναφετῶν* 2<sub>4</sub>; *Ἀθηνῶν* 33<sub>6</sub> tetr., *δεσποτῶν* 36<sub>12</sub> trim. See Renner, *l. l.* p. 205.

In the later elegy *-ῶν* is found in *Μουσῶν* Dionys. Chalk. 4<sub>5</sub>, *Σκοπαδῶν* Kritias 5<sub>1</sub>. Hrd. 2<sub>22</sub> has *Ἀττικῶν*.

3. Aiolic *-ᾶων*, in imitation of epic usage, only in the later elegists, never in iambic poets.

Theognis: *μεριμνάων* 766 and *Μουσάων* 250; *περινισομενάων* Phokyl. 11.

Xenoph.: 5<sub>4</sub> *αοιδάων* . . . *Ἑλλαδικῶν* (*sic*; Bergk writes *αοιδο-πόλων*). In the MSS. we often find *v. l.* *-άων*, *e.g.* Solon 13<sub>51</sub>, Theog. 219. These forms, like those in *-ᾶο*, usually claim a fixed position in the verse (caesura, fifth foot, and verse close).

4. *-ᾶν* (Doric):

Tyrtaios: 15<sub>2</sub> *πολιατᾶν embat*.

#### 447.] Genitive Plural (Prose).

##### 1. Nouns.

A. The termination is *-έων* in all cases when the *-η* (or *-ᾶ*) of the nom. is preceded by a consonant or by *iota* (except in Hippokrates after *ι*)<sup>1</sup>. Examples from Hdt. are *τιμέων*, *ἡμερέων*, *ιστιέων*, *οἰκίεων*, *θυσιέων*, *νεηνιέων*, *ροίεων*, *ἐλαιέων*, *ποιέων*: Hekat. 140 *Περσέων*: Demokritos *συμφορέων*, *ἀσυμφορέων* Mor. 8, *ψυχέων* 20: Protagoras *νεηνιέων*: Charon *Βισαλτέων*: Hippokrates<sup>2</sup> *ἀρχέων*, *κριθέων*, *ὥρέων*<sup>3</sup>, *δημοτέων*, *δεσποτέων*: Philip of Pergamum *νησιωτέων* (*B. C. H.* II 273): *Vita Homeri* *βουλευτέων* 12, 13, *ναυτέων* 17, 18, *πολιητέων* 36, and so in other pseudo-Ionic treatises.

After *ι*, Hippokrates has *-ῶν*: *ροίῶν*, *ἐλαιῶν*, *ἡλικιῶν*, *ὠφελειῶν*, *θεραπειῶν*.

In some cases the Attic form has crept into the MSS. In Hdt. I 160 *κριθῶν* occurs in all MSS., in II 36 *κριθῶν* (*συκῶν* I 193) in R d, and in Hekat. 123. In I 147 *Ἀθηνῶν* is the only form in all MSS. and as *v.l.* in many other passages (Bredow, p. 217). Hekat. has *ἐκβολῶν* 203, *ἡμερῶν* 303.

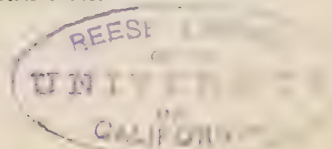
B. When the *η* of the nom. is preceded by *ε*, *-έων* is contracted to *-ῶν*.

*ἀδελφεῶν* is correctly read by Stein in Hdt. III 31, V 80, though in the summary of the Herodoteian dialect prefixed to his school edition (p. liv) the same scholar suggests *ἀδελφεέων*,

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff thinks that *-εων* after *ι* was contracted. Western Ionic (Oropian) *ἀδικιῶν* does not necessarily exclude *-ιέων* from the Ionic of Asia Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. F. Lobeck in *Philologus*, 1853, p. 21 ff. Hippokrates has a few cases of *-αων* in certain MSS.; cf. *-οιο* in the Herodoteian tradition.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Greg. Kor. § 4.



doubtless on the analogy of γενέων II 142, VI 98 (in all MSS.). This uncouth form Stein defends on the ground that it is necessary to distinguish it from the neuter γενέων. The MSS. have Μαλεῶν I 82 (Stein Μαλέων, Holder Μαλέων). Hippokrates has ἰδεῶν.

## 2. Adjectives and Participles.

A. Oxytone adj. in -η, and those adj. and participles whose nom. ends in -ᾶ, end in -έων, except when ᾶ is preceded by ε, or by ι in Hippokrates.

In Hdt. ὑψηλέων, Μηδικέων, λοιπέων, πολλέων, ὀπτέων, μελαινέων, πασέων: ἔουσέων, ἔχουσέων, φρονεουσέων, συμπλευσασέων, διαφθαρευσέων, λεχθειςέων, προδουσέων. Attic forms appear occasionally in the MSS. of Hdt., e.g. λοιπῶν VIII 7, πολλῶν VI 68, θερινῶν II 19.

In Hippokrates μικρέων, χειμερινέων: μελαινέων, πασέων: ἔουσέων, ἔουσέων, θερμανθειςέων, παρελθουσέων<sup>1</sup>. But after ι, Hippokr. has δεξιῶν, πλατειῶν, ὀξειῶν.

Hdt. II 66 has θηλεῶν in A B P, while Stein and Holder read θηλέων.

B. Feminine of barytone adjectives, participles in -ος, -η, -ον, and pronouns.

In the MSS. of Herodotos, the fem. genitive agrees with that of the masc. in having -ων, borrowed from the second declension, in the following cases:—

(1) ἄλλων I 133, VII 191, IX 115; ἀμφοτέρων II 17; ἑτέρων II 137, and so Hippokr.; ὀλίγων VIII 16, IX 45; ὑμετέρων IV 114; σφετέρων VI 15, VII 118, IX 106.

In other passages we find -έων, e.g. ἐσχατέων VIII 47, ἀλληλέων IV 113, VI 12, 111, ἀλλέων IV 182, 183, 184, ὀκοσέων V 50 in all or almost all MSS. (i.e. except R q), cf. ἀλλέων and ἄλλων I 94, IV 184. Hdt. VI 46 has μεγαλέων (P R) where Hippokr. has -ων, as ἀλλήλων (cf. ε 71), ἄκρων, ἑτέρων, and in other adjectives (numeral and pronominal).

Even after ι -έων appears: Αἰγυπτιέων II 55, IV 181, ἐσχατιέων III 115, κουριδιέων VI 138 (-ίων P R), ἐτησιέων VI 140, VII 168 (-ίων d), ἀντιέων VII 10 a), δημοσιέων VI 57, ἐπιχωριέων V 88, τετρακοσιέων VII 190, διηκοσιέων καὶ χιλιέων VII 184, διηκοσιών καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ διςμυριέων I 32. In VI 92 the MSS. have Σικωνιών, which Stein changes to -ιέων. Diogen. of Apoll. has εὐδιέων. Hippokrates has -ων, e.g. γυναικείων, ἀναγκαίων.

When the η of the nom. was preceded by ε, -εέων in the

<sup>1</sup> Lobeck states that the MSS. of Hippokrates are not so consistent as those of Hdt. in the gen. of participles in -σα. The adjectival forms often have -ῶν as v. l.



genitive becomes *-έων*, *e.g.* χρυσέων III 130, Ἡρακλέων II 33 (R d, *-είων* A B).

(2) φυλασσομένων I 123; εἰλευμένων II 76; συγκατημένων III 69; οἰκεσσομένων III 107; οἰκημένων I 151; τετμημένων IV 136; γενομένων VII 235, II 137 (or τασσομένων); εἰρημένων VIII 49. Hippokrates has *-ων* throughout.

The form in *-μενέων* is not found without the variant *-ων*:—ἀρπαζομενέων I 4 (*-ων* R b d); μαχομενέων in P II 76, the same chapter that has εἰλευμένων in all MSS.; ἀνατριβομενέων III 113 (*-ων* A B); πειθομενέων V 18 in A B P (*-ων* v s); ἀλικομενέων V 124 (*-ων* P r); προκειμενέων (VII 16 a) in A B d, and a few lines below where A B have *-έων*, but d *-ων*. ἐπικειμενέων VII 185 in P d.

It is a moot point whether in the case of the Herodoteian forms enumerated under 447, 2 B, the Attic rule, which holds in Hippokrates, is to be adopted, or whether *-έων* is to be read throughout. Kühner and Kirchhoff are in favour of *-ων*, while Bredow, Stein, Holder, G. Meyer hold that these forms possessed the special feminine ending. The MSS., except (strangely enough) in those adjectives in which an *ι* precedes the termination, tend rather to the view that *-ων*, not *-έων*, is the correct ending. The epigram from Naxos, No. 23 ρούρη Δεινοδίκηο τοῦ Ναξίου, ἔξοχος ἀλλήων (where  $\Xi$  denotes the open quality of the *e* sound) does not settle the dispute; since ἄλλων, as Blass remarks, would not have been sufficiently precise. The recent discovery of an authoritative inscriptional form would seem to definitively settle the question, at least so far as the participial forms are concerned. In an inscription from Teos (Mitth. XVI 292, l. 18), dating perhaps before the middle of the fourth century, we read .... λισμενέων. Perhaps the *-εων* form was only employed in adjectives and pronouns when it was necessary to distinguish the genders.

### (3) Pronouns.

αὐτή forms its genitive in *-έων* in Hdt. and Hippokr. The MSS. of Hdt. not infrequently have αὐτῶν (Bredow, p. 222). Stein brackets αὐτῶν in III 111.

αὐτή has τουτέων, which occurs in a large number of passages in Hdt. without any variant τούτων. The *-εων* form also occurs in the MSS. of Hippokrates; ἐκείνη has ἐκεινέων Hdt. IV 111 Stein (*-ων* R); τοιαύτη has τοιουτέων VII 16 a), and so in Hippokrates; τσαυτή has τσουντέων VII 187.

The forms in *-εων* from αὐτή, τοιαύτη, and τσαυτή are suspicious, as Ionic, unlike Doric, did not carry into the feminine genitive the diphthong *av* of the other cases. Other pronominal forms, such as τουτέων, contain a parasitic *ε* inserted under the influence of hyper-Ionic theories, § 562.

## 448.]

On the genitive plural of nouns in *-αρχης* varying with *-αρχος*, see Bredow, p. 232. In Hdt. VII 99 Stein reads *ταξιαρχέων*, but in IX 53 *ταξιάρχων*, cf. *ταξιαρχοι* VIII 67. In Attic inscriptions the ending is always *-αρχος*, except in *μεράρχαι* C. I. A. II 580, 3, 7 (324 B. C.).

*εἰλώτων* Hdt. IX 10 is from *εἴλωσ* [cf. VI 81, VIII 25], but *εἰλωπέων* VI 58, 75, 80, &c. is from *εἰλώτης*.

## 449.] Dative Plural.

The terminations occurring in the texts of Ionic writers are *-ησι*, *-ης*, *-αισι* and *-αις*, of which the first and last forms are more frequent than *-ης* or *-αισι*, which do not occur in the inscriptions; *-ησι* is found upon one inscription.

*-ησι* is called Ionic by the grammarians: Joh. Gr. 240, 241, 241 B, Greg. Kor. § 5, Meerm. 649, 654, Vat. 696, Birnb. 677<sub>29</sub>, Et. M. 25<sub>20</sub>, 166<sub>42</sub>, Et. Gud. 249<sub>42</sub>, 332<sub>20</sub>, An. Par. III 312<sub>29</sub>, cf. An. Ox. I 219<sub>1</sub>; cf. also Hdn. I 298<sub>17</sub>, II 143<sub>10</sub>. *-ης* Et. Gud. 249<sub>45</sub>, Et. M. 166<sub>42</sub>. Tzetz. Ex. II. 84<sub>7</sub> has *κοίλησι* (cf. 121<sub>8</sub>), and so An. Ox. I 219<sub>1</sub>. The ancients did not recognize the fact that in Homer the longer form occurs far more frequently than does *-ης*, or that *-ης* before a vowel is the same as *-ησι*.

450.] Dative Plural (Inscriptions)<sup>1</sup>.

The endings of the dative plural upon inscriptions are (1) *-ησι*, (2) *-αις*, (3) *-ησι*.

1. *-ησι*.

*σο[φ]ίησι* Delos 53 (sixth century), Bechtel reading *-ησι*; *βουλῆσι* according to Roehl. See Roberts I, p. 63. *Νύμφησι* Thasos 68 (fifth cent.); *ῆσι* Teos 156 B 36 (Ol. 76-77); *ἡμέρη[ι]σι* Chios 174 B 5 (fifth cent.); *Εὐάδησι* Chios 174 C 20; *Ἐρυθ[θ]ῆσι* Eryth. 199<sub>6</sub> (after 394 B. C.) the last example upon Ionic territory.

*-ησι* occurs therefore on the mainland of Asia Minor, in the adjacent islands and in Thasos. There is no example in Bechtel's collection of a dative plural in *-ησι* in Euboian Ionic, where *-οισι* however occurs, see below, § 473. Whether *τῆσι* or *ταῖς* was the form in use in the language of the people is uncertain, as we have no instance free from suspicion. No. 263 with *ταῖς* before consonants and vowels is from Lykia, and contains a trace of the *Κοινή*. It is possible that *ταῖς* may have been in normal use while *-ησι* was the sole form in nouns (cf. Aiolic *ταῖς* *δέραισι*, Boiot. *τῶν Μωσάων*). *-ησι* held its ground with greater persistence than *-οισι*, as is clear from *ἐκγόνοις* upon the same inscription which contains the last example of *-ησι*.

2. *-αις*.

All instances of *-αις* are due to Attic influence<sup>2</sup>. *ταύτ[α]ς*

<sup>1</sup> See Fritsch, *V. H. D.* p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> On the form *ᾠπυ* l. 23 adduced by Bechtel as a further testimony to the influence of Attic upon the dialect of Keos, see § 342.



Keos 43<sub>27</sub>, last quarter of the fifth century; *εὐεργέταις* Eph. 147<sub>11</sub> (300 B. C.); *δωρε]αῖς* 147<sub>19</sub>; *δημοσίαις* and *ιδίαις δίκαις* Teos 158<sub>19</sub>, with almost no Ionic whatsoever; *ἡμέραις* Eryth. 204<sub>8</sub> (345-44 B. C.); *Κολωναῖς* Eryth. 206 A 47, *Σαβηρίδαις* 206 B 54 (after 278 B. C.); *γέαις* C. I. G. 2693 F 9 as read by Le Bas 414.

-*ais* occurs on the Asiatic mainland and adjacent islands. There is no example in Bechtel's collection of a dative plural in -*ais* in Euboian Ionic.

In No. 5, which contains *Φοικέων*, we find also *θεαῖς πάσαις*, which is probably of Doric colouring. On the mixed dialect of Himera, see Thuk. VI 5. The speech of Rhegion was doubtless likewise half Ionic, half Doric. Cf. Fick, *Odyssee*, p. 10. It may be noticed that Homer uses the dative in -*ais* in but three words: *ἀκτῇ* M 284, *θεά ε* 119, and *πᾶσα χ* 471. Theog. 240 also uses *πάσαις*.

3. Upon the fragment of a marble patera from Kyzikos, now at Oxford, is inscribed ΔΕΞΓΟΝΗΣΙΝ (Rob. I 148, not in Bechtel's collection). We have here an -*ησι* which occurs upon Attic inscriptions (*ἄλλησι*, *δραχμῇσι*), but thus far nowhere, except in the present instance, upon inscriptions outside of Attika. Without further examples of the occurrence of -*ησι*, it is best to arrest judgment in pronouncing upon its Ionic character. There is, however, no reason why the form should not be Ionic, though but little weight should be attached to the statement of the grammarians in reference to its appearance in Ionic (§ 449), or to the numerous MS. forms without the *iota*.

#### 451.] Dative Plural (Lyric Poets).

The MSS. of the lyric poets have preserved two sets of terminations, -*ησι* and -*ης*, -*αισι* and -*αις*.

##### 1. -*ησι*.

-*ησι* and -*ησιν* before consonants, -*ησιν* before vowels, are the usual forms from Archilochos to Theognis inclusive.

Archilochos: *χαλεπήσι* 84<sub>2</sub> epod., *ὀδύνησιν ἔκητι* 84<sub>2</sub>, *βακχίησιν* 83 (conj.).

Mimnermos: *ἀνγῆσιν* 14<sub>11</sub> (cf. 2<sub>2</sub>) *vulgo* *ἀνγαῖσιν*.

Theognis: *πλευρήσι* 55, A O -*αῖσι*, *ἀμηχανίησι* 619, *σφῆσι* 712, *βήσσησι* 881, *λαχῆσι* 779 conj.; *θαλίησι* 983, O -*αισι*, *εἰλαπίνησι* 239, *ἀμαρτωλήσι* 325, *σῆσιν* 1234, *παιδοφίλῃσιν* 1357, *κακοκερδείησιν* 225, *φυλακῆσιν* 439, *πολυῦδρείησιν* 703, *ξανθήσιν* 828 with *κόμαις* in the same line.

Xenophanes: *χαίτησιν* 3.

Solon: *προχοῇσι* 28 (*Fu L* *προχοαῖσι*), *ἀργαλέησι* 133<sup>1</sup> (-*αισι* Fick), *ἀφραδίησιν* 4<sub>5</sub> (-*αισιν* Fick).

Tyrtaios: *κονίησιν* 11<sub>19</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> *ει* in forms from -*λέος* remains uncontracted in the lyric poets; cf. § 263.



Simonides Amorg. : κοπρίησιν 7<sub>6</sub>, ναύτησιν 7<sub>38</sub>, ἐνιπῆσιν 7<sub>44</sub>, πᾶσῃσι 7<sub>89</sub>.

Hipponax : κράδῃσι 4<sub>1</sub>, 5<sub>2</sub>, σκίλλῃσιν 5<sub>2</sub>, ἀσκέρησι-δασείῃσιν 19.

Herodas : τῇσι 5<sub>83</sub>, 3<sub>20</sub> (in conjunction with φύσης), καλῇσιν 7<sub>115</sub> (in conjunction with τῆς), αὐτῇσιν 7<sub>2</sub>.

Anakreon : δίνῃσι 1<sub>5</sub>, χορδῇσιν 18<sub>2</sub> (conj.), πλευρῇσι 21<sub>5</sub>, θύρῃσι διξῇσιν 88.

## 2. -ης.

-ης before vowels is the usual form from Archilochos to Theognis.

Archilochos : θαλῆς τέρψεται 9<sub>2</sub> (θαλῆς or θαλίη conj.); ὀδύνης ἔχομεν Gaisford 9<sub>4</sub>, ἦς τὸ πρίν 94<sub>3</sub> (Fick omits τὸ: the MSS. have ἦς).

Mimnermos : αὐγῆς αὔξεται 2<sub>2</sub>, where αὐγῆς is Schneidewin's conj.; cf. 14<sub>11</sub>.

Theognis : κορυφῆς ὑπο 879 (*libri* κορυφῆς), μαργουσύνῃς ἀπό 1271 Bekker, θοίνῃς δέ 239 in *A*, -ης *O*, *reliqui* θοίναις (Sitzler -αις), ῥαδιῇς χερσίν 6, see § 4.

Xenophanes : ῥοῆς ἐν 2<sub>3</sub> by conj. of Stephanus.

Anakreon : ὕλῃς κεροέσσης Bergk 51<sub>2</sub> (ὕλη?).

Solon : πλευρῆς καί 24<sub>4</sub>, though Plutarch has πλευρῇ and Theog. 722 πλευραῖς (Fick πλευρᾶ), τῆς ἄδικ' 42<sub>2</sub>.

Herodas : τῆς 7<sub>115</sub> (in conjunction with καλῇσιν), τῆς νεωτέρῃς ὕμιν 1<sub>19</sub>, φύσης 3<sub>20</sub> (in conjunction with τῇσι).

## 3. -αισι(ν).

Theognis : κριθαῖσι 1269, ἁμαρτωλαῖσιν ἐπὶ σμικραῖσι 1281. *AO* have πλευραῖσι 55.

Mimnermos : 14<sub>11</sub> αὐγαῖσιν accord. to Stobaios. Bergk reads αὐγῇσιν.

Solon : πολλαῖσιν 37<sub>6</sub> (Fick -ῇσιν). In 28 *Fa L* have προχοαῖσι.

Anakreon : χορδαῖσιν 18<sub>2</sub>.

Herodas : ταῖσι 3<sub>63</sub>, 6<sub>31</sub> though in a number of instances ταῖς is the form adopted by this writer.

## 4. -αις.

Whenever -αις occurs before a vowel in the middle of a pentameter the case is almost similar to that before a consonant, since elision is rarely permitted in this part of dactylic verse. -αις occurs also at the close of a pentameter, more rarely at the end of the hexameter. In Homer we have ἀκταῖς *M* 284, πάσαις *χ* 471, at the close of the hexameter. When the word in question is found at the end of the verse this is denoted by a |.

Archilochos : ἀγκάλαις | 23 trim., and so in the parody *Frogs* 704. Renner reads ἀγκάλῃς, Fick ἀγκάσιν.

Tyrtaios : αὐγαῖς ἠελίοιο 11<sub>6</sub> with *v. l.* αὐγαῖσιν, φίλαις ἐν 10<sub>25</sub>;

Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε 2<sub>2</sub>, εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἀνταμειβομένους 4<sub>6</sub>, where Diodoros has εὐθείην ῥήτρας.

Theognis: θοίναις? 239, πλευραῖς καί 722, πάσαις πολλῶν 240, πολυφροσύναις | 712, κόμαις πορφυρέους 828 with ξανθῆσιν in the same line; θοαῖς | 12 (θοῆς in *A*), ῥαδιναῖς χερσί 1002, Athen. ῥαδινῆς, δειλαῖς φρεσί 161, Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτο 432, μεγάλαις κεῖται ἀμχαναῖς | 632, ἄταις | 631, βουλαῖς δ' 640, εἰλαπίναις φορέοντας 827, σῆσιν ἀτασθαλίαις | 1234. -αις occurs in Theognis only in the middle and close of the pentameter (except in 161, 631). In the later portions of Theognis, Sitzler adopts -αις before vowels. For ῥαδινῆς 6 as Bergk reads, some MSS. have -ησι (Sitzler -αις); -ης is correct.

Simon. Amorg.: Νύμφαις τῷ τε 20, read by Ahrens and Fick Νύμφησ' ἡδέ (Hippokr. used ἡδέ).

Herodas: ταῖς λαύραις | 1<sub>13</sub>, μετρηταῖς (?) | 1<sub>74</sub>, ταῖς νέαις 1<sub>75</sub>, ταῖς ἀνωνύμοις ταύταις | 6<sub>14</sub>, ταῖς γυναιξίν 7<sub>4</sub>, ἀγκάλαις ἄραις (?) 5<sub>71</sub>, ταῖςδε 4<sub>83</sub>.

Solon: κούφαις ἐλπίσι 13<sub>36</sub> (Fick -ῆσ'), κακαῖς νούσοισι 13<sub>61</sub> (Fick κακῶς). This case of -αις is in the hexameter, cf. Theog. 161, 631; ἀργαλέαις τε 13<sub>61</sub>, φίλαις 4<sub>22</sub> a former conj. of Bergk.

Anakreon: κούφαις | 24, ἀήταις | 25, μίτρας | 65, μελαίναις ἀναμεμίζονται 77.

-αις becomes much more frequent in the later elegy, e.g. Plato 7<sub>2</sub>, Krates 1<sub>11</sub>. -ησιν is found in Plato 12<sub>3</sub>, -αισι in Ion 2<sub>3</sub>, Melanthios 1<sub>1</sub>, Euenos 2<sub>3</sub>, Plato 31<sub>1</sub>.

From the evidence presented above, it is clear that Ionic poetry possessed a form devoid of the final *iota*. Nevertheless this fact has been assailed by most scholars, of whom some have objected to -αις, others to -ης. The former form was attacked by Ahrens<sup>1</sup>, who maintained that whenever anteconsonantal -αις and -οις occurred in the fragments of the iambic and choliambic poets, and in the trochaics of Archilochos, the reading is always suspicious, and that the same forms in Anakreon are due to the influence of his Aiolic models, who admitted the shorter forms, especially at the end of the verse. Equally positive in his objection to the original Ionic character of -αις and -οις is Fick<sup>2</sup>, who holds that in the poets of Ionic birth who flourished before the downfall of Ionia (which ensued about 540 B. C.), -ησι and -οισι are the only legitimate Ionic forms. Fick furthermore maintains that after the period thus delimited, -αις and -οις became a part of the linguistic material of the later elegists (Xenophanes, Theognis), and of Ananios, following herein the example of Tyrtaios who had admitted them by a concession to

<sup>1</sup> *Mischung der Dialekte*, p. 60 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *B. B.* IX 207, XI 255.



the dialect of his adopted fatherland. This argument is especially weak as regards the iambographer Ananios, whose character is quite distinct from that of Tyrtaios. Renner<sup>1</sup> on the other hand claims that for *-ais* we should substitute *-ηis*, a procedure whose correctness as regards Anakreon was defended by Schneidewin. Fritsch<sup>2</sup>, who protests against the Ionic character of *-ηis* before consonants<sup>3</sup>, follows Fick in rejecting as non-Ionic all cases of *-ais* and *-ois* in the early lyrists of Ionic birth. Wilamowitz<sup>4</sup> also rejects the latter forms in Archilochos. Sitzler<sup>5</sup> proposes to adopt *-ais* wherever the dative ending occurs in the caesura, and at the verse close, also before consonants, whereas *-ηs* should be read before a vowel. With Diels<sup>6</sup> *-ois* is to be accepted (1) when a vowel follows, (2) at the verse end, or in the middle of the pentameter, (3) in the case of the article and relative, (4) in combination with several other datives.

While it is obvious that all the cases of antevocalic *-ηs*, *-ais* (and *-ois*, § 474), with the possible exception of those forms that occur in the middle of a pentameter, may and should be read with elision, the existence of the shorter forms has been unjustly assailed. We may admit that the longer form has been displaced in the works of the older Ionic school in many passages which yield to a mild treatment. But the total expulsion of the shorter forms is attained only by recourse to the most drastic remedies, notably when the peccant form closes the verse. And in many cases no remedy whatever can be discovered, not even that of transposition.

If the shorter forms are a fixture in Homer<sup>7</sup>, despite the efforts of Nauck and Fick to dislodge them, their occurrence in the lyric poets, howsoever rare they be, need not cause us surprise. More delicate is the question whether we shall read *-ais* or *-ηs*, or whether both forms are possible. The former form is an analogue of *-ois*; for the latter, which is not found in prose either inscriptional or literary (but cf. § 452), a satisfactory explanation, it must be confessed, is at present wanting. G. Meyer's attempt (*Gramm.* § 380) may be dismissed as too artificial. Brugmann (*Grundr.* II § 358) sees in *-ηis* a locative formed from a more original *\*-ās*, *-ηs*. Brugmann conjectures that in the Homeric period *-ηs* may have been pronounced without the later *ι*<sup>8</sup>. So long however as

<sup>1</sup> Curtius' *Stud.* I 1, 208 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cauer's *Ilias* praef. xxxvi.

<sup>5</sup> *Jahrb.* vol. 125, p. 509.

<sup>6</sup> *Ἀθην. πολ.* p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *V. H. D.* 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Hom. Unters.* 317.

<sup>7</sup> The *Iliad* has 1564 datives with the longer forms, 251 with the shorter (212 before vowels, 39 before consonants, or at the end of the verse). In the *Odyssey* 1297 long, 225 short (150 + 75), according to Nauck's count.

<sup>8</sup> This form occurs in the MSS. of Archil. 94<sub>3</sub>, where it is doubtless an error of the scribe. Osthoff *M. U.* II 76 thinks that *-ηis* was formed from *-ηισι* under the influence of *-ois*.



it occurs before consonants in Homer and in later poetry it is idle to dispute its existence merely because it has not been acceptably explained. It is therefore proper to retain it and *-ais* in the few passages where they are called for by the metre. *-ais* and *-ois* are instrumentals which were but sparingly employed, outside of Doric, in the earlier period of the language. It was not until the fifth century in Attika and later in other quarters of Greece that they became powerful enough to dislodge the old locatives *-ησι*, *-ᾱσι* (*-ηισι*, *-ᾱισι*) which had officiated as datives. *-ᾱισι* is non-Ionic. The forms in Theognis, as those in early Attic poetry, might be regarded as *-ᾱισι*. It is however more probable that *-ᾱισι* is intended. *δίκᾱισι* is an analogue of *λόγοισι*.

#### 452.] Dative Plural (Prose).

Of the forms found in the MSS. of Ionic prose writers, *-ησι* is by far the most frequent. *-αισι* is very rare. *-ais* has often crept in from Attic. In Hdt. we have *-ησι*. In VIII 15 the Romanus has *τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας* where all the other MSS. have *ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις*. Bredow's *τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἡμέρησι* is therefore unnecessary. In III 40 *-ησι* must be substituted for the *-αισι* of most MSS. *ταῖς* is found in the Romanus III 110. Hippokrates has *-ησι*, e.g. II 44 *φλεγματίησι*, *αὐτέησι* (with hyper-Ionic *ε*), *τῇσι* II 306, III 196. In Demokritos as handed down by Stobaios we find *-ησι* in fragments 41, 46, 211 (167 Demokrates). In other cases, except *ἀνάγκαισι* 126, the MSS. have *-ais* which Mullach changed to *-ησι*. *-ησι* occurs in Herakleitos, in Hekat. 172, Pherekydes of Leros (frag. 44 is the only case); Protagoras has *τῇσι πάσησι* *ἡμέρησι*. The form of the article in the MSS. of the Ionic prosaists is often *ταῖς*. Thus in Demokritos there is scarcely an exception to the shorter form. We find *ταῖσι* in frag. 44 (containing *ἀνάγκαις*); Mullach *τῇσι*. In Aiolic, which usually has *-αισι*, *ταῖς* is the regular form. In all the passages where *-αισι*, *-ais* occur, and the dative is required, the Ionic forms should be edited.

Pseudo-Ionists: *-ησι* is used throughout by Lukian in the *dea Syria* and the *Astr.*; and this form is found more frequently in Arrian than *-ais* or *-αισι*. Abydenos has *-ησι* six times, Eusebios Myndios *-ais* 14 times, *-αισι* once. The supposititious Ionic letters of Hippokrates, and Aretaios follow Herodoteian usage. Aretaios 68 has *πολλῆς*, ep. Hippokr. 17<sub>25</sub> *ἐπιθυμῆς* (?), the only instances of this form. The *Vita Homeri* has *-ais* throughout.

#### 453.] On the retention of the long forms.

Both in inscriptions and prose literature, to so late a period as the fifth century, the Ionic dialect retained a termination whose

use in all other dialects, except Aiolic, was either curtailed or completely abandoned. In the Doric dialect *-ais* is in entire possession; and in the case of Aiolic a special cause was at work, which drew in its train the retention of the fuller form in the declension of nouns. In the Attic stone records, *-ησι* (after consonants) held its ground sporadically till the middle of the fifth century and perhaps till 424 B. C.; *-αισι* (after vowels) is attested in documents of 439 B. C. and 424 B. C., upon which however the locative *-ησι* already appears. This *-ησι* (*-ᾱσι*) was retained till 420 B. C., when *-ais* was universally adopted<sup>1</sup>; a change whose suddenness has elicited much speculation in connection with the history of early Attic prose. That the Athenians recognized the antique flavour of the fuller forms is clear from their treatment at the hands of comedy. But even Aischylos does not reject the *-s* forms.

#### 454.] Accusative Plural.

The form is invariably *-ᾱs*, which was substituted for *-ᾗs* subsequently to the change of *ā* to *η* in Ionic-Attic, cf. § 161. Tyrtaios has the Doric *-ᾱs* occasionally (45, 71), as Hesiod in *W. D.* 564, *Theog.* 184. In Chios 174 C 12 we find τὰς γέας καὶ τὰς οἰκί(ε)α[s], the form γέας having, as Bechtel assumes, caused the stone cutter to perpetrate a blunder in the following accusative; cf. οἰκίας Paros 58<sup>2</sup>. The accusative plural of γῆ in Ionic is always γέας. See § 421.

In Herodotos *-εᾱs* is the accusative of nouns and adjectives, whose nominative is ordinarily stated to be *-εη*, e.g. (§ 282) χρυσέας, ἀργυρέας, κυνέας, αἰγέας, παρδαλέας, ἀμφιδέας<sup>3</sup>, μνέας (cf. § 421), ἀλωπεκέας, λεοντέας, πορφυρέας Ion 1. In Hdt. II 67, where *C* has μνγάλας and *d* μνγαλὰς, Stein reads μνγαλᾱς, doubtless with reference to the statement of Anaxandrides (*apud* Athen. VII 300 A): δύναται παρ' ὑμῖν μνγαλῇ, παρ' ἐμοὶ δέ γ' οὔ. Bredow adopted μνγαλέας; cf. Nikand. *Ther.* 816 μνγαλέην. In III 28 we find διπλᾱς, cf. διπλῇ § 424.

The accus. pl. of ἀκινάκης, whose accus. sing. is ἀκινάκεα and ἀκινάκην (both forms are amply attested), occurs IX 80; III 128, VII 67, where the MSS. vary between ἀκινάκας and ἀκινάκεας. The former form is to be adopted. The accus. of δεσπότης is *-τας*, not *-τεας*, despite *z* in I 111, 112. Nor are the forms διφθερέας I 194, ἐξηγητέας I 78, ὀργυιέας IV 86 to be adopted.

<sup>1</sup> *-ησι* (*-ᾱσι*) was retained in adverbs of place.

<sup>2</sup> Haussoullier thinks *-εας* in οἰκί(ε)ας was caused by influence of the gen. *-εων*. But we have no other examples of such an influence of the gen. upon the accus. plural.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Greg. Kor. § 123 (ἀφιδέας, cf. § 336). With this open ἀμφιδέαι, cf. ἀμφιδᾶι B. C. II. 1890, p. 403, 412. ἀμφιδῇ 404 (Delian register of 279 B. C.). Aristoph. 320, 11 (Kock) has ἀμφιδέας.



οὐδαμέας is supported in IV 114 by *ABCD*, but is nevertheless to be rejected. Ἐνάρεας I 105 is correct, cf. Ἐνάρεες IV 67.

### O Declension.

#### 455.] Terminations of Ionic prose :

ος, ον	οι, ᾶ
ον (never εω)	ων
ωι	οισι(ν), οις
ον	ους, ᾶ
ε, ος	

Dual forms are wanting in New Ionic, cf. § 412. In the following sections attention is chiefly directed to those nominal and adjectival forms which have ε or ο before -ος, -ον, &c. Cf. the sections dealing with the contact of vowels. Renner's suggestion to admit the open forms (masc. and fem.) in the case of the poets of Ionic lineage, and to regard the open and the contracted forms as the property of the elegists not Ionic born, cannot be carried through.

On the forms of the so-called Attic declension, see § 477. As regards gender it may be noted that Hipponax has ἡ ἄσβολος, Herodotos ἡ σαῦρος.

#### 456.] Nominative Singular (Inscriptions).

The nominative singular of nouns which have ε or ο before the thematic ο contract this ε or ο in the following forms : Καλλίνους Thasos (L.) 77, Ἀστύνους Eryth. 206 C 9, Πολύθρους Thasos 75 B 11.

#### 457.] Nominative Singular (Lyric Poets).

νόος occurs frequently in Theognis, e.g. 88, Solon 27<sub>11</sub>, and Simonides of Keos (?) 85<sub>11</sub>. But νοῦς is attested in Theog. 1185, as in Homer κ 240, and Simon. Amorg. 13 has νόος (cf. νόον 71). γηραλέος is found in Xenoph. 118.

#### 458.] Nominative Singular (Prose).

1. -εος, -εον are uncontracted, e.g. ἀδελφιδέος VIII 130; θυγατρίδεος V 67.

2. -οος is uncontracted, e.g. νόος Herakl. 111, Anax. 5, 6, 7, 12 (Simplicius has however νοῦς), Hdt. IX 120, εὐνοος VII 173, &c., οἰνοχόος III 34, cf. Plato, *Phil.* 61 C.



## Hippokrates and the pseudo-Ionists :

πλόος Arrian 22, 38, &amp;c.

πλοῦς Aret. 301, &c., *Vita Hom.*

19.

ἀκρόπλοος Hippokr. ep. 18<sub>3</sub>,  
Aret. 63.εἰσπλους Arrian.  
περίπλους Arrian.

νόος Euseb. Mynd. 14, 19,

σύννοος Hippokr. ep. 15.

Hipp. ep. 12, 18<sub>2</sub>, 3.

ρόος Aret. 163, 164, &amp;c.

εἴσρους Aret. 274.

εὔροος Aret. 210, Hippokr. II  
38.κατάρροος Hippokr. V 700 (Erm.  
-ous Litttré).κατάρρους Hippokr. V 700 (Erm.)  
II 46 (Erm. and Lit.).

ἀπνοος Aret. 274.

δύσπνοος Aret. 32, Hippokr. II  
160, Lit. -oos.βραχύπνοος Hippokr. III 114,  
144.εὔπνοος Aret. 264, &c., Hippokr.  
III 126.

χροός Aret. 99.

λευκόχροος Aret. 163.

ἀπλόος Luk. *Syr.* 31.

ἀπλοῦς Aret. 162.

διπλόος Aret. 163.

χνοῦς Aret. 177.

## 459.] Genitive Singular (Inscriptions).

The genitive singular termination is -ov, never in a prose document -οιο, or -ω.

ΟΥ is usually expressed by Ο upon the early monuments. In the Naxian inscriptions: ΝαξιΟ ΦράξιΟ Bechtel 23=Rob. I 25, λίθΟ 25=Rob. I 27, ΛοφιΟ Rob. I 29. In Paros 60=Rob. I 15 ΤΩ ΠαριΩ is τοῦ Παρίου, ἈσφαλιΩ is Ἀσφαλίου. This is not Doric Παρίω as is clear from the word μήτηρ. Miletos 93=Rob. I 133 has τΟ ἀρχηγΟ, and cf. also 94=Rob. I 134, 98=Rob. I 138, Prokonnesos 103=Rob. I 42, Teos 156=Rob. I 142 A, lines 5, 12, B 8, 25, 28, 32, Chios 174=Rob. I 149 τΟΥτΟ A 1, cf. also A 2, 3, 5, D 15, 175=Rob. I 150, Samos 210=Rob. I 151, 214=Rob. I 155, 215=Rob. I 156, Halik. 238=Rob. I 145<sub>6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 23, 35</sub>.

The later form is ΟΥ (ἘρριδαίΟ[v] Olynthos 8 A<sub>1</sub>, between 389-383 B. C., cf. l. 2).

θεοῦ 220<sub>12</sub> Samos. θεός is the Ionic form, θεά does not occur except in Herodas (4<sub>10, 11</sub>).

The nominatives with -ous (-oos) have -ov in the genitive, e.g. Πολύθρου Teos 158<sub>27</sub> (an almost entirely Attic inscription) Καλλίνου Th. (L.) 8<sub>4</sub>, Ἀριστόνου *ibid.* 17<sub>10</sub>.

The Homeric genitive in *-οιο* occurs on poetical monuments (Paros 59 αἰγιόχοιο, and ἀραμένοιο Latyshev II 37). Other metrical inscriptions have *-ου* (23, 25, 34, 60, 162, 261, 265).

#### 460.] Genitive Singular (Lyric Poets).

The usual termination is *-ου*. By imitation of Homeric usage or from the fact that the older Ionic actually possessed the form, *-οιο*<sup>1</sup> has been adopted by the *elegiac* poets as an archaism and is by them used to a great extent in the same place in the verse as it is employed in Homer. Cf. Renner in Curtius' *Studien* I A 206 ff. I have indicated by a small figure the position in the verse of the syllables *-οιο*. *-οιο* is rare in pentameter; Tyrt. 11<sub>6</sub> is the only example from the older elegy, Aischyl. 4<sub>2</sub> from the later, non-Ionic elegy.

Tyrtaios: ἡελίοιο<sup>5</sup> 11<sub>6</sub>, Τιθωνοῖο<sup>3</sup> 12<sub>5</sub>, στέρνοιο<sup>3</sup> 12<sub>25</sub>; θανάτοιο<sup>6</sup> 12<sub>35</sub>; Κινυρέοιο 12<sub>6</sub> has been corrected to Κινύρεω.

Archilochos: Ἐνναλίοιο<sup>5</sup> 1<sub>1</sub>, πολυφλοίσβοιο<sup>5</sup> 9<sub>3</sub>.

Mimnermos: θανάτοιο<sup>3</sup> 2<sub>7</sub>; ποταμοῖο<sup>6</sup> 9<sub>5</sub>, πολέμοιο<sup>6</sup> 14<sub>7</sub>, ἡελίοιο 11<sub>5</sub><sup>6</sup>, 14<sub>11</sub><sup>6</sup>.

Theognis: θανάτοιο<sup>3</sup> 707, χαλεποῖο<sup>3</sup> 103, κιβδήλοιο<sup>3</sup> 119 (the two latter passages contain also a gen. in *-ου*), ἐλάφοιο<sup>3</sup> 949; ἡελίοιο 569<sup>6</sup>, 1143<sup>6</sup>, 1183<sup>6</sup>, οὐλομένοιο<sup>6</sup> 527, νόοιο<sup>6</sup> 705, Τηϋγέτοιο<sup>6</sup> 879.

Solon: ἡελίοιο<sup>3</sup> 13<sub>23</sub>, ἀτρυγέτοιο<sup>6</sup> 13<sub>19</sub>.

Anakreon: ὀχάνοιο 91; cf. § 63.

Hipponax: hex. 85<sub>4</sub> ἀτρυγέτοιο<sup>6</sup>.

Of the elegists, Archilochos offers the sole exception to the rule that *-οιο* in the elegy is used in the third and the sixth foot.

In the iambographic poets we find but one example of *-οιο*: Archilochos, tetr. 77<sub>1</sub> (ὦς Διωνύσοι ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος), *sic* Bergk, *vulgo* Διωνύσοιο, *PVL* Διονύσοιο, cf. Iliad XI 35 and Dr. Leaf on the passage. The unique position of this *-οιο* and the doubt whether the final *ο* can be elided<sup>2</sup> caused Hermann to read *-ου*.

From stems in which *ο* precedes the final *ο* of the stem: νόου

<sup>1</sup> Epic *-οιο* has been placed under AIOLIC. It is both Aiolic and Ionic. The grammarians often regard this ending as Ionic and Thessalian, *e.g.* Vat. 700, Et. M. 618<sub>37</sub>, Et. Gud. 420<sub>53</sub>, An. Ox. I 313<sub>25</sub>, II 404<sub>16</sub>; more frequently as Thessalian alone, cf. THESSALIAN, § 35. Sometimes *-οιο* is referred to Ionic alone, *e.g.* Tzetz. Ex. II. 96<sub>14</sub>. Greg. Kor. § 22 cites Μενελάοιο in the same breath with θείοιο.

<sup>2</sup> Lugebil in Fleckeisen's *Jahrb. Suppl.* XII 216, Fick in his *Odysee*, p. 29, Platt in *Class. Rev.* II 99, rightly hold that elision may take place. That the Thessalian gen. in *-οι* is a locative (Ebel in K. Z. XIII 446, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 344; cf. Mahlow, *Die Vocale AEO*, p. 37, Stolz, *Lat. Gramm.* § 83) has not yet been proved. Cf. Wilamowitz *Hom. Unters.* p. 321.

Theog. 223, Archil. 56<sub>5</sub>, καλλιρόου Anakr. 28. From stems in εο-: ἀργαλέον Mimn. 2<sub>6</sub>, 4<sub>2</sub>, Tyrt. 11<sub>8</sub>.

#### 461.] Genitive Singular (Prose).

Besides the regular forms in -ου we meet in the MSS. of Hdt. with -οιο and -εω, forms which are due to an erroneous conception of the nature of the Herodoteian dialect.

1. Epic -οιο in *R* in III 97 Καυκάσοιο. ἔρωτος ἀπρήκτοιο in Lukian, *d. S.* 22, is from some poetical source.

2. -εω, by transference from the *Â* declension, in all MSS. Hdt. IV 147, 148 Μεμβλιάρεω, but -ον IV 147; as *v. l.* in VI 102 Πεισιστράτεω, VIII 122 Κροίσεω, V 32 Κλεομβρότεω, Βάττεω II 181, IV 159, 160, 162, 205. Τεντάμεω Herakl. 112 is from -ης (see Bywater, p. xii).

Stobaios has νοῦ in quoting Demokr. 13, and likewise Simplicius in Anaxag. 5. In Hdt. νόου VIII 97 occurs in all MSS. In VI 105, however, all the MSS. have εὔνου; and ἔσπλου is equally well attested in VI 33. περιρρόου I 174 without variant. Hdt. has ὀστέου IX 83. Upon Attic inscriptions we find θνηχόου C. I. A. III 244 (very late), but -χοῦ C. I. A. I 322 A 79, 95 (409 B. C.); χρυσοχόου is found in Demosthenes.

In Hippokrates and the later Ionists:—

πλόου Arrian 37, 38, 40.

πλοῦ *Vita Hom.* 18.

παρὰ πλοῦ Arrian 19, 25.

διέκπλου Arrian 22.

νοῦ Aret. 79.

νόου Euseb. Mynd. 19, 34.

προνόου Euseb. Mynd. 16.

ρόου Aret. 164, 302, &c.

ρόῦ Aret. 210.

περιρόου Hippokr. II 692.

καταρροῦ Hippokr. V 680.

χειμαρρόου Arr. 38.

λευκοχροῦ Aret. 114.

#### 462.] Dative Singular<sup>1</sup> (Inscriptions).

1. -ωι is the regular form on all inscriptions, and is found everywhere, except in the few cases when -ω and -οι occur. ὑσώπω[ι] is to be read in Keos 43<sub>16</sub> and not -ω. χρυσῶι in Samos 220<sub>17</sub> (346–45) is a form contrary to the rule that adjectives of material are uncontracted in Ionic when ε is followed by an *o* sound.

2. -ω. In Attic *ι* falls off from -ωι in the first century B. C. On Ionic soil -ω is very rare and late. Ἀσκληπιῶ 67 Paros (period of the empire), Ἀδριανῶ Σεβαστῶ Ὀλυμπίῳ 101 Miletos, ἀργυρέῳ 129 Olbia (period of the empire), χρυσῶ Latyshev I No. 22, I, No. 57 (κοινή contraction), but χρυσέῳ *l. l.* I, No. 67.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 242 cites the Homeric ἀργυρέῳ, χρυσέῳ as Ionic.



3. -οι. The ending -ωι became -οι in (a) Chalkidian and (b) Eretrian Ionic about 400 B. C. No other section of the Ionic dialect has -οι (not a locative). Cf. the change of -ηι to -ει, § 239.

A. In Chalkidian colonies :

-οι	-ωι
π]ολέμοι Olynthos 8 A <sub>6</sub> (389-383 B. C.).	τῶι Olynthos 8 A 2. τῶι κοινῶι Olynthos 8 B 4. τῶι δῆμωι Amphip. 10 <sub>1</sub> . τῶι unc. 13 <sub>3</sub> .

B. Eretria and colonies :

Ἄμαρυν(θ)οῖ Eretria 15 <sub>18</sub> <sup>1</sup> (410-390 B. C.).	τῶι Eretria 14.
τοῖ ἱεροῖ Eretria 15 <sub>19</sub> .	Κηναῖωι Eretria 15 <sub>19</sub> .
ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ Oropos 18 <sub>5, 9, 15, 19</sub> ,	-ωι in No. 16 throughout.
30, 42. ἐαυτοῖ Oropos 18 <sub>28</sub> .	
πετεῦροι Oropos 18 <sub>42</sub> .	
τοῖ βουλομένοι Oropos 18 <sub>43</sub> .	
τοῖ κοιμητηρίοι Oropos 18 <sub>43</sub> .	
τοῖ also 18 <sub>32, 45, 46</sub> .	

Cf. the locative -οι in Eleian, North-West Greek, Boiotian and Arkadian.

#### 463.] Dative Singular (Lyric Poets).

Tyrtaios 12<sub>28</sub> has ἀργαλέω, but in Mimn. 11<sub>6</sub> we find the Homeric χρυσέω (A 15) with synizesis; Theog. 1052 has νόω, 1088 καλλιρόω.

#### 464.] Dative Singular (Prose).

Nouns or adjectives with ε or ο before the stem vowel ο do not contract ε or ο with that vowel in the MSS., e.g. κανέω Hdt. I 119, πορφυρέω Ion I, νόω Hdt. III 41, 51, VIII 19, as Herakl. 91, Demokr. 57. But in IV 125, I 27, II 181, VII 159 all or nearly all the MSS. have νῶι or νῶ, for which Stein reads νόω.

χρυσοχόω occurs on an Attic inscription II 652 B, 16 (398 B. C.), but in other words -οω has become -ω.

In Hippokrates and the pseudo-Ionists :

<sup>1</sup> But this form may be a locative (cf. *Hermes* XXI 99), as Ἴσθ]μοῖ Thasos Rob. I 24. Cf. similar forms in treaties in Thukydides.

<sup>2</sup> No. 18 dates either from 411-402 B. C., or from the period between the Peace of Antalkidas and 377 B. C. ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ is scarcely a locative, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 350 suggests.

πλόω Arrian 23, Hippokr. ep.

<sup>1734</sup>.

νόω Euseb. Mynd.

ρόω Luk. *Syr.* 8, περιρόω Hippokr., Aret.

νῶ Luk. *Astr.* 15.

περιρρῶ Hippokr. V 730.

χειμάρρῳ Arr. 24, 39.

διπλῶ Aret., τριπλῶ Abyd.

The hyper-Ionic ἀντέω appears in some MSS., Hdt. I 133, where Athenaios has ἀντῶ, cf. § 563.

#### 465.] Accusative Singular<sup>1</sup> (Inscriptions).

In the stems in -oo we have π[ρ]όχουν Naukr., Bechtel = 139 A, cf. Ω 304; ἐκπλουν and ἔσπλουν Eryth. 202<sub>7</sub>, Iasos, *J. H. S.* IX 341, 342.

In the adj. inflection ἀλοργοῦν Samos 220<sub>22, 30</sub>, εὔνουν Olbia C. I. G. 2059<sub>14</sub>, λινουῦν 220<sub>25, 27</sub>, but according to the rule Ionic χρύσειον 220<sub>18</sub>, as Zeleia 114 E, Olbia 129<sub>12</sub>, Aphrodisias 254 (Roman), also Latyshev I 50, 54, 57, 64 (*post Christum*).

#### 466.] Accusative Singular (Lyric Poets).

Theog. 1267 has νόον, but εὔνουν or ἔννουν 641 in all MSS. Wordsworth read εὔνοον since Theognis prefers a dactyl to a spondee in the fourth foot. The same poet has νοῦν 350, 898 (cf. Hesiod, frag. 222). Archil. has νόον 78<sub>4</sub> tetr., 89<sub>6</sub> epod. and so Sim. Amorg. 71 despite νόος 13; Solon 27<sub>13</sub> νοῦν. Herodas 25<sub>4</sub> has διπλόον, but in 2<sub>48</sub> διπλοῦν; νοῦν 1<sub>68</sub>, ἄνουν 3<sub>27</sub>. Mimn. has ῥόον 11<sub>4</sub>.

We find μυδάλεον in Archil. 182, ἀργαλέον in Mimn. 1<sub>10</sub>, 55, Tyrtaios ῥιγαλέον 11<sub>17</sub>, Theog. ἀφνεόν 188, 559.

#### 467.] Accusative Singular (Prose).

Nouns and adjectives with ε or ο before the stem vowel ο do not usually suffer contraction with that vowel in the MSS. of Herodotos, e.g. πλόον II 175, νόον III 21, I 27, Demokr. 59, Herakl. 16, Pherek. 60, πρόνοον Hdt. III 36, διπλόον VI 104, ἀντίξοον VI 7, VII 49. χοῦν is contracted in all MSS. Hdt. I 185, II 150, VII 23 and φλοῦν III 98 (Attic φλέως)<sup>2</sup>. In III 22 where most MSS. have χρυσοῦν, R has χρυσόν, which is adopted by Stein. Holder adopts Schaefer's χρύσειον. φοινίκεον appears in IX 22. Attic has both φοινικοῦν and φοινικιοῦν.

In Hippocrates and the later Ionists the open forms prevail:—

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. § 71 νόον, ῥόον.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 46.

πλόον Luk. *Syr.* 7, Arrian 23 and often, Hippokr. ep. 17<sub>40</sub>.

πλοῦν Arr. 21, 33, *Vita Hom.* 17, 29.

παράπλουν Arr. 32, 39.  
σύμπλουν *Vita Hom.* 17.

νόον Luk. *Syr.* 26, Abyd. 9, Hippokr. II 230, III 228, ep. 17<sub>34</sub>.  
εὔροον Aret. 248, &c.

σύρροον Arr. 43.  
χειμάρροον Arr. 39.

δύσπνοον Hippokr. V 590.  
ἄπνοον Hippokr. III 68.  
εὔπνοον Hippokr. V 668, II 148, 348, 368, Aret. 202, &c.  
ἄχροον Hippokr. III 252.  
εὔχροον Aret. 266.

ἄχροον Aret. 144.

δμόχροον Hippokr. V 674, II 156.

διπλόον Aret. 205, Hippokr. II 44, III 184.

διπλοῦν Arr. 33.

ἄθροον Hippokr. and Aret. often.

πολύθροον Abyd. 5.

ἀντίξοον Luk. *Astr.* 12.

ἀντίξουν Aret. 38.

χοῦν Arr. 13.

δικροῦν Hippokr. V 634.

#### 468.] Vocative Singular.

The vocative form proper occurs very frequently in Herodotos. Whereas the Athenians, according to Gregor. Korinth. p. 117, said ὦ φίλος, Hdt. has ὦ ξείνε, &c., in many passages.

#### 469.] Nominative Plural.

The nom. pl. has -οι or -ᾶ. Xenoph. 3<sub>5</sub> αἰχαλῆοι, but γηράλῃοι occurs in Anakr. 43<sub>2</sub> (cf. ἀρπαλέα Mimn. 1<sub>4</sub>). Hdt. has ἀθρόοι, σόοι (σόαι, σόων, σόα), κατάρροοι Hippokr. II 18, ἄπνοοι Aret. 105, βραδύπνοοι Aret. 122, δύσπνοοι Hippokr., εὔπνοοι Aret., χροοι Hippokr., Aret., ἀπλοῖ Aret., but εὔήκοι, ὀξυήκοι, λιθόξοι, σιελοχόοι Aret., ἐλαφρόνοοι Phokyl. 9.

Hdt. contracts in διπλᾶ II 148, VIII 87, while Aretaios has εὔπνοα, εὔροα and δίκροα; Hippokrates varies between εὔχρω and εὔχροα. ἀπλᾶ is found in Aretaios, διπλᾶ, τριπλᾶ and ἀθρόα in Hippokr., ἀντίξοα in Luk. *Astrol.* 2. Hdt. has I 94 ἐπίπλοα, but τὰ ἐπιπλα *furniture* from ἐπιπλος, cf. δίπλος Empedokl. 62, δίκρος Aischylos, fr. 47. ὀστέα Hdt. I 67, II 41, &c., Hippokr. III 534.

Hdt. has δεσμά VI 91 from δεσμός.

#### 470.] Genitive Plural (Inscriptions).

The only noteworthy case is χῶν < χοF-ων Keos 43, (towards



the end of the fifth century), a genuine Ionic form, though the inscription contains one instance of Atticism.  $\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  originally belonged to this declension. The Argolic accus. was  $\chi\omega\upsilon$  Athen. 365 D. Hippokr. has  $\chi\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\chi\omicron\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$  from  $\chi\omicron\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , but forms of the build of  $\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$   $\chi\omicron\omicron\acute{\iota}$  do not occur in Ionic.

#### 471.] Genitive Plural (Lyric Poets).

$\delta\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Archil. 84<sub>3</sub> as *Trach.* 769, *Orest.* 404, *Acharnians* 1226 (lyr.) and Plato *Phaido* 98 C, D.

#### 472.] Genitive Plural (Prose).

The genitive plural in  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ , which belongs exclusively to the  $\hat{A}$  declension, has been forced upon the masculine and neuter genitive of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . These forms were created by the scribes inserting an  $\epsilon$  which they thought gave the proper dialectal colour<sup>1</sup>. These forms are not to be defended on any ground whatsoever; and have been rejected by Gaisford, Bredow, Stein, and others. Good MSS. give very frequently the proper forms, but even when the masculine and neuter  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  and  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  rest upon the authority of all the MSS. of Hdt., they are to be rejected<sup>2</sup>. In Hippokrates we find the same delusion attested by the MSS., but  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  and  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  have been restored by Ermerins. Oftentimes the cause of the false form seems to have been the presence of a correct  $-\epsilon\omega\nu$  in a neighbouring word, e. g.  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  Hdt. IX 96,  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  IV 114<sup>3</sup>.

Apollonios (*de Pronomine* 123 A) says:  $\delta\upsilon$   $\tau\acute{\rho}\omicron\pi\omicron\nu$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\nu\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$   $\delta\iota\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\tau\acute{o}\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$   $\tau\acute{\rho}\omicron\pi\omicron\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ ,  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$   $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{o}\nu$   $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ .  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\xi\tau\iota$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ . This cannot be strained to mean that Apollonios accepted a masculine and a neuter  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  and  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ .

Other instances of the adventitious  $\epsilon$  in Hdt. are:  $\Sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  in all MSS. V 35,  $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  found in the Aldine edition V 64,  $\gamma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  **I** 9 in *Rvs*,  $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  II 36 in the Aldine edition, &c. Kallimachos went a step further in affixing the termination  $-\alpha\omega\nu$  to fem. names of the O declension ( $\nu\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ ,  $\psi\eta\phi\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ ). Kirchhoff conjectures that the source of this error is to be found in pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* v. 7:  $\beta\lambda\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu$   $\tau'$   $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$   $\kappa\upsilon\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ .

In the genitive plural of nouns and adjectives with  $\epsilon$  or  $\omicron$  before  $-\omega\nu$ ,  $\epsilon$  or  $\omicron$  is not contracted with  $-\omega\nu$ , e. g.:— $\sigma\upsilon\mu\pi\lambda\acute{o}\omega\nu$  III 41,  $\sigma\acute{o}\omega\nu$  in Hdt.,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ ,  $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$  Aretaios. The *Vita Hom.* 36 has  $\sigma\upsilon\mu\pi\lambda\acute{o}\omega\nu$ .  $\pi\lambda\acute{o}\omega\nu$  in Xenophon *R. A.* I 20,  $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\acute{o}\omega\nu$  in Thuk. VI 64 will hardly stand.

<sup>1</sup> Lukian makes Hdt. use  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  (*de domo* 20).

<sup>2</sup> In VII 124 Stein has retained  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ .

<sup>3</sup> Bredow's defence of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  IV 114 (page 245) cannot be accepted.

473.] Dative Plural<sup>1</sup> (Inscriptions).

On inscriptions we meet with two forms of the dative plural, -οῖσι and -οῖς.

## 1. -οῖσι.

Olynthos 8 A 4 ἀλλήλοισι, Kyzikos 108 B 2 τοῖσιν, τοῖσιν ἐκγόνουσιν 108 B 3, τοῦτοισιν 108 B 8, Teos Τηλοῖσιν 156 A 2, Ἀνθεστηρίοισιν 156 B 31-32, Ἡρακλείοισιν 156 B 33, Δίοισιν 156 B 34 (this inscription has no case of -οῖς), [Δ]ιοσκούρο[ι]σι 257, found at Naukratis, μύθοισι epigr. in Latyshev II 171. Of these examples those from Kyzikos must be set down as archaistic, since the inscription is scarcely earlier than the first century B. C. and full of inaccuracies. The inscription from Olynthos contains the latest (389-383 B. C.) genuine example of -οῖσι on Ionic soil<sup>2</sup>. The assertion of Karsten, p. 32, that -οῖς is a peculiarity of Euboian Ionic, and -οῖσι a peculiarity of the 'severior Ias' falls to the ground.

## 2. -οῖς.

All other Ionic inscriptions have -οῖς. Even in Olynthos No. 8, where (line 4 A) we found ἀλλήλοισι, the form ἀμφοτέροις occurs. But this is the only example of the coexistence of the two forms, such as meets us on the Attic prose inscriptions of the fifth century. All the other inscriptions of Euboian Ionic have -οῖς, e. g. Oropos 18, Kyme Rob. I 174. In Teos 158 and *Mitth.* XVI 292, Keos 43, we find only -οῖς; so too in Miletos 100 (which dates from the first half of the fourth century). Chios 174 unfortunately contains no examples of the dative plural. Halik. 240 has τοῖς and other datives in -οῖς, but is not free from younger forms. While Halik. 238<sub>10</sub> proves that the Ionic of the fifth century possessed a form τοῖς, it does not disprove the correctness of τοῖσι in literature, as Fritsch opines. No genuine case of τοῖσι appears. On the analogy of τῶν for τέων, τοῖσι might have become τοῖς before -οῖσι in the noun became -οῖς. But as in Attika we have both τοῖσι and τοῖς in the fifth century, so there is no reason why the forms should not coexist in Ionic. τοῖς is found early in the fifth century in Attika (C. I. A. I B 8)<sup>3</sup>.

Adjectives in -εος do not contract -εοῖς, e. g. χρυσέοις Olbia, Latyshev I No. 22<sub>1</sub> (*post Christum*).

<sup>1</sup> -οῖσι Greg. K. 2, Meerm. 663 (τοῖς ἀνθρώποισι), Joh. Gr. 239 B, 241 B, An. Ox. I 331<sub>1</sub>, An. Par. III 319<sub>1</sub>, Par. 681 = An. Bachm. II 370<sub>8</sub> (τοῖσι, τουτέοισι).

<sup>2</sup> The latest examples in Attic are Ἀθηναίοισιν C. I. A. 301 A 7 (434 B. C.), and ὄσοισιν C. I. A. II 570<sub>34</sub> (403 B. C.).

<sup>3</sup> In Attic inscriptions -οῖσι and -οῖς are found up to 444 B. C., after which the former disappears (see note 2). In C. I. A. I 2 (before 456) both forms are found upon the same inscription.



## 474.] Dative Plural (Lyric Poets).

As in the inscriptions, so in the lyric poets we find both *-οισι* and *-οις*. Cf. Renner, Curtius' *Studien* I 1, 208 ff., Fick, *B. B.* IX 207, XI 255 ff.

1. *-οισι*.

Archilochos: χαρτοῖσιν τε, κακοῖσιν ἀσχάλα 66<sub>6</sub> tetr., ἀστοῖσι 94<sub>4</sub> epod., ἀνηκέστοισι κακοῖσιν 9<sub>5</sub>, μύροισι 31, θεοῖσι 55, βοστρύχοισι 58, ἀμηχάνοισι 66<sub>1</sub>, δοκοῖσιν 66<sub>3</sub>, ἀνθρώποισι 70<sub>1</sub>, τοῖσι 74<sub>9</sub>, καθαροῖσιν 12<sub>2</sub>.

Simonides of Amorgos: ξείνοισιν 7<sub>19</sub>, θύννοισι, κωβιοῖσι 15, μύροισι 16<sub>1</sub>, ἀνθρώποισιν 1<sub>3</sub>, 7<sub>31</sub>, κάγαθοῖσιν 1<sub>10</sub>, πολλοῖσι 1<sub>16</sub>, βροτοῖσι 1<sub>21</sub>, τέκνοισιν 7<sub>31</sub>, ἐχθροῖσιν . . . φίλοισι 7<sub>36</sub>, βαρυκτύποισι 17<sub>40</sub>, ἀνθέμοισιν 7<sub>66</sub>, ἄλλοισι 7<sub>68</sub>, πορδακοῖσιν 21.

Hipponax: σησάμοισι 36<sub>2</sub>, τούτοισι 14<sub>1</sub>, κηρίοισιν 36<sub>3</sub>, κακοῖσι 43<sub>1</sub>, Λυδίοισιν ἐν χοροῖσι 91, τριοῖσι 51, Ταργηλίοισιν 37<sub>3</sub>, σπλάγχνοισιν 40, ἀλλήλοισιν 53, γνάθοισι 62 with the MSS. and Hiller (Bergk γνάθοις).

Mimnermos: ἵπποισιν τε 12<sub>3</sub>.

Herodas: ἱροῖσιν 49<sub>4</sub>, Ἀβδήροισιν 25<sub>8</sub>, τοῖσι προ[ῦ]νίκοισι 36<sub>5</sub>, τοῖς σφύροισι 56<sub>2</sub>, κακοῖσι 710<sub>4</sub>.

Anakreon: ἀστοῖσι 15<sub>2</sub>, ξένοισι 84, μηροῖσι 164 (Bergk μηροῖς).

Solon: ἀνθρώποισι 2<sub>3</sub>, 17, 38<sub>4</sub>, δεσμοῖσι τ' αἰκελίοισι δεθέντες 4<sub>25</sub>, ἀμφοτέροισιν 55, ἐχθροῖσι 13<sub>5</sub>, νούσοισιν 13<sub>61</sub>, ἀνέμοισι, ἀργαλείοισιν 13<sub>45</sub>, τοῖσι 13<sub>6</sub>, 48, 37<sub>3</sub>, θνητοῖσι 13<sub>63</sub>, 24<sub>7</sub>, Σολίοισι 19<sub>1</sub>, φίλοισιν 21<sub>1</sub>, ἐρατοῖσιν 25<sub>1</sub>, θεοῖσιν 35, ἐναντίοισιν 37<sub>2</sub>, φακοῖσι 38<sub>3</sub>.

Theognis: very often.

2. *-οις*.

To forms followed by a consonant I have appended the next word. Forms at end of verse are indicated by a |. The usual place of occurrence is in the middle and end of the pentameter, rarely the end of the hexameter.

Archilochos: ἀνθρώποις 62, δεινοῖς 65, θνητοῖς μελέτη 15 (some MSS. βροτοῖς). *-οις* is here in an hexameter, which is a cause for suspicion. Fick thinks that if πάντα βροτοῖσι πόνος is not correct the verse is not Archilocheian. θνητοῖς 70<sub>2</sub>, ὀκοῖοις 70<sub>3</sub> tetr., μηροῖς 72<sub>2</sub> tetr. (the verse is incomplete), τοῖς θεοῖς τίθει 56 tetr. (Ahrens τοῖσι θεοῖσι τίθετε, Renner's τοῖσι θεοῖς is objectionable), κακοῖς | 65 (κακῶς Fick).

Simonides of Amorgos: κακοῖς 12<sub>4</sub>, μύροισι 76<sub>4</sub>, δασκίοις 14, ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν 73<sub>2</sub>, δόμοις ἰδὼν 72<sub>3</sub> (no F), ἀπλύτοις τ' 7<sub>5</sub> (MSS. -τος, Meineke ἀπλύτοις' ἐν), ἀνθρώποις γέλως 77<sub>4</sub>, where Arsen. πᾶσιν ἀστοῖσι, τοιούτοις θυμόν 77<sub>0</sub> (Ahrens τοιούτον θυμόν with Ailian; Fick ejects the verse).

Hipponax: φαρμάκοις | tr. 8, in *AB* (φάρμακοι, conjectured by



Bergk, is adopted by Fick), ἐν γνάθοις κεκινέεται 62<sub>2</sub> (MSS. τοῖσι γνάθοισι, see Bergk *ad loc.*), σκιδράφοις 86.

Ananios : ἐν δόμοις πολλόν 3<sub>1</sub> trim. (ten Brink and Ahrens ἐν δόμῳ συχνόν, cf. Hippokr. II 22, 36; Suidas has χρυσὸς συχνὸς ἥγουν πολὺς).

Herodas : τοῖς τε 3<sub>20</sub>, τοῖς καμουῖσιν 5<sub>84</sub>, τοῖς σφύροις 5<sub>62</sub>, δικτύοις κείνται 3<sub>20</sub>, καλοῖς ἐπ' ἱροῖς ταῖσδε 4<sub>83</sub>, δέννοις εἰ (?) 7<sub>104</sub>, ἀνωγύμοις ταύταις 6<sub>14</sub>, ἀνθρώποις | 1<sub>46</sub>, 5<sub>15</sub>, Βρικινδήροις | 2<sub>57</sub>, ξείνοις | 2<sub>94</sub>.

Anakreon : Θαλυσίοις | 1<sub>3</sub>, καλοῖς | 6<sub>310</sub>, ὕμνοις | 6<sub>311</sub>, κεχρημένοις | 8<sub>42</sub>, ξείνοις, ἔασον 5<sub>7</sub>, πολυανθέμοις 6<sub>53</sub>, ξένοισι μειλιχίοις ἐοικότες 8<sub>4</sub>.

Mimnermos : τοῖς ἱκελοῖ 2<sub>3</sub> (ἱκελος has no *F* in the Ionic lyric), λυγροῖς | 7<sub>1</sub>, referred to Theognis (cf. 795) by Fick.

Xenophanes : ἐνφῆμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις | 1<sub>14</sub>, a noteworthy line because of the freer use of -οις in the second foot of the pentameter before a consonant (cf. Tyrt. 4<sub>6</sub>), πρὸς τοῖς | 7<sub>3</sub>.

Tyrtaios : μικροῖς κουριδίῃ 10<sub>6</sub>, ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ 10<sub>26</sub>, μεγάλοις βάλλετε χερμαδίοις | 11<sub>36</sub>.

Theognis : θεοῖς σπένδεις 490 (Evenos of Paros?). Fick suggests (*B. B. XIII* 173) θεῶ from an incorrect reading of ΘΕΟΙΣΠΙΕΝΔΕΙΣ, since ο denoted ω in the old Parian alphabet. -οις before a consonant in hexameters, a divergence from the usual earlier use, occurs in 145, 545, 653, 897, 1027.

The old epic poet Asios of Samos has μεγάροις τέκεν 2, καλοῖς | 13<sub>22</sub>, and δεσμοῖς | 13<sub>4</sub>. The Halikarnassian Panyassis has ἐσθλοῖς δέ 13<sub>14</sub>; θοοῖς διὰ 15.

Solon : before a vowel—τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι 4<sub>34</sub>, ἀδίκοις ἔργμασι 4<sub>11</sub>, 13<sub>12</sub> (Solon has no *F* here), τοῖς 5<sub>4</sub>, 13<sub>58</sub>, θνητοῖς 13<sub>16</sub>, 7<sub>4</sub>, φίλοις, ἐχθροῖσι 13<sub>5</sub>, αὐτοῖς 15<sub>2</sub>, ὀφθαλμοῖς 34<sub>2</sub> tetr.

Before a consonant—ἐν συνόδοις, τῆς ἄδικ' ἐστὶ φίλα 4<sub>22</sub>, where the MSS. have for the second part of the pentameter τοῖς ἀδικούσι φίλοις (Fick ἦσ'), τοῖσι νωτέροις, δρᾶσαι 37<sub>3</sub> trim. according to Bergk (the numerous conjectures all have -οις), μεγάλοις πᾶσιν 7 (referred by Fick to Theognis, cf. 799 ff.), μή τι θεοῖς τούτων 11<sub>2</sub> (τι om. Sitzler, Fick, who read θεοῖσι). At the verse end is found ἀστοῖς 10<sub>1</sub>.

We have seen above § 451 that the forms in -αις, though rare, are not to be rejected. The same holds good in the case of -οις.

In the later elegy -οις is very common. In Evenos, Kritias, Dionys. Chalkos, Plato, it usually occurs in the same place in the verse as in the earlier elegists. Plato 12<sub>3</sub> is, however, an exception (fifth part of the hexameter).

#### 475.] Dative Plural (Prose).

-οισι is found in Hekat. *e.g.* 135, 172, 173 (τοῖσι), Pherek.

Leros λίθοισιν (44); Herakleitos 114 has τοῖς and 11 Δελφοῖς before a vowel in each case.

Demokritos as handed down in Stobaios has -οισι in *e.g.* 10, 11, 13, 27, 168 (οῖσιν), 184 (τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοισι in Stob.), 193, 197, 202, 205, 213 (τοῖς χρηστοῖσιν), 215<sub>4</sub> (but τοῖς 215<sub>1</sub>), 236 (τοῖς πόνοισιν); 102, 122, 138 (Demokrates). The article generally appears in the shorter form, but Stobaios has τοῖσι in 13, 47 (relative), 193 (τοῖσιν ἀνοήτοισιν), 197, 158 (Demokrates).

In Charon of Lampsakos frag. 9 there are two cases of -οις before a vowel, one of τοῖς before a consonant. Protagoras has τοῖσι πολλοῖσι.

In Herodotos but few cases of -οις occur, and these are due to copyists' errors, *e.g.* αὐτοῖς in *C* I 86; the same form in Hekat. 175 (before a vowel in each case). τοῖσδε occurs III 36 in all MSS. In the same chapter τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπει where all the MSS. except *P C* have τοῖσδε, and *R* has τοῖς for τοῖσι. In VI 119 ἀγγεῖοις τὸ was formerly read, but is now dropped, being found only in *sz*.

In Hippokrates and Aretaios and in the imitators of Herodotos -οισι prevails though the MSS. vary constantly. *θ* has τοῖσδ' in Hippokr. VIII 50 (*v.l.* τοῖσδε, τοῖσιν δέ)<sup>1</sup>. Arrian's *Ind.* has four times as many cases of -οισι as of -οις. The *Vita Homeri* has on the other hand forty-one cases of -οις to two of -οισι. Lukian's *Vit. auct.* has τοῖς ἐκεῖ σοφοῖσι 3, but τοῖσδεσι τοῖσιν εἰρημένοισι 5. Of the -οις forms τοῖς is the one most common. On the relation of the inscriptional τοῖς to the τοῖσι of literature, see § 473, 2, and cf. Gomperz' *Apologie d. Heilkunst*, p. 189.

#### 476.] Accusative Plural.

βαρβαροῦς Teos 156 B 26-27 is noticeable from the fact that it is the only early inscription which has ΟΥ to express the spurious diphthong.

In the lyric poets we find οἰδαλέους Arch. 94.

In Hdt. we find ἀντιξόους VII 150 (-ους *A B' C d*, cf. δορυξός in Attic) and so VII 192; Demokr. 215 has ὁμονόους, Aretaios 279 has εὐρόους. ὁστέα Hdt. I 67, II 41, &c.

#### The 'Attic Declension' in Ionic.

477.] Forms of the so-called Attic declension occur sporadically even in Doric, *e.g.* upon an inscription from Kos we find τέλεως,

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τοῖσδεσσιν in *θ* in VIII 358, 268, 372, 308.



τέλεων, τέλεω<sup>1</sup>. In Ionic there is ample testimony to their presence.

Nouns formed from λεώς :

*Nomin.*: Ἀρκεσίλεως Styra 19<sub>15</sub>, Hdt. IV 160<sup>2</sup>, Ἀναξίλεως Miletos 93, Hdt. VI 23, Μενέλεως II 119 (*v. l.* -λεος II 116), Περίλεως IX 103, Στησίλεως VI 114, Χαρίλεως III 145, Thas. (L.) 4 B 6, Ἠγέλεως Keos 44 B 5, Κριτόλεως Smyrna 153<sup>24</sup>, Ἀρτυσίλεως Thas. 78 C 8, Φανόλεως Thas. (L.) 4 B 7, Κρατιστόλεως 6 B 2, Λυσίλεως 7 A 9, Πυθόλεως 10 B 3<sup>3</sup>.

*Genit.*: Φανόλεω Thasos 75 A 4, Thasos (L.) 8 B 12, cf. 15 C 6, Πρηξίλεω Thasos 75 A 7, Εὐρύλεω 78 C 4, Ἀναξίλεω Thasos 75 B 5, Ἀδίλεω Thasos (L.) 8<sub>10</sub>, Ἀριστόλεω Maroneia, Head, *H. N.* 216, Θερσέλεω Paros 60<sub>2</sub> (epigr.). In Hdt. Ἀρκεσίλεω IV 160, 161, Ἀρχέλεω VII 204, Ἀναξίλεω VIII 131, Ἠγησίλεω VII 204, VIII 131, Ἰππόλεω IV 53, Νικόλεω VII 134, Πρωτεσίλεω IX 116, Χαρίλεω VIII 131. Ion 1 has Ἐρμησίλεω.

*Dat.*: Μενέλεω Hdt. II 118, in a passage cited by Greg. Kor. (p. 469) as having -λάω; V 94 (Aldus -λάω), VII 169 where Wesseling's reading has been adopted by Holder (-λεω *R v s*, -λάου *A B*); λεῶ II 124 (λαω *R v s*, ἄλλωι *A B*).

*Accus.*: λεών Hekat. in An. Ox. I 265<sub>10</sub><sup>4</sup>, Zeleia 114 E 6, Hdt. I 22, VIII 136, II 129 (λεῶ *A B R*); in IV 148 all MSS. have λαόν, in V 42 λαόν *rz*, ληόν *reliqui*; Μενέλεων II 113, 118, Πρωτεσίλεων IX 116, Ἀρκεσίλεων IV 160. Νικόλαν VII 137 is not an Ionian. In the nom. pl. Hdt. V 68 has Ἀρχέλαοι.

The lyric poets are unacquainted with λεώς. Archil. 79 has Χαρίλαε, Ἰόλαος 119<sub>3</sub>, and the Homeric, but non-Ionic, λαός<sup>5</sup> occurs in the elegy Kallinos 1<sub>18</sub>, Xenoph. 2<sub>15</sub>, Tyrt. 11<sub>13</sub>, Theog. 53, 776, 781. See § 140, 4 and 160, where other instances of λαός, especially in proper names upon inscriptions, are cited. The progenitor of λεώς is ληός Hipponax 88 which however came into existence long before the sixth century.

Other forms in Hdt. of the 'Attic' declension are: Ἀθως VII 22, Μίνως I 171, πάτρως II 133, Νεκῶς II 158, Μανερῶς II 79, Ἰνάρως VII 7, Τέως I 142, Π 178; (Gen.) Ἀθω VII 22 (cf. Chandler, *Accent.* § 547), Μίνω I 171, Νεκῶ II 158, Ναθῶ II 165, ἄλω Hippokr. I 598; (Dat.) πάτρω VI 103, Τέω I 170; (Accus.) Ἀθων VI 44, Μίνων VII 171 (Lukian *Astr.* 20 Μίνω), πάτρων

<sup>1</sup> Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1890, 33.

<sup>2</sup> Homeric Ἀρκέσσος (*sic*) is the clip-name of this word.

<sup>3</sup> For Χίλεος Hdt. IX 9, Plutarch has Χείλεως. In many cases the MSS. of Hdt. have variants in -λεος; cf. Bredow, p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Σημειωτέον δὲ ὅτι οὐχ ἁπλῶς τὸν ὕχλον σημαίνει, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑποτεταγμένον· Ἐκαταῖος γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῦ Εὐρυσθέως λεῶν λέγει, καίτοι ἓνα ὄντα.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eust. Od. β 242 ἐκ τοῦ ληδὸς ὁ λαός (!) οὐ μέμνηται Ἡρακλείδης - - - οὐπω δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ Ὀμήρου ἐν χρήσει τὸ ληδὸς ὁ λαός. An. Ox. I 265 τὸ λαὸς ἀτρεπτος ἔμεινε παρ' Ὀμήρῳ, καίτοι τῇ μεταγενεστέρᾳ Ἰάδι τραπέν, ληόν Hipponax.



IV 76, IX 78, Νεκῶν II 152, Σαβακῶν II 137, 152, Τέων I 170, Τυφῶ III 5, but Τυφῶν II 156, Τυφῶνα II 144, βούκερων II 41; (Accus. pl.) δῖμνεως V 77 (accented -έως in the MSS.).

Hdt. has Κέον VIII 76 (τῆς Σαλαμίνης), but Κῶς I 144, Κῶ IX 76. On Μίνωος, see § 524. ἥρων is found Hdt. I 167<sup>1</sup> (also in Sophron), but ἥρωα II 143, VI 69, μῆτρωα IV 80.

ἱέρεως. With ἱέρεως Miletos 100<sub>4</sub> (of the fourth century), cf. Hdt. II 37 ἀρχιέρεως *ABC* corr., -ιερέως *Cpr*, ἀρχιερεύς in *Rdz* and -ιρεύς in *P*, Stein reading ἀρχιερεύς. Inasmuch as we have a genitive ἱέρεω in inscriptions from Milesian colonies (ἱέρεω Olbia 128<sub>23</sub>, 33, 59, and Tomoi 136<sub>12</sub>) this ἱέρεως upon an inscription of the metropolis is to be regarded as a nominative in -εως (Bechtel, *Nachrichten Gött. Gesell. Wiss.* 1886, No. 11, p. 378), and not as a mistake for ιερεύς as has been held. Herodian I 245<sub>12</sub>, Bekker An. 449<sub>31</sub>, 1197 recognize an Attic nom. ἱέρεως. Cf. ἀρχιέρεων Plato *Laws* XII 947 A. On ἱέρεως for ιερεύς as a special mark of the Milesian dialect, see § 11.

Dittenberger (*Syll.*, No. 376, note 4)<sup>2</sup> suggests that ἱέρεως was abstracted from ἀρχιέρεως which contains the stem -ιερην- enlarged by ο, -ιερηο becoming -ιερεω, as in the case of ἡμικτεων<ηφον, from ἐκτεύς, ὄρεωκόμος<ὄρηφο-. ἱρωσύνη occurs in Hdt. III 142. Bechtel *l. l.* holds that ιερέω is from \*ιερῆο (cf. Ἄρεω Archil. 48) the genitive of the nom. ιερῆς found in Arkado-Kyprian. To this genitive a new nominative ιερέως (thus accented) was eventually formed. The latter theory is correct only if the existence of an η declension, allied to that of ην, ευ and ες stems, can be proved<sup>3</sup>. The preferable explanation therefore is that of Dittenberger.

πλέως is found in the MSS. of Archil. 58 (Bergk πλέος, see § 478), ἱλεως Hrd. 4<sub>25</sub>, ἱλεω 4<sub>11</sub>.

478.] Some words in Ionic not inflected according to the 'Attic' declension.

λαγός and κάλος appear to be the Herodoteian forms for λαγώς, κάλωσ. The MSS. vary constantly as regards the former word. Hipponax 36 has λαγώς (acc. pl.), Meineke -ούς, Anan. 55 λαγῶν (gen. pl.); Homeric is λαγῳός<sup>4</sup>.

πλέος, πλέη, πλέον are the Herodoteian forms, found also in Ktesias. Archil. 58 has πλέως changed by Bergk. In Anakr. 94

<sup>1</sup> Schol. V on Il. XIII 428 ἥρων τινὲς Ἀττικῶς - - -.

<sup>2</sup> Also *Philol. Anzeiger* XVI 73, *Index lect. Hal.* 1889/90, p. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Doric Τιμοκρηῖν Telos in Cauer 169 C 3, Ἐρμοκρηῖν 169 C 5, 6 = Τιμοκρέων, &c. were formerly assumed to exemplify the reverse of a process by which \*ιερῆς became not only ιερέως, but also ιερῆς and ιερεύς.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. schol. on Nikand. *Alex.* 465: λαγῳῶν - - - - - καὶ Ἰππῶναξ μνημονεύει (frag. 123); also Anecd. Par. IV 245<sub>28</sub>: τὸ δὲ λαγῳός (Homeric) Ἰωνικόν ἐστὶ. Cf. Trypho frag. 13 (Velsen), Eust. 1821<sub>25</sub>, Renner in Curtius' *Stud.* I 1, 219. Fick, *B. B.* XI 268, Solmsen *K. Z.* XXIX 109.

(eleg.) we find πλέω. Once, in the *Odyssey* v 355, we meet with epic πλέον, in the same line with πλείη.

It has generally been assumed that the name of *Amphiaraos* was declined according to the Attic declension. In Hdt. there are however indications to the contrary. Ἀμφιάρεω Hekat. 340, Hdt. I 49, 92, III 91, but in VIII 134 R has -ρεος, Aldus -ραος: Ἀμφιάρεω I 52, Ἀμφιάρεων I 46 (but -ρεον Aldus, -ρηον Ae). In Oropos 18, we meet with Ἀμφιαράου<sup>1</sup> which is due to the influence of ἀράομαι. Wackernagel has shown (*K. Z.* XXVII 265) that the original form is \*Ἀμφιάρηφος, from which arose Attic Ἀμφιάρεως and Ionic Ἀμφιάρεος. Cf. Τυνδαρέου λ 298, ω 199, Πανδαρέου τ 518, υ 66<sup>2</sup> from \*Τυνδάρηφος. Hdt. II 112 has Τυνδάρω which is Attic like the forms of Ἀμφιάρεως above. Ἀρχηνάρεως quoted by Wackernagel from a Thasiote inscription (Thas. (L.) 4 B 2) is now read Ἀρχήναξ Τιμοπέι[θεος].

Stein adopts the forms ἀξιόχρεος IV 126, ἀξιοχρέου V 111, ἀξιόχρεον I 156, where several MSS. have -χρεως, -χρεω, -χρεων: ἀξιόχρεα V 65 makes it probable that he is correct though the evidence for -χρεως is strong. Hippokrates has ἀξιόχρεοι. Cf. Bredow, p. 137, Renner, p. 219. If ἀξιόχρεος is Herodoteian, ἴλεος may be so too, cf. § 139.

Adjectives derived from γῆ have -γαιος, not -γεως, e.g. ὑπόγαιος, κατὰγαιος, μεσόγαιος, βαθύγαιος in Hdt., μεσόγαιος Arrian 22. ξανθόγεως in Lukian *Syr. dea* 8 is not an Ionic formation. See Merzdorf, Curtius' *Stud.* IX 236. Compounds of ναός: αἰνῆαος Hdt. I 145, not αἰνῶς, αἰνῆαον I 93. Hdt. has νηός<sup>3</sup> I 183, VI 19. ναόν in Ionic inscriptions, Priene 142 (334 B.C.), and Phanagoreia 165 (latter half of fourth century). After 250 B.C. we find in Attic inscriptions ναός: before that date in prose monuments νεός. In νεωποίας Eph. 147<sub>15</sub>, Halik. 240<sub>6</sub>, νεωποιήσαντες Samos 222, νεωκόρον Orop. 18<sub>41</sub> we have the latter form. ναῶι occurs in the Delian register, *B. C. H.* VI 29 (1), dating from the second century: ναοῦ VI 53 (236), but νεωκορίωι VI 53 (235-6).

#### 479.] Other forms, chiefly of the O Declension.

δένδρον in Hdt. I 193, III 107, δένδρεον<sup>4</sup> IV 22, 23, but δένδρος accus. VI 79, δένδρεσι II 138, δένδρεα I 17, 193, Hekat. 173, δένδρεων I 202, II 32. In Hippokr. VII 516, 518, 526, 528 we meet with forms of the O declension, but δένδρει 526, δένδρεσι 528. In the pseudo-Hippocratic ep. 13<sub>5</sub> δένδρα (δένδρεα sec. man.). Lukian *Syr. dea* 49 δένδρεων, Arrian 7, 11 (-εῖ), 22,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ἀμφιάραος upon Attic vases *K. Z.* XXIX 416; cf. C. I. A. II 162 C 21; 471, 27, 70.

<sup>2</sup> Βριάρεων A 403 is changed by Wackernagel to -εων. Especially noteworthy is Βριάρηο in Ibykos 45.

<sup>3</sup> νηόν Tzetzes Ex. II. 97<sub>18</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Greg. Kor. p. 61, Eust. on Γ 152.



27, 32 δένδρεα and δενδρέων. In an inscription from Keos we have δένδρα ἡμερα, whereas Hdt. IV 21 has ἡμέρων δενδρέων, cf. VIII 115. The stem δενδρυ- (Attic δένδρει, δένδρεσι) has in New Ionic succumbed to the influence of the sigmatic stem, which in Attic generated δένδρη (δένδρα).

δάκρυν Hdt. II 96; δάκρυ sometimes in Homer.

φυλακός<sup>1</sup> Ω 566 and so almost always in Hdt. φυλακόν in a metrical inscription 141<sub>5</sub>, which however for other reasons is not evidence for the dialect. On the forms from φύλαξ, see § 549.

υῖός in Hdt. has υῑοῦ, &c., except υῑέας IV 84. The inscriptions know no other inflection than that in ο. Simonides of Keos (249) is said to have used a nom. υῑς; but cf. Hdn. on E 266.

πολλός and πολύς. Hdt. adopts the former form with scarcely an exception (πολύν II 121 δ, III 57, πολύ VI 72, and adverbial πολύ III 38, VII 46, 160). πουλύς πουλύ have no support worth mentioning in the MSS. of Hdt. In compounds Hdt. has πολυ-. Herakleitos and Demokritos have πολλός: πολύ in Herakleitos 91 is a conjecture. In the poets πολλός is well attested. Lukian<sup>2</sup> and Arrian follow well in the wake of Herodotos, except in five passages where πολύ has forced its way in: *Syr.* 3, *Ind.* 4, 8, 29, 40. The *Vita Homeri* has πολλόν 5, 16, 17, πολύ 5, 21, 33, 34. The medical writers pursue an eclectic course: Aretaios has πολλόν 17 times in books I and II, πολύ 11 times, πολύς once, πουλύ 2, πουλύς 12, πουλύν 2 in the later books. In Hippokrates the proportions are somewhat different<sup>3</sup>, and lead one to the conclusion that an original πολλός had been buried by successive deposits of epic and Attic forms. On the form πουλύς, see § 254.

### *Consonantal Declension.*

480.] In the dative plural Ionic never has -οις, or -εσσι from non-sigmatic stems. Hence δαιτυμόνεσσι Hdt. VI 57 (in A B cannot be correct. Stein reads -εσι. Such forms in -εσσι in Homer are Aiolic. τοῖσδεσσι in the Hippokratic phrase πρὸς τοῖσδεσσι: § 475.

The hyper-Ionic genitive pl. in -εων contains an ε which may be explained in part as due to the influence of such forms as

<sup>1</sup> Aiolic, Greg. Kor. § 17; Ionic, schol. Apoll. Rh. I 132; generally accented φυλακος, above § 123.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lindemann, *De dial. Ion. recentiore*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes when the vulgate has ου, better MSS. have the form with ο. So in VI 358 θ has πολύς. Littré even reads πουλλοῖσιν II 650, where many MSS. have πολλὰ; cf. II 692.



θεμιστέων Hsd. *Theog.* 235, γεροντέων Hdn. II 229<sub>9</sub>, and partly to the belief in the predilection of Ionic for an open εω.

Examples of this parasitic -εων are: ἀλωπεκέων Hdt. III 102 (A B C), II 67 (C) from ἀλώπηξ Archil. 86, ἀλώπεκος Sim. Am. 7<sub>7</sub>, Solon 11<sub>5</sub>. Ananios has ἀλωπήκων in fr. 5<sub>5</sub>, according to Hermann, the MSS. having ἀλωπέκων which is in violation of the metre (tetram. scazon). Frag. 5 has other strange forms (*e.g.* ἐσθίειν). ἀλωπήκεσσι occurs in Oppian. The edition of Aldus preferred χηνέων II 45, where it is certainly not adjectival. ἀνδρέων VII 187 is without any MS. authority. On μυριαδέων VII 187 (C d), χιλιάδων VII 103 (C d), see § 74, 2. Hippokrates has ἀνδρέων, μηνέων, ρινέων, φλεβέων, χειρέων, Luk. *Astr.* 5 μηνέων.

Hippokr. has τὸ πάθος and ἡ πάθη, τὸ πλάδος, φρίξ (also Hom.) and φρίκη.

### Stems in Iota.

#### 481.] Terminations:

ις	ιες (ις)
ιος, εος, εως	ιων
ι, ει	ισι
ιν	ις, ιας
ι	ιες.

Testimony of the grammarians. 1. *Genitive* -ιος: Joh. Gr. 240, Hdn. II 61<sub>426</sub> (Choir. 455<sub>9</sub>), Gramm. Meerm. § 10, An. Ox. I 358<sub>15</sub>, 361<sub>21</sub>, schol. Ven. A on Γ 219, cf. on Ψ 500, the interlinear schol. Ven. A on A 214, An. Par. III 216<sub>11</sub>, III 295<sub>30</sub> (τὰ εἰς ις ὀξύτονα οὐ γίνονται παρὰ τοῖς Ἰωσι κατὰ ἀποβολὴν τοῦ δ . . . κνημῖος, ἀσπίος ὡς Πάριος, Θέτιος). On Θέτιος<sup>1</sup> and Πάριος, cf. also Theod. 91<sub>6</sub>, schol. Ven. A on Ψ 500, Hdn. II 61<sub>426</sub> (Choir. 455<sub>8</sub>), II 700<sub>3</sub> (Choir. 189<sub>4</sub>), II 760<sub>15</sub>, 17, &c. (Choir. 353<sub>32</sub>), II 249<sub>1</sub> (Choir. 410<sub>21</sub>, Et. M. 460<sub>2</sub>), Et. Gud. 260<sub>28</sub>. But Θέμιδος is Ionic, Hdn. II 700<sub>17</sub> (Choir. 189<sub>22</sub>). See also on -ιος, Hdn. II 406<sub>7</sub> = 702<sub>12</sub>, 544<sub>22</sub>, 577<sub>13</sub>, 885<sub>25</sub>, Et. Gud. 474<sub>48</sub>.

-εος: Greg. Kor. § 21 ὄφεος, μάντεος, and πόλεος, which form is quoted from Euripides' *Orestes*: τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγειν ὄφιος, πόλιος κοινόν, τὸ δὲ ὄφεως καὶ πόλεως . . . Ἀττικόν. Ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τῷ κοινῷ χρῶνται (Ἰωνες), καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα, ὡς Ὅμηρος (ἐξ ἀγροῦ νόσφι πόλιος). Cf. Hdn. II 767<sub>7</sub>, 18 (Choir. 373<sub>17</sub>), but in II 701<sub>18</sub> (Choir. 194<sub>16</sub>) -εος is restricted to Attic from which the Euripideian πόλεος, ὄφεος are cited, and in II 432<sub>30</sub> ὄφιος is stated to be Κοινή, ὄφεος Attic. It is peculiar, and perhaps not in accordance with the general procedure of Herodian, that a form should be stated to have undergone a dialectal πάθος and at the same time be regarded as Κοινή. ὄφεος is called Ionic by a scholiast on Hesiod, *W. D.* 414 = 412 (Gaisf. p. 266), πόλεος by Diakonos on the *Aspis* 285.

-εως Gram. Vatic. p. 696.

-ηος An. Ox. I 361<sub>25</sub>.

2. *Dative* -ι: Θέτι schol. Ven. A on Ψ 500.

-εῖ schol. Ven. A on Γ 219.

<sup>1</sup> Θέτιδος Erythr. 206 B 27.

3. *Nom. Pl.* : ὄφῖς Greg. Kor. p. 475, πόλις, φύσις Apoll. *Pron.* 94<sub>12</sub> (Schn.), cf. Hdn. II 578<sub>28</sub> where πόλις, ὄφῖς and Σάρδεις are not referred to Ionic. A grammatical treatise cited Greg. Kor. *l.l.* has οἷς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἷες. These forms are like the Aiolic, Boiotian and Herakl. τρῖς, Alkman's ὄρνῖς, and Attic ἄρκυς, merely accusatives that have usurped the place of the nominative.

4. *Accus. Pl. -ῖς* : Choir. 86<sub>110</sub>, μάντις, ὄφῖς.

### 482.] Interrelation of stems in ῖ and in ῑ.

This declension comprises the two types (1) -ῖς, -ῖ-ος, and (2) rarely in Ionic, πόλις, φύσις, πόλειος, φύσειος = -εος. All the dialects, except Attic, adopted the forms of the first type which carry ῖ through all cases, *i. e.* both those in which the termination begins with a vowel (πόλι-ος, πολίων), and in those where ῑ would properly appear, *e. g.* locative plural. The latter forms have ῖ due to the influence of the second type. See § 484. Brugmann thinks that the inflection πόλις, πόλειος was an inheritance of Greek from primitive times. Since πόλειος did not suffer contraction, its open ending, though apparently the direct descendant of πόλει-ος, has been referred to the influence of -εφ-ος. See Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 302.

The locative in -ῖ is either the result of the contraction of ῖ + ῖ or πόλιῖ contains an I.E. -ῖ. The -ῖ form is from -ῖῑ + ῖ or from ῖ + ῖ. In either case -ῖῑ or ῖ was the stem ending of the locative.

*Nom. pl. -ιες* is the form of an ῑ stem, -εις that of an ῖ stem. The *nom. pl.* in -ῖς is the *accus.* used as a *nom.* Cf. Attic οἱ ἰχθῦς, αἱ κάχρυς, ἐγγέλῦς.

*Gen. Pl. -ίων* from ῖ-ων, derived from an -ῖ stem.

*Dat. Pl. -εσι* (Homeric, Attic, Arkadian) owes its existence to the ε of the *pl. -εις, -εων*, which gave the impulse to abandon the form with ι (-σι). The ε of -εων came from that of the strong case forms.

The ancients (cf. § 481) did not commit the error, still appearing in some modern books, of supposing that -ῖς is from -ιας. πόλιας is from πολυ-ας, the *accus.* of an -ῖ stem; πόλις is from πολῖ-ν-ς, cf. Homeric ῖς.

### 483.] Sub-dialectal division.

1. In the inscriptions there is noticeable a difference between the genitive in the Ionic of Euboea and that of the Kyklades and Asia Minor. In Euboea we find the genitive in -ιδος in the case of proper names whose second part consists of an -ι stem : Δημοχάριδος Kyme 3<sup>1</sup>.

In Attic inscriptions we find -ιδος (and -ιδι) in masculine proper names, *e. g.* Ἀδώνιδος C. I. A. I 324 C, II 36 (408 B. C.), Εὐπόλιδος C. I. A. II 413<sub>24</sub> (200–197 B. C.), Εὐχάριδος C. I. A. II 809 C 191 (325 B. C.), Καλλιθέμιδος C. I. A. II 470, 93, II (69–62 B. C.)<sup>2</sup>.

The occurrences of -ιδος upon inscriptions of the Kyklades (Delos, No. 55 : Ἀναξιθέμιδος VII 8, Τιμοθέμιδος<sup>3</sup> V 10; also

<sup>1</sup> This form is found C. I. G. 2911<sub>10, 11</sub> in a Magnesian inscription.

<sup>2</sup> But cf. Σώτιος in Ditt. *Syll.* 423<sub>3</sub> (320 B. C.), and Κερτιπόριος C. I. A. II add. 66 B 22 (356 B. C.). The latter form reappears in Thasos 86.

<sup>3</sup> Θέμιδος Ionic, Θέμιτος Doric, accord. to Hdn. II 700<sub>17</sub>.

in the hypocoristic names Ἀλέξιδος IV 10, Φίλλιδος V 8, Θέρσιδος VII 12, and in No. 56<sub>70</sub> Ἀναξιθέμιδος), and of the Asiatic mainland (Erythrai Φαννοθέμιδος 206 A 28, B<sub>7</sub>, Φανοπόλιδος 206 C 19) savour of Atticism, the inscriptions in question dating from the second and third centuries before Christ. In Samos 220<sub>39</sub> we find a feminine Εὐαγγελίδος.

Otherwise -ιος is the invariable termination in the Ionic of the Kyklades and of Asia Minor. ἐλπίς and ὄρνις are dental stems as in Attic.

### 1. *The Kyklades.*

Thasos λύσιος 72<sub>12</sub>, Φανοπόλιος 75 B 9 and Th. (L.) 6 C 12, and seventeen other instances of -ιος in Bechtel's collection of Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre, Νύμφιος Thasos 78 C 7, Σχησιπόλιος 82 A 4, Ἠγησιπόλιος 76 (and Perinthos 233), even Ἀναξιθέμιος Delos 55, IV 11, and also in the hypocoristic names Μέννιος 55 VIII 10, Κρίττιος 56<sub>142, 154, 180</sub>, Φίλλιος 56<sub>19, 53, 97, 133</sub>, Ἀλέξιος 56<sub>36</sub> (and Akanthos 90), Μνήσιος 56<sub>141, 154</sub> (also Olbia 131<sub>16</sub>).

### 2. *Asia Minor and islands colonized from the Asiatic mainland.*

Πρωτοχάριος Samos 210, Ἀναξιπόλιος(s) Abdera 163<sub>14</sub>, Ἀπολλοθέμιος Kyzik. 110, Εὐξιθέμιος Maroneia 196<sub>8</sub>, Φιλοθέμιος Amorg. 231<sub>3</sub>, Ἠγεπόλι[ο]ς Chios 174 C 14, Εὐπόλιος Maron. 196<sub>9</sub> (cf. Head *H. N.* 216), Κλεοπόλιος 196<sub>12</sub><sup>1</sup>, Φείδιος Amorg. 231, Π]όμπιος(?) Samos 214, Κλείσιος Miletos 98, Βρνάξιος Iasos 104<sub>17</sub>, *J. H. S.* IX 341, No. 3, πανηγύριος Mylasa 248 C 5, even in πράξιος (with *ā*) Myl. 248 C 10, and in many other names. Even Karian names receive Ionic inflection; Ὁατάτιος Halik. 238<sub>6</sub>, Λυ[γδά]μιος 238<sub>11</sub>, cf. Hdt. VII 99, Παννάτιος 238<sub>16</sub><sup>2</sup>. In Latyschev, vol. II, we find Σώσιος 377, Καυκάσιος 9 (metr.), Δέρκιος 23, Κόλλιος 246, 68 (cf. 379) not Κόλακος as Bechtel reads in his No. 121, Αὐάσιος 97, Συτέσιος 135 (Roman), Ἀλδιος 206, Κινώλιος 226, Γόρδιος p. 312.

### 484.] Genitive Singular in -ιος.

Upon the inscriptions we find -ιος except in the few cases mentioned in § 483. Upon the ancient Ionic papyrus (*Philol.* XLI 746) we find Ὁσεράπιος, Δαμάσιος.

*In the Lyric poets.*

Archil. Σίριος tr. 21<sub>4</sub>, Mimn. βάξιος 16<sub>1</sub>, ὕβριος 9<sub>4</sub>, Solon ὕβριος 48, 13<sub>11</sub>, Theognis ὕβριος 40, 1174, πίστιος 1244 (*Ἀπίστεως*), πόσιος 115, 479, 837, 844 (cf. the name Πόσιος (gen.), Olbia 128<sub>155</sub>, 131<sub>5</sub>, *Jahrb. Suppl.* vol. IV 472, No. 36, V 486,

<sup>1</sup> There is but one exception in -πόλιδος: Φανοπόλιδος Eryth. 206 C 19, an Atticized document; cf. Φανοπόλιος Thasos 75 B 9.

<sup>2</sup> Κουλδίδος Halik. 240<sub>55</sub>, Ἰμβράσσιδος 240<sub>57</sub>, cf. 58, Κυογρίσσιδι 240<sub>9</sub>, Σαλμακίδι 240<sub>11, 24</sub>, are -δ- stems.



No. 46, &c., Phanagor. 165, 168), στάσιος 1082, &c., φύσιος Eurip. frag. 902 Dind. (cf. φύσεως Kritias 6), ὄσιος by conj. Anan. 56. This word never shows a stem οἰει- in any dialect. Perhaps also in λιός from λῆς = λέων, Hipponax 124. The possession of this word by Ionic is interesting as it was in the inflection of λῆς, κῆς, λιός, κιός, that Ionic (as other dialects except Attic) found the model for πόλις πόλιος. See Brugmann, *Grundr.* II § 109, note 1 and above § 482. Herodas has Μάνδριος 168, πόλιος 28, 29, 31.

### Prose.

In Herodotos -ιος is to be everywhere adopted though the MSS. have sometimes (1) -εος, *e.g.* πόλεος III 54 in R and often in the Aldine edition (z), and (2) -εως, *e.g.* προκλήσεως V 1 in P d (here z has -εος). Hdt. prefers -ιος in Θέμιος, Τομύριος, Ὀσίριος. In other Ionic prosaists: Hekat. 202 δύσιος, Anaxag. 6 περιχωρήσιος, Diogen. νοήσιος 4, 6, ἑτεροιώσιος 6 (all attested by Simplicius), Demokr. *Mor.* φύσιος, καταστάσιος 184, τέρψιος 20, κτήσιος 41, ξυνέσιος 58, πρήξιος 89, Pherek. Leros ὄφιος 44. Among the pseudo-Ionists the -ιος form is more frequent, though the MSS. vary constantly. In the *Dea Syria* -ιος is universal, in Arrian 184 we meet with Ἀμφιπόλεως. The *Vita Homeri* has eight cases of -ιος to two of -εως. καππάριος, but πεπέρεος, or -εως Hippokr. VII 150, σεσέλιος VIII 448, VI 448 (*v.l.* -εως), cf. Hdn. II 646<sub>33</sub>, 767<sub>7</sub>. Hippokrates usually has -ιος in Greek words. In VIII 372 θ has κομμέως, other MSS. -εως, -εος, -ιος; cf. § 546.

Thukydides often uses an Ionic genitive in proper names, *e.g.* Ἀφύτιος I 64, Γοάξιος IV 107, Κνίδιος V 51; Λυγδάμιος, Ἀθ. πολ. 15, 2, Ἴριος Xen. *Anab.* VI 2, 1, Ἀναχάρσιος Plato *Rep.* 600 A. In inscriptions -ιος appears occasionally as in Ἀντιστάσιος C. I. A. I 489. Also in nouns not proper names: μήνιος *Rep.* 390 E, τύρσιος *Anab.* VII 8, 12, τίγριος Arist. *H. A.* 607 A 4, Theophr. *H. Pl.* V 4, 7. In *Agam.* 942 δήριος.

### 485.]

πρυτάνεως upon an inscription (No. 144) from the territory of the Panionion, from about 350 B. C., is shown to be Attic not Ionic from the occurrence of Πρυτάνιος Olbia 131<sub>3</sub>, *Mélanges Grec. Rom.* II 22, No. 30, *Jahrb. Suppl.* vol. V 487, No. 47, X 29, No. 21 and Smyrna 153<sub>7</sub>; cf. also πρυτανίων Halik. 242. Upon a Chian inscription *B. P. W.* 1889, No. 38, p. 1194 πρυτάνεος.

The genitive singular in -ιος was only displaced after stubborn resistance. It is retained oftentimes when -εω and -κλεῦς have given way, *e.g.* Smyrna 153<sub>36</sub> Μοίριος, but Διοσκούριδου<sub>33</sub>, Μενεκλέους<sub>18</sub>.

### 486.] Inflection of πόλις (genitive).

1. πόλιος Paros 63, and other forms § 483-4, also Dittenb. *Syll.* 190<sub>5</sub>, an inscription engraved by a North-Greek. This form

occurs in the MSS. Hipponax tr. 47 where Bergk reads πόλῆος, and in literary prose. πόλιος in Hdt., who has ἑξαπόλιος I 144.

2. πόλῆος, Ionic An. Ox. I 361<sub>25</sub>, is Homeric and occurs in Theog. 757. In Hippon. 47 it is a conjecture. See below on πόλεος.

3. πόλεως (ΠΟΛΕΩΞ) is surely Ionic on the evidence of Chios 174 A 13, B 12, an inscription of the fifth century, free from all trace of Attic ingressions. All other forms upon inscriptions fall in a period when Attic influence will account for their presence:—Mylasa 248 A 7 (367–66 B.C.), Erythrai 202<sub>6</sub> (about 356 B.C.), Zeleia 114 A B D E (after 334 B.C.), Samos 221<sub>22</sub> (after 322 B.C.), Thasos 72<sub>4</sub> (250–200 B.C.), Teos 158<sub>22</sub> (almost entirely Attic), Iasos 105<sub>3</sub> (late), Olbia 129<sub>13</sub> (period of the empire). In a fragment of Xenophanes in trimeters (p. 116 B<sup>4</sup>) this form occurs in the MSS., and was so read by Hartung and Meineke, whereas Bergk adopts πόλεος. Xenophanes has πόλεως in his elegies 2<sub>9</sub>, 22 (Schneid. -ιος). This form is now ejected from Homer A 168.

In Theognis 1043 A has πόλεως, which Renner (p. 223) thinks ought to give place to πόλεος. But A has -εως elsewhere where -εος is not to be restored, e.g. πίστεως for πίστιος. Bergk reads πόλεως. πόλεως in Hekat. 352, a fragment of Attic texture.

The appearance of πόλεως in Xenophanes sets aside the claim that the form belongs to the dialect of Chios-Erythrai (§ 12)<sup>1</sup>. The ancestor of πόλεως is the Homeric πόλῆος<sup>2</sup>, which was formed by analogy to πόλῆ-ι, a form containing the original locative \*πόλῆ + the locative sign ι. πόλεως has not borrowed its ending from νομέως, nor its accent from φύσεος, as has been supposed.

4. πόλει(ω)s Zeleia 113<sub>19</sub> and in the non-Ionic metrical inscription from Priene, No. 141 (Kaibel πόλει ὥς). The inscription No. 113 dates from a period which corresponds to that in which ε becomes ει before a vowel (§ 220) in Attic (350–300 B.C.). Le Bas regards both πόλει(ι)ως and θε(ι)όν in 141 as genuine Ionisms. But see Dittenberger, *Hermes* XVII 40, 41.

5. πόλεος Oropos 18<sub>41</sub> (about 400 B.C.). Whether ΠΟΛΕΟΞ in an inscription from Arkesine (Rob. I 160 C, Bechtel 32) dating somewhere about 500 B.C., is to be transcribed πόλεος or πόλῆος is not certain. Since πόλεως occurs in Chios in the fifth century, and since πόλῆος in Hipponax is nothing more than a conjecture, the latter form would seem to have but scant foothold. In πόλῆας in Abdera 162<sub>2</sub>, even if the H represents η and not ε, it must be scanned short. On the other hand the

<sup>1</sup> Karsten, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII 266, Schmidt, *ibid.* 297, Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 154.



Attic form *πόλη*, held by Meisterhans, p. 108, to be genuine and not an orthographical variation of *πόλει*, shows that the *η* forms did not entirely die out. If the form *πόλη* Iasos 104<sub>3</sub> is genuine Ionic, it is difficult to gainsay the existence of a post-Homeric Ionic *πόλος*. The dialect has however in its later period a greater fondness for *η* than for *ηο*. Upon late inscriptions *πόλος* stands for *πόλεως*, as *βασιλέος* for *-έως*<sup>1</sup>.

*πόλος* is found in Theognis 56 (4); *πόλεως* 776, and 1043 (MSS. *πόλεως*). These two verses have been branded as spurious by some. According to Renner (pp. 221, 223), *-εος* is not found in the lyric poets except when we read *-εος* as in Homer. Thus B 811, Φ 567 *πόλεος* is preferable to *πόλιος*<sup>2</sup>. *πόλος* in Anakt. 72 is Bergk's conjecture for *πόλεως* (Schneidewin *πόλιος*); cf. *Septem* 181 (ch.) where a similar correction is necessary. *πόλος* occurs in *Agam.* 1167 (lyr.), *Antig.* 162, *Orestes* 897.

### *Dative Singular.*

Three forms occur (1) *-ι*, (2) *-ει* and (3) *-ηι*.

#### 487.] Dative in *-ι*.

The only example of an inscriptional form is χ]ύσι Keos 43<sub>31</sub> (latter part of the fifth century).

Anakreon 14<sub>3</sub> has *νήνι* from *νεήνις*, Aristoph. has *ἀρχηγέτι* *Lysistr.* 642 (lyr.). In Herodotos Stein has adopted as the uniform ending *-ι*, even where the MSS. have *-ει* exclusively or in great part; e.g. *δυνάμι* I 192 and IV 155 (cf. *δυνάμει* Teos 156 B 31), *ἀριθμήσι* II 143, *ποιήσι* II 82, *ἐκποιήσι* III 109, *συνοικήσι* I 196, *καταστάσι* II 173, *Θέτι* VII 191, cf. *Θέτιδος* Eryth. 206 B 27, and Θ 370. *ἄπολις* has *ἀπόλι* VIII 61.

Hippokrates has, according to Renner, some thirty passages with *-ι*. Littré reads *-ει*, e.g. in *φύσει* II 56, *κύστει* II 268, *Φάσει* II 66 (*Φάσι* Hdt. II 103). Renner quotes Ermerins' *ἐψήσι* I p. 293 = II 246 L, *καθάρσι* Erm. p. 109, No. 568 = V 710, *ὑποστάσι* Erm. p. 111, No. 578 = V 714. Littré gives no variants *-ι* here.

Demokritos has *συνέσι* 135 which enables us to correct Stobaios' *φρονήσει* 14 and *κτήσει* 185, where Mullach has the strange form *κτήσι*. In many cases *-ει* is found in the MSS. of authors quoting early Ionic writers, e.g. *πόλει* Hekat. 202 (Strabo),

<sup>1</sup> *πόλος* Latyshev I 41, 58, 61, 82, 89 (Olbia), cf. Attic *βασιλέος* C. I. A. III 553, 2 (first century B. C.). *-εος*, which appears in a few other late inscriptions in Latyshev II (53<sub>18, 20</sub>, 78, 223, 402<sub>52</sub>), was called Ionic by the grammarians because of its (possible) appearance in Homer. That it is Attic and *Κοινή* is certain. Early occurrences are probably derived from *-ις*, *-εως* (§ 482).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 301.



Hellan. 150 (Athen.), ποιήσει Ion 1. Simplicius has φύσει in citing Diog. Apoll. 2, where Mullach reads φύσει, misled by an erroneous pre-conception of the nature of the dialect.

Xenophon, *Anab.* VII 3, 32 has μαγάδι, cf. Anakr. 18 μάγαδιν in MSS. (Bergk -δην).

#### 488.] Dative in -ει.

δυνάμει in Teos 156 B 31, an inscription of the fifth century and free from Atticism. Other inscriptions with -ει may owe this form to Attic influence: πόλει Halik. 240<sub>33</sub>, 37 (early part of the fourth century, but fifth century according to Dittenberger<sup>1</sup>), Eretria 157 (410-390 B. C., perhaps πόληι), Thasos 72<sub>14</sub> (300-250 B. C.), Teos 158<sub>17</sub> (cf. παρευρέσει 158<sub>8</sub>) an inscription full of Atticisms, Zeleia 113<sub>15</sub> (after 334 B. C.); Σανέργει Phanag. 167, βάσει Olbia 129<sub>12</sub> (period of the empire), and πόλει in an epigram Amorgos 34.

The dat. in -ει has been regarded by Erman and Karsten as a mint-mark of the dialect of Teos, § 12.

In the lyric poets we find -ει. Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>86</sub> πόσει<sup>2</sup>, Tyr. 4<sub>8</sub>, 10 πόλει, Xen. 2<sub>20</sub> πόλει, Phokyl. 12 πόλει, Theog. 52, 287 πόλει, προφάσει 323, πίστει 831, Solon 4<sub>17</sub>, 32 πόλει. βακκάρει is edited in Sim. Amorg. 16<sub>2</sub> and Hipponax tr. 41, though the MSS. in both passages have also βακκάρει.

The imitators of Herodotos who generally prefer -ιος, nevertheless adopt -ει with scarcely a variation, e.g. Lukian, *l. S.* 60, Arrian 18<sub>10</sub>. Dindorf overshoots the mark with his πόλι (cf. *l. S.* 1, 10, 13, 21, 22, &c.). Philip of Pergamum has the Attic παρατηρήσει *B. C. H.* II 273.

To what extent the termination -ει deserves a place in Ionic prose cannot be determined. That such a form was possible is evident from the Teian δυνάμει. All we can say is that the MSS. speak in favour of the adoption of the -ι form.

#### 489.] Dative in -ηϊ, -ηι.

πόληι Iasos 104<sub>3</sub> before 350 B. C. may be Attic, cf. C. I. A. II 25<sub>10</sub> and II 42<sub>7</sub> (both before 376 B. C.), and even before 410 B. C. in C. I. A. IV 51, F 24. π]όλει in Eretria 157 (410-390 B. C.) may stand for πόληι. Since the preceding TEI is τεϊ, πόλει is however the preferable transcription<sup>3</sup>.

Trisyllabic πόληϊ occurs in Tyr. 12<sub>15</sub>. So by imitation of the epic (Γ 50) form, upon a metrical inscription from Epidauros 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1885, 65/6, line 71.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Zeitsch. f. Gymn.-wesen* XXVIII 114, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> This form, as all others in -ει, is regarded as doubtful by Renner on the specious ground that the language of the iambographic poets should correspond to that of the Ionic prose writers. Our inscriptions however offer examples enough of -ει.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. τεϊ βουλει C. I. A. II 50<sub>3</sub> (372 B. C.).

## 490.]

*νήστις* in Hippokrates varies between *νήστιδι*, *νήστι* and *νήσται*. The *-ι* form is found in *θ* and *C* VII 382, in *θ* VII 400, that in *-ει* is the vulgate reading VII 382, 402, and *-ιδι* occurs in *θ C* VII 352, in *C* VII 400, in *θ* VII 402. Sim. Amorg. has a by-form *νήστης* 38, which is also *κοινή*.

In the *Peace* 930, *ὄϊ* is called an *Ἰωνικὸν ῥήμα*. This form occurs in Aristotle, who has also *οἶλ*.

## 491.] Accusative Singular.

*Ἄρτεμιν* Zeleia 113<sub>32</sub>; *οῖν* Thasos 68 A 2, not *ὄιν*, since *οφι* is generally contracted to *οι* even in the iambographic poets. *πόλιν* Archil. 46, Tyr. 10<sub>3</sub>, Mimm. 11<sub>5</sub>, &c. Herodotos *ἄπολιν* VII 104, &c. *μήνιν*<sup>1</sup> VII 137. Hipponax 115 has *θεῦτιν* = *τενθίδα*. Herodas *Πάριν* 13<sub>4</sub>, *Μάνδριν* 177. Hdt. has *Ἄρτεμιν*, *Μαιήτιν*, *Φθιώτιν*, *Ἰστιαιώτιν*, *Θεσσαλιώτιν*, *Τάναϊν*: *χάριν*, *ὄρνιν*, forms not declined as *iota* stems in other case-forms. On *Ἀρτέμιδος*, cf. § 546.

## 492.] Vocative Singular.

*Ἄρτεμι* Paros epigr. 60, Theog. 11, *Λεύκασπι* Anakr. 18<sub>2</sub>, *Γύλλι* Herodas 167.

## 493.] Nominative Plural.

*πρυτάνεις* Iasos 104<sub>12</sub>, *διασυστάσεις* Eryth. 206 A 36 with the Attic termination. No case of *-ιες* comes to light. In the lyric poets we have the genuine Ionic *-ιες*: Theog. *στάσιες* 51, *πρήξιες* 1026, *ἔδριες* 499; Sim. K. 84<sub>2</sub> *ἔδριες*. *δόσεις* is found in Theognis 444 where Renner reads *δόσις*. The inflection *δόσις* \**δόσει-ες* is pre-Hellenic, as is seen in *τρεις* in Ananios 32, where it is used as an accusative.

In Herodotos we have *-ιες* (Bredow, pp. 263, 266), though the MSS. have *-ις* or *-εις* very frequently, but rarely without any various reading, *e.g.* *βάρις* II 41, *πρυτάνις* V 71; *κτήσις* IV 114. The accusative forms used as nominatives are rejected by the editors except Dindorf. No *-υ* stem has *-ῦς* in the nom. in Ionic, as in Attic. The adjectives in *-ις* follow the nouns throughout, *e.g.* *δυωδεκαπόλις* *Ἴωνες* VII 95. Philip of Pergamum has *στάσιες*, *B. C. H.* II 273 (but also *καταλύσεις*), Hippokrates *φύσιες* II 92.

Diogen. 6 *ἐτεροιώσεις*, Demokr. *Moral.* 17 *τέρψιες* (*-εις* Stob.), 66 *ὀρέξιες*: Lukian, Eusebios Mynd., epist. Hippokr., Pythag. have *-ιες* throughout. There is no warrant for Dindorf's *πανηγύρις*, *ὄφρις*, *πίστις*. Arrian and the medical writers adopt the Attic form; *πόλιν* Arr. 8<sub>5</sub> is indicative of the insecure speculation prevalent in the Hadrianic age concerning the periods of Ionic. Cf. Δ 45.

<sup>1</sup> Tzetz. Ex. II. 50<sub>1</sub> corrupt (*μῖνια* Ionic, *μᾶνιν* Doric, *μαῖνιν* Aiolie).



## 494.] Genitive Plural.

πρὺ]τανίων Halik. 242, ἐπανλίων Eph. 148<sub>68</sub>. In Herodotos -ων is without exception, though occasionally the MSS. have -εων. -εων is the only form of the genitive in Philip of Pergamum, *B. C. H.* II 273, who has -ιες.

Diogen. 6 ἐτεροιωσίων: Demokr. *Mor.* 181 πολίων (according to Mullach, though Stobaios, who has -ιος, -ιες, has here -εων). Lukian *Astr.* 23 has μάντεων, Arrian 10 πόλεων, but better recollection of earlier usage gives us πολίων ep. Hippokr. XXVI 1, 2, *Vita Hom.* 28, the Homeric form, though πόλεων appears E 744, where πολίων is usually read.

## 495.] Dative Plural.

Theognis 302 has λάτρισι. In Herodotos the dative plural ends in -ισι, e.g. πόλισι, Σάρδισι, πίστισι, μάντισι. In the imitators of Hdt. there is not a single example of -ισι (e.g. ἀμπώτεσι Arrian 21<sub>3</sub>; elsewhere Arrian has ἀνάπωτις). The -εσι form is found in βρώσεσιν, πόσεσιν Demokr. *Mor.* 47, as in nouns in -σις (-ξις, -ψις). The termination -σισι is unusual if not absolutely incorrect. Hippokrates has -σεσι in such cases.

## 496.] Accusative Plural.

1. -ῖς occurs in πρήσις Chios 174 C 8. The MSS. of Hdt. have not infrequently -εις (Attic) or -ιας (Homeric, Aiolic and Doric), though the normal ending is -ῖς. Thus in V 121 72 have πόλιας, ἢ πόλεις where πόλις is to be adopted. Σάρδιας never occurs. Hippokrates has -ις in the accus. of τρεῖς: τρεῖς VI 482, VIII 184, 260, 304(θ). In Herodas 5<sub>5</sub> προφάσις may be itacistic.

Wherever -εις occurs it is due to Attic influence: Hdt. I 140, IX 7, in all of which passages read -ῖς. Teos 158<sub>24</sub> πράξεις, Samos 220<sub>27</sub> ἐξάστεις. τρεῖς in Ananios 3<sub>2</sub> is the nom. form which in Ionic was regularly used as an accusative. Hippokr. VIII 226, 228 has φθόεις, Ionic nom. φθόῖς.

## 2. -ιας.

στάσις Xenoph. 1<sub>23</sub>, πόλιας Anaxag. 10 (Simpl. -εις), πρήξιας Demokr. *Mor.* 88, 105, Eurip. frag. 902, Philip of Pergamum, *B. C. H.* II 273, who has also διορθώσιας, Demokr. *Phys.* 4, ἐκλείψιας. Stein adopts -ιας in the following cases where there is no MS. authority for -ῖς: πόλιας I 94, V 15, τάξιας VI 111, μάντιας IV 68, ψευδομάντιας IV 69, ὄφιας IV 105, προφάσιας V 86 a, πανηγύριας VI 111, ἐνόρχιας VI 32. Bredow proposed to expel -ιας wherever it occurs. Its existence cannot however be assailed.

3. The later Ionists, except Arrian and Aretaios, have -ιας. With πόληας, Arrian 11, 40, cf. πόληες 8; ὄφεας, ὄφιας *Ind.* 15.



In Lukian, Dindorf adopts -īs in opposition to Jacobitz (*Syr. dea* 1, 2 πανηγύρις, *Astr.* 23 πόλις but πόλιας 22); *V. A.* 14 ἐκπυρώσιας.

In a metrical inscription of Abdera, No. 162 (fifth century), we read πόλHas, a form occurring ρ 486. Since we must scan πόλῃας, it has been suggested that the proper reading is πόλεας (G. Meyer, Blass) or πόλιας Roehl (on his No. 349) and Karsten, p. 26. There is no need of a change, cf. ἡρώας ζ 303.

### Stems in Upsilon.

497.] This declension includes nouns and the masculine and neuter of adjectives in -υς.

1. Noteworthy is the considerable number of nouns in -τύς in Ionic prose, which in Attic are poetical. Cf. βρωτύς, κτιστύς, ἐδητύς, ὀτρυντύς (Eust. 1180<sub>6</sub>), νηδύς, ληστύς = Attic ληστεία ἀρτύς = ἀρθμός (Hesych. glosses the word with σύνταξις). In Hippokr. VIII 96 φλεγμαντύος (θ, C) shows that after a nasal -τύς might be used instead of -σις. Littré wrongly adopts φλεγμάνσιος.

2. Terminations:—

υς	υες, εες
υος, εος	υων, εων
υι, ει	υσι, εσι
υν	υας, ὕς, εας
υ	υες, εες

On the inflection of μῦς, see under Sigma stems.

3. The testimony of the grammarians refers only to the inflection of the stems in ευ/εφ: πρέσβευς Greg. Kor. § 21, δξέως, πολέως, ἡδέως, § 40; δξέες Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 40, Meerm. 652, Vat. 697; πολέες Greg. Kor. § 40, citing Δ 143 (cf. Schol. Ven. A. = Hdn. II 88<sub>6</sub>, on N 734: περισπαστέον τὸ πολεῖς (accus. for πολέας) ὡς ταχεῖς, ὁμοίως τῷ “πολεῖς . . . (O 66). τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἐπεὶ τινες βούλονται ἔνεκα ἐμφάσεως μείζονος βαρυτόνως ἀναγιγνώσκειν, οἷς μάχεται καὶ ἡ ὀρθογραφία ἢ κατ’ Ἴωνας). υῖέες is called Ionic in Joh. Gr. 240 B, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, by enallage for υῖολί, an explanation adopted also in the case of ἐρυσάρματες and ἐρίηρες.

4. This declension comprises the types—

(1) νέκῦς, νέκῦν, νέκῦος = νέκυγ-ος: ὄφρῦς, ὄφρῦος = Skt. *bhrūs*, *bhruv-ās*, and  
 (2) -ῦς, -ῦν, with the genitive in εφ-ος as in πῆχεος, ἄστεος, dative in εφ-ι as in πελέκει. The Homeric πολῦς, ἰθύν, βρωτύν owe their long υ’s to the influence of the first class, as Pindar’s ἰσχύν its ῦ to the influence of the second class. There is no pure dative form, the locative having usurped its functions, as in the case of the *iota* stems. The inflection according to the

first category comes into play wherever *υ* precedes a vocalic case ending. -*ύς* in the accusative plural is framed from the stem with the short vowel (νεκῦ-*υς*).

In the genitive plural -*ων* we have the strong case form, where the weak form was to be expected.

-*ύσι* in *ὀφρύσι*, where we should expect *ὀφρῦσι* (Skt. *bhrūṣi*), is due to the influence of *ὀφρῦων*, &c. *πήχεσι* (Skt. *bāhīṣu*) has taken the place of *πήχυσι* under the influence of *πήχεες*, *πηχέων*. For the Homeric forms in -*υσι* (§ 504, 1), -*ύσι* has been conjectured. Monosyllabic nouns have -*ύσι*, nouns of more than one syllable have -*ύσι*. In the first class are included those with prosthetic vowel (*ὀφρῦς*, *ἰχθῦς*).

**498.] Nominative Singular.** The form *Ηυύς* for *νιός* occurs in No. 266, an inscription held to be Ionic by Bechtel<sup>1</sup>. Elsewhere *νιός*, e.g. *Mimn.* 12<sub>11</sub>, *Ηνιός* 265 (unc. loc.), *Amorg.* 35 (epigr.), *ύοῦ* *Paros* 67 (late), *νιόν* *Delos* 57. There is no trace of *ύς* = *νιός*, that word being employed by Herodotos in place of *σῦς*. Simonides of Keos (249) adopted the nominative *ύις* (*νις*). Cf. *Et. M.* 553<sub>15</sub>, 775<sub>20</sub>, and Herodian quoted in the scholium on *E* 266. Hdn. denied the existence of a nominative *ύις* or *νις*. The neuter ends in -*υ*.

#### 499.] Genitive Singular.

1. -*υς*: *Θράσυος* *Thas.* (L.) 7 A 11; Hdt. *Ἄλνυος*, *Ἄρδνυος*, *ἰσχύος*, *ἰλύος*<sup>2</sup>, *ύός*, e.g. I 36 where all MSS. have *σνός* (cf. *Hippokr.* VIII 134 but *ύός* VIII 138); *Hippokr.* VII 142 *νάπνυος*, II 692 *ὀσφύος*. The Pseudo-Ionic writers have -*υς*.

2. -*εος*: *ὠκέος* *Mimn.* 11<sub>5</sub>, *ἄστειος* *Sim. Am.* 7<sub>74</sub> by an unusual synizesis. Hdt. has *ἄστειος*, *πήχεος*, *τετραπήχεος*, *ἡμίσειος*.

That *ἄστειος*, a *v. l.* in *Thuk.* VIII 92, 7 adopted by Classen, is foreign to Attic, is shown by the inscriptions. On *πήχεος*, see *Phrynich.* 245 (Lob.), where it is erroneously stated that this form is Attic. Boiotian is *φάστιος* with -*ιος* from -*εος*. Ionic pursued a different path from Attic, which, in its -*εως*, permitted the genitive of *ι* stems to displace the ancient form.

#### 500.] Dative Singular.

1. -*υι*: *ἰλυῖ* *Theognis* 961 (MSS. *ύδει*). In Hdt. -*υῖ* (*ἰσχύῖ*, *νηδυῖ*, *νέκυῖ*) is read by the editors though the diphthongal pronunciation is not impossible, especially as we find *υῖ* in Homer in words of more than one syllable. Boiotian is *Δέρμυῖ*. *νηδυῖ* *Υ* 486 has not the best authority. In Attic -*υῖ* is not to be questioned. *ἰλυῖ* is read *Hippokr.* VIII 138, *ὀσφύῖ* VI 78.

2. -*ει*: *ὀξέει* *Theognis* 848. -*ει* has become -*ει* in *πελέκει*

<sup>1</sup> *υ(ι)ύς* is also Attic, *C. I. A.* I 398<sub>4</sub> (epigr.) fifth century. In Attic inscriptions the forms of the -*υ* declension in this word prevail till about 350 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, and not *ἰλῦος* as in *Φ* 318 (*ἰλυόφιν*?). *δρυός* *Hesiod*, *W. D.* 460, is a poor support for *ἰλῦος*.

Anakr. 47<sub>2</sub>, where a proceleusmaticus would have been unmetrical. In an epigram supposed to be by Anakreon (103) we read ἄσπεϊ in the fifth foot. The dialect of the poem is, however, not Ionic. The fusion of εῖ to εἰ must, however, have taken place before the fifth century, despite the fact that we read πελέκεϊ, ἐπταπήχεϊ in the editions of Hdt. Anaxagoras 13 has πελέκει (*sic* Simplicius), though Mullach adopts -εῖ.

**501.] Accusative Singular.** ὄσφύν Miletos 100<sub>6</sub>, πάλμυν Hippon. 1; Hdt. Τῆλυν, Μῦν, ἰσχύν, ἔγχελυν, νηδύν, ὕν, τετράπηχυν: in pseudo-Ionic sources: ἰχθύν, πῆχυν, θῆλυν.

**502.] Nominative Plural.**

1. -υες: Hdt. Μάξυες, Λίγυες, Λίβυες, ὄρυες, βόρυες, ἰχθύες, and so in pseudo-Ionic writers. Hippokr. ἐγγέλυες VI 548.

2. -εες: Hdt. πῆχεες, τριπῆχεες, ἡμίσεες. Hippokr. VI 600 has both ἡδέες and ἡδεῖς.

3. Neuter (nominative and accusative) -εα: Hdt. ἄσπεα, διπῆχεα, ἡμίσεα (in Attic sometimes -η and so on a Delian inscription), Phokyl. 11<sub>2</sub> ἡδέα, Solon 4<sub>35</sub> τραχέα.

**503.] Genitive Plural.**

1. -υων: Hdt. Μαξύων, ὕων: ἰχθύων Hdt., Luk., Arrian.

2. -εων: Hdt. πηχέων, τετράπηχέων, ἡμισέων. In τ 578 πελέκεων occurs. Protagoras has νιέων.

**504.] Dative Plural.**

1. -υσι in ὀφρῦσι Anakr. 54<sub>1</sub>, Hdt. ὕσι. ἰχθύεσσιν in Anan. 5<sub>8</sub> is an exception to the law that in Ionic -εσσι is restricted to the *sigma* declension. The form is a loan from the epos. Homer has σύεσσι, συσί, νεκύεσσι, νέκυσσι, γένυσσι, &c.

2. -εσι in Hdt.: πελέκεσι, πῆχεσι, ἑξαπῆχεσι. Homer's πελέκεσσι is due to the influence of -εσσι from *sigma* stems, which may appear as -εσι.

**505.] Accusative Plural.**

1. -υας: ἐγγέλυας Archil. epod. 101 (cf. ἐγγέλυες Φ 203), ὀφρῦας Hdt. II 66 (-ῦς *R d*), ἰχθύας II 94 (*P R d*), ἰχθῦς (*A B C*). The former form is adopted by Stein. It occurs without a variant in III 98, and is found also in Lukian and Arrian. For Λίβυας II 55, 77, IV 160, VII 184 Bredow proposed to substitute Λίβυς, though this form is unattested.

2. -ῦς in Hdt. ῦς II 14, 47, IV 186, ἔγυς VII 89, and ἰχθῦς I 141. In Attic -υας is later than -ῦς. Homer has both terminations, -ῦς occurring in words of more than one syllable, in the first foot and in the arsis of the third foot. Empedokles (106, 125 Stein) used ἰχθῦς both as nominative and accusative.



3. *-eas* in Hdt. *πήχεas*, *πρέσβεas*, *ἑπταπήχεas*, *ἡμίσεas*. The last mentioned form was thought to be better Attic than *ἡμίσεις* by the grammarians, whereas the contrary is the case, *ἡμίσεις* being the better attested form. In Ψ 114 we find *πελέκεas*. Hdt. IV 84 has *νιέas* (Homeric), elsewhere *νιούς*. Agathokles of Kyzikos (Athen. XIV 649 F) used the form *θαμέas*.

506.] **Feminine of Adjectives in *-us*.** Herodotos has *-ea*, not *-eia* (see §§ 219, 419): *e.g.* *βαθέa* I 178, *τρηχέα* IV 23, *βραχέα* V 49, *παχέα* VII 33, *θήλεa* III 109, *ιθέa* II 17, *ἡμίσεa* V 111, *δασέα* IV 191; *τρηχέης* IV 23, *θηλέης* II 35; *θηλέη* III 85, *βαθέη* II 156, III 110, *πλατέη* II 156, *ιθέη* IX 57; *βαρέαν* II 94, *τρηχέαν* IX 122, *εὐρέαν* IV 3; *θήλειαι* IV 23, *ἡμίσαι* VIII 18; *θηλέων* II 18, 46; no example of the dative plural occurs in Hdt.; *θηλέas* I 192, *ἡμισέas* II 10, VIII 27, *ιθέas* I 180. Otherwise adjectives in *-us* are inflected like nouns in *-us*, *-eos*.

The MSS. testify in so many instances to the presence of the forms in *-ea* that we may venture to regard as foreign to the dialect of Herodotos those cases of the retention, even by all the MSS., of the forms in *-eia*. These are as follows:—*βαθεῖa* VII 23; *ι(εὺ)θεῖa* II 34; *ιθείης* II 161, III 127; *ιθεῖαν* VII 193; *ιθείas* I 180; *δασεῖa*, *δασεῖαν* III 32 (*δασέαν* Miletos 100<sub>6</sub>); *ταχείas* VIII 23; *δξεῖa* IX 23; and *θήλειαν* I 105 (CP). There is no basis for the view that a form like *δασέα* was introduced into the text of Hdt. at a period when such forms were common. In Attic they had a scant existence, in later Ionic they are unvouched for, and even in pseudo-Ionic writers they are sparingly attested. That the fuller form gained a position in the MSS. is not to be wondered at in view of the fact that it is made use of by Homer and by the Ionic poets. When the MSS. in general, inscriptions<sup>1</sup>, and grammarians agree as to the Ionic character of a form, some variations in the MSS. must not weigh in the balance.

In addition to the three examples of *-ea* from the genuine treatises of Hippokrates cited on p. 198, there may be quoted from the later tractates included in the Hippokratic corpus the following examples of the shorter form. They are: *παχέαι* and *παχεῶν* (*v. l.* *-ει-*) VI 60, *δξεῖαι* VIII 134 *bis* (*v. l.* *-ει-*); *δξεή* VI 172 (*θ*, *vulgo* *-ει-*), 174 (*θ*, *vulgo* *-ει-*), *δξεήν* VI 178 (*θ*, *vulgo* *-ει-*) and so twice VI 180, the same page showing *τρηχέην*. In VIII 274 the *θηλίαν* of *θ* is read *θηλείην* by Littré. Hippokrates has as a rule *-eia*, but also *-ea*, and the hyper-Ionic *-ει* even in *θ*. The forms in *-ea* often have the *v. l.* *-eia*. In § 219 all the examples found in the pseudo-Ionists were enumerated.

<sup>1</sup> The form *δασείης Zeleia* 114 E 4 is late.

*Diphthongal Stems.*

These are -ηυ/-ευ, -ηυ, -ου, -ωι/-οι, -ων.

507.] Stems in -ηυ/-ευ. On the cases of the υ declension formed from a stem ευ, see above, § 497 ff. On *νίύς*, *νιεύς*, see §§ 498, 505, 3.

ευσ	ees
εος (ηος?)	εων
ει (ηι?)	ευσι
εᾶ	εᾶς
ευ	ees

Forms in -εᾶ occur in tragedy (*φονέα* in Euripides *Hek.* 882, *El.* 599, 763); and -εᾶ, -εᾶς are not infrequent in comedy. Cf. Meineke, I 295 ff. In the latter they may be regarded as the beginning of the movement of the *κοινή* towards the frequent adoption of the forms with ᾶ. *Νηρέος* *Ion* 1082, *Ἀχιλλῆος* *I. T.* 436, *βασιλῆες* *Andr.* 1022 (-ῆς *Dind.*), *βασιλῆας* *Phoin.* 829 occur only in choric passages. -ees occurs in *Persai* 63, 580 (both choric). *Septem* 804 (trim.) contains *βασιλείες*: but the whole passage is full of difficulties and has long been suspected. Plato, *Theait.* 169 B, has *Θησέες*. A change of -ees in these passages to -εης is hazardous since Attic *ἱππέης* may be nothing more than a confusion of ΕΣ and ΗΣ.

Testimony of the grammarians. This deals exclusively with Homeric forms. *Genitive*: -ηος *Joh. Gr.* 239 B, *Greg. Kor.* § 20, *Meerm.* 649, *Vat.* 695, *Hdn.* II 693<sub>35</sub> = *Choir.* 159<sub>9</sub>, II 709<sub>2</sub> = *Choir.* 221<sub>16</sub>, II 638<sub>7</sub> = *An. Ox.* IV 337<sub>9</sub>, II 673<sub>38</sub> = *Choir.* 209<sub>21</sub> (*παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἰωσιν*), *Et. M.* 630<sub>6</sub>, *Orion* 188<sub>10</sub>, *An. Ox.* I 315<sub>20</sub>, I 323<sub>3</sub>, *An. Par.* III 355<sub>10</sub>, *Tzetz. Ex. Il.* 61<sub>13</sub>, 94<sub>25</sub>; *Ἄρηος* *Hdn.* II 682<sub>14</sub> = *Choir.* 145<sub>34</sub>, *Diakonos* on *Hsd. Aspis* 88, but *Ἄρεω* is also called Ionic by *Hdn.* II 639<sub>25</sub> = *Eust.* 518<sub>28</sub>, quoting *Archil.* 47. -εος: *Ἀτρείος* *Eust.* 623<sub>54</sub>. This was the *κοινή* form according to *Hdn.* II 673<sub>38</sub> = *Choir.* 209<sub>19</sub>. -εὺς: *Ἰδομενεὺς* *N* 424 (now read -μενεὺς with MS. authority) and *Ὀδυσσεὺς* ω 398 are called Ionic and Doric by *Hdn.* II 328<sub>11</sub> and II 692<sub>32</sub> = *Choir.* 157<sub>24</sub>, II 675<sub>11</sub> = *Choir.* 211<sub>31</sub> (in this passage *Hdn.* recognizes that the nominative is preferable, quoting Φ 305<sub>7</sub> but *Choir.* makes no mention of the reading -εὺς), II 677<sub>13</sub> = *Choir.* 216<sub>3</sub>, cf. also *Hdn.* in *An. Ox.* III 233<sub>30</sub>, and *Bekk. An.* III 120<sub>41</sub>, 1240<sub>32</sub>, *Et. Gud.* 273<sub>28</sub>, *Eust.* 196<sub>529</sub>. -ειος in *Ἀχιλλεῖος*, *βασιλεῖος* was used by the *νεώτεροι Ἰῶνες*, *Hdn.* II 674<sub>3</sub> = *Choir.* 209<sub>21</sub>. *Ἀχιλλεῖος*, *βασιλεῖος* were also the late Aiolie forms according to *Hdn.* See §§ 25, 220. *Dative*: -ῆι: *Tzetz. Ex. Il.* 72<sub>1</sub>. -εῖ: *Joh. Gr.* 242, *Drakon* 157<sub>6</sub>, cf. 161<sub>2</sub>. *Accusative*: -ηα: *An. Par.* III 311<sub>27</sub>. -ῆ<εα in *Τυδῆ* *Hdn.* II 677<sub>9</sub> = *Choir.* 215<sub>31</sub> (Ionic and Doric). *Nominative Plural*: -ηες: *Joh. Gr.* 239 B, 240 B, *Greg. Kor.* § 40, *Meerm.* 652, *Vat.* 696, 697, *Drakon* 115<sub>15</sub>. *Genitive Plural*: -ηων: *Schol. Ven. A* (interlinear) on A 176. *Eust.* 1108<sub>7</sub> *Φωκῆων*: in 273<sub>4</sub> *Eust.* says that there was also a reading *Φωκείων* according to *Aristarchos*. So *schol. Ven. A* on B 517. This form cannot well be a parallel to *Ἀχιλλεῖος*. *Accusative Plural*: -ηας: *An. Ox.* I 315<sub>21</sub>.

508.] *Nominative Singular.* εὺς throughout: *Εὐβοεύς* *Styra*



19<sub>38</sub>, *ιερεύς* Erythr. 206 B 58. On *ιερέως* in Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>, see § 477.

**509.] Genitive Singular.** *ιέρεος* Orop. 18<sub>3</sub>, *Ἀνδρέος* Chios 174 D 6, *Θαργαλέο[s]* Chios 174 C 18, *Δωριέος* Amorg. 231<sub>10</sub>. *Φιλέος* Chios 181 and *Μνησεός* Chios 182 are genitives from *-ῆς* or *-εύς*. *Ἀχιλλέος* from Olbia, Latyshev I 62<sub>5</sub>, 67<sub>5</sub>, 77<sub>8</sub>, 80<sub>4</sub>, 83<sub>4</sub> (Attic *βασιλέος* C. I. A. III 553<sub>2</sub>) are all very late<sup>1</sup>.

The Attic has displaced the epichoric form in the following instances:—*Κεραμέως* Olbia, *Jahrb. Suppl.* vol. V 487 No. 47, X 29 No. 21, *Αἰγιαλέως* Smyrna 153<sub>21</sub>, *Βραβέως* Maroneia *Zeitsch. f. Num.* III 284 No. 24 (before 400 B.C.), *Κεγχρέως* Erythr. 201<sub>7</sub> (early part of the fourth cent.), *Καυκασέως* Erythr. 206 A 19, *βασιλέως* 206 B 61, Samothrake 236 (Roman), *Ἀχιλλέως* Erythr. 206 B 27, *Ἀρματέως* 206 C 31, *Βακχέως* 206 C 36, *Πεδιέως* Thasos (L.) 14 B 9, *Κοπρέως* Teos, C. I. G. 3064<sub>34</sub>, *Σιδηρέω[s]* *ibid.* l. i. In C. I. G. 2157<sub>5</sub> (Samothrake) we must read *Ἀριστέω[s]*. This inscription contains the form *ἱππάρχω*. Of the forms here cited that are dateable, most may be referred to the third century. This is noteworthy as regards the tenacity of the dialect in respect of its inflectional system.

A genitive *βα]σιλῆος* is read by Le Bas No. 41 in an Erythraian inscription. There is no evidence from later literature of an Ionic *-ηος*<sup>2</sup>; and historical reasons militate against Le Bas' other restorations in the same inscription (Nöldeke *G. G. A.* 1884, 294, Bechtel *Ion. Insch.* p. 125). We read *Διὸς Πλουτῆος* on a late inscription (No. 243 Halik.) that has not been recollated, and whose original is not to be found. If genuine, the genitive savours of poetical usage. Bechtel compares *Ἄρηος νικηθέντος* (C. I. G. IV 7030). *Κεφαλέως* in No. 266, an inscription found on the Erechtheion, and regarded by Bechtel as Ionic, has been read by Neubauer *Κεφαλῆος*, by Bechtel *Κεφαλεός* (= *εύς*). See Bechtel *ad loc.* The only example of *-ηος* from Attic is *οἰκῆος*, in a law quoted by Lysias X 19, a form doubted by Dittenberger *Hermes* XVII 36 (*οἰκῆος* for *οἰκέως* < *ΟΙΚΕΟΣ*?). The support for an inflection *-ηος*, *-ηι* to be gained from *Πριηνῆι* Samos 212 (§ 510) is exceedingly weak.

In the lyric poets we find *-εος* in *Πριηνέος* (Hipponax, tetr. 79) restored by Bergk for the vulgar *Πριηνέως* from Codex E of Suidas. *Πριηνέος* is also found in Archil. 97<sub>2</sub> epod., where it was restored for *-έως* by Elmsley. In a pentameter attributed to Anakreon (99) we read *Θησεός*. In an Ionic epigram (Bechtel No. 265) we find *Ἄρεος*. Herodotos has *βασιλέος*, &c.<sup>3</sup> (*Αἰγέως*

<sup>1</sup> *Κυ]νδιέος* from Teos in Le Bas No. 130 (a very late inser.).

<sup>2</sup> A few variants (*Ἐρεχθῆος*, *Πηλῆος*) in Hdt. are not valid evidence of the existence of an inflection to which the Aldine edition gave credence.

<sup>3</sup> Struve in his *Quaest. de dial. Herod. specimen* II first showed that the epic and Attic forms, even when supported by good MS. evidence (which is rarely the case), are to be rejected.



I 173 is incorrect), while Lukian has βασιλῆος in *Syr. dea* 4 (or -έως) and 17, as if he imitated Homer, not Herodotos. Hippokr. II 666 has γναφέως. Arrian has -εος in 5<sub>11</sub>, 15<sub>11</sub>, 28<sub>3</sub>, changed by Eberhard to -εος, for which there is MS. support in 34<sub>1</sub>, 38<sub>9</sub>. -εος is not found in the lyric poets except in Μεγαρέως Theog. 23, for which Bekker and Renner read Μεγαρέος.

The forms in -ειος quoted by Herodian are explained as -εος with the glide *iota* in § 220; cf. § 507, note 2.

**510.] Dative Singular.** ιερεῖ Orop. 18<sub>33</sub>, Milet. 100<sub>7</sub>; (ι)ρεῖ Thasos 71<sub>11</sub>; βασιλεῖ Iasos 105<sub>7</sub>; Εὐβολεῖ Paros 65; Πρινεῖ Erythr. 201<sub>20</sub>. In Samos 212 we read Πριηλῆι or Πριηνῆι an interesting form of the dative singular, held by Bechtel to be a locative<sup>1</sup>. Tyrt. V 1 βασιλῆι is not support enough for so wide a divergence from the Ionic prose ending; much less πόλῃι, which is an undoubted locative. Cf. § 513. Herodotos has βασιλεί, &c., according to the editors. The variations in favour of -ει are very numerous, notably in the class of which χ was the archetype. There can be no doubt that \*εφι in the dative-locative singular did not remain open as late as the fifth century in the vulgar speech. The epic form occurs in *Vita Homeri* 11. Hippokr. VI 78 χοεῖ (*v. l.* χοῖ, χωῖ), Littré χοεῖ.

**511.] Accusative Singular.** ιερέᾱ Oropos 18<sub>2</sub>, 14<sub>26</sub>, 28<sub>28</sub>, Thasos 71<sub>7</sub>, βασιλέᾱ Mylasa 248 A 5, as in Hdt. Lukian *Syr. dea* has βασιλέᾱ § 20 in *E*, while the rest of the MSS. have the epic form. Theognis 285 has the Old Ionic βασιλῆα. Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεα Hippon. 85 is from a patronymic in -δευς, cf. Μαιαδεῦ Hippon. 16<sub>1</sub>. Hippokr. VII 156, 158 χοέα (Attic χοᾶ) from χοεύς, which nominative was New Ionic, but not Attic.

**512.] Vocative Singular.** Hdt. βασιλεῦ, &c.; Μαιαδεῦ Hippon. 16<sub>1</sub>.

**513.] Nominative Plural.** Ἐρετριεῖς Eretria 14, ιερεῖς Iasos 104<sub>14</sub>, βασιλεῖς Ephesos 147<sub>9</sub>, Μυλασεῖς Mylasa 248 C 7, Ἰασεῖς Sam. 221<sub>4</sub>, Κασταλεῖς Perinthos 234 B 39, and Παλ[α]ιεῖς Rob. I 160 E. Theog. 263 τοκῆες has the Homeric ending which appears in Bacchyl. 42, in a fragment Ionic in metre, tone and dialect:—

Ἀβρότῃτι ξυνέασιν Ἰώνων βασιλῆες.

This line must not be held to support a contemporary Ionic inflection which retained the η. φονῆες in Archil. tetr. 59<sub>2</sub> is on

<sup>1</sup> Kirchhoff takes this to be a dative and finds here a mark of sub-dialectal difference. Hdt. I 170 has Πριηνέος. Bechtel compares the locative τὸ χωρίον τὸ Μυρρινοῦντι in Attic.

the other hand a highly remarkable form, as it is the only instance, except Ἡσιονῆας Kallinos 5, in an early lyric poet of Ionic birth, of the appearance of the long stem vowel. Nevertheless it is possible to find in the character of the verse (cf. § 52) an explanation for the presence of an Homeric form. It is unwise to admit the survival of the -η- forms in ordinary Ionic speech; a conclusion not vitiated by Πρινηῆι (§ 510). Hdt. βασιλέες, &c., and so in the later Ionists except Arrian *Ind.* 23<sub>5</sub> ἱππεῖς in all MSS. (Eberhard ἱππέες), Abydenos 1 βασιλεῖς. The epic form seems occasionally to have been dragged into the MSS. of Hdt. and also occurs in ep. Hippokr. 27<sub>31</sub> βασιλῆες, Aret. 63, 166 ὀχῆες. κεραμέες (32) is the only case in the *Vita Homeri* of the open form (ἀλιῆες 35). -εες must have been contracted in the fifth century.

**514.] Genitive Plural.** Ἐρετριέων Head *H. N.* 307, Ἴστυαίῳν *ibid.* 309, Χαλκιδέων Olynth. 8 B 10, 9, and Erythr. 201<sub>18</sub>; Πρινηέων Priene 143, Ἰασέων Iasos 104<sub>3</sub> and Samos 222<sub>22</sub>; Ἀλικά[ρην]σσεών Halik. 238<sub>41</sub>; Θατέων Pantik. 122 and Phanag. 167, 168; ἀμφορέων Zeleia 114 D 5; βασιλέων Eph. 147<sub>2</sub>; Μυλασέων Mylasa 248 A 7, 10; Δω[ρι]έων Rob. I 137 (Didyma). Herodot. has βασιλέων, &c. (*v. l.* occasionally in -ηων as also in epist. Hippokr. 17<sub>29</sub>). Ἐρετριῶν, 411 B. C., Ἐφ. ἀρχ. 1890-1, 196 ff. In the lyric poets: γονέων Theog. 1330.

**515.] Dative Plural.** Χαλκιδεῦσι Olynth. 8 A 8-9, Συκεεῦσιν Prokon. 103<sub>10-11</sub>, Μυλασεῦσιν Mylasa 248 A 3; Hdt. βασιλεῦσι, &c.

**516.] Accusative Plural.** βασιλέας Chios *Berlin. Phil. Wochenschr.* 1889, p. 1195, l. 8; Ταορέας Erythr. 209, 2. In the elegiac poets we find the epic -ηας (Theognis 821, 1211 τοκῆας, Kallinos 5 Ἡσιονῆας, Tyrst. 4<sub>3</sub> βασιλῆας). The epic form was apparently affected by some of the pseudo-Ionists: Aretaios ἀνοχῆας 45, epist. Hippokr. γονῆας 13<sub>5</sub>, βασιλῆας 17<sub>28</sub>, if they are not due to the same cause which lodged the epic forms in some MSS. of Hdt. Hdt. has βασιλέας, &c. Ὑσιᾶς VI 108 (*ABP*, Stein Ὑσιᾶς) recalls Ἐρετριᾶς, Ἴστυαῖᾶς Eretr. 15<sub>17</sub>, 18 as in Attic inscriptions of the fifth century (Ἀλαιᾶς, Ἐστιαῖᾶς). In the fourth century (350-300) both -ᾶς and -έας occur in Attic. νιέας Hdt. IV 84 is an exception to the inflection of 'son' in post-Homeric Ionic. See § 498.

**517.] Ζεύς, νηῦς, βοῦς, χοῦς, Ἄρης.**

1. Ζεύς<sup>1</sup> Amorg. 33, Sim. Am. 7<sub>93</sub>, Mimn. 16, Theog. 337. For Ζᾶς in a fragment of Pherekydes of Syros, quoted by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Collitz, *B. B.* X 47 ff.



Clemens, Ζήs is the form to be expected in Ionic; see Hdn. I 402<sub>7</sub>, II 911<sub>9</sub> and cf. § 182. Διός Paros 59<sub>3</sub> (epigr.), Erythr. 206 B 19, Halik. 243, Sim. Am. 7<sub>94</sub>, Solon 4<sub>1</sub>, Theog. I, 11, 15 (Διόθεν 197), Anakr. 69, Hdt. II 13, &c. Ζηνός Solon 13<sub>1</sub>, 25, Herakl. 65. On Δί and Δί see § 270. Hdt. V 49 has the former form. Δία occurs in Anakr. 6<sub>3</sub>, &c. Ζεὺν Aischrion *apud* Athen. VIII 335 B, cf. Eust. 1387<sub>23</sub>. Bergk (8<sub>5</sub>) edits Ζῆν'. Ζῆνα Theog. 285 as in Ξ 157, ω 472. Ξ 265, Θ 206 are hypermetrical if we do not adopt the form Ζῆν < \*Διῆν. Ζεὺ Archil. epod. 88<sub>1</sub>, Hippon. 30 A, Anakr. 79, Theog. 731, &c.

In II 642<sub>13</sub> (= An. Ox. III 237<sub>23</sub>), cf. I 394<sub>23</sub>, Herodian states that the παλαιοὶ Ἴωνες used Ζῆν, Ζηνός, the μεταγενέστεροι, Ζάν, Ζανός. Ζανός and Ζανί are found in Bergk, *F. L. G.* III Adespota 82 A B:—

Κλῦθί μοι Ζανός τε κούρη.

Ζανί. τ' ἐλευθερίῳ.

Ζηνός occurs *ibid.* Adesp. 78. See § 182.

Διειτρέφης referred in § 215 to a stem διφο- may perhaps be better explained as the old dative of the stem διφ-. It cannot, however, be derived from \*Διῆφι, whence Διεί through \*Διῆ.

2. νῆς<sup>1</sup> in Hdt., with η for ᾱ adopted by the nominative from some oblique cases<sup>2</sup>. νᾶν- occurs in ναυπηγήσιμος in Hdt. and Olynthos 8 B 2; ναυαρχίη, ναυηγίη, νενανηγήκασι, &c., in Hdt. Herodas has νῆς 1<sub>41</sub>. Theognis 84, 856, 1361 has ναῦς, but in 970 A has νῆς. Whether νεῦς mentioned by Hdn. I 401<sub>1</sub>, II 553<sub>11</sub> is ascribed solely to Homer, is uncertain. From II 674<sub>23</sub> νεῦς, νεός καὶ γρεῦς, γρεός it might be supposed that Hdn. had the later Ionic in mind. In II 675<sub>23</sub> νεῦς, νεός, νεῖ, νεῖ are compared with γρεῦς, γρεός, γρεῖ, γρεῖ. νεῖ actually appears in Hdt. VII 184 (A B C), and νευσί (Littre νεῦσι) in a pseudo-Hippocratic letter (IX 414). But perhaps the forms νέες, νεῶν, νέεσσι, νέας, which occur in the epos, were not without influence upon Herodian in causing him to set up a nominative νεῦς. νεός is generally stated to be the Herodoteian genitive. The MSS., however, have νῆός<sup>3</sup> almost without a variant, which is not to be rejected, despite λεώς and other forms in which ηο < ᾱφο has suffered *metathesis quantitatis*. Cf. § 170. νῆός is found in the elegy: Archil. 4<sub>1</sub>, Theog. 513. Arrian has νεώς, a form that is also found in the best MSS. of Hdt., and for which νεός is substituted

<sup>1</sup> Tzetz., Ex. II. 74<sub>10</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noticed that only when η is = I. E. ᾱ is it reinstated in the nominative from the analogy of other case forms. Α βασιλῆς is unheard of.

<sup>3</sup> Eust. 1716<sub>1</sub> Ἴωνικὸν δὲ πάντως τὸ νῆος καὶ γρηός: Tzetz. Ex. II. 74<sub>10</sub>.



by Merzdorf (Curtius' *Stud.* IX p. 242), who regard its -os as due to the influence of that of other consonantal stems (cf. Brugmann *Gramm.* § 19). *νηί* is often found in the MSS. of Hdt. On *νεί*, see above. *νηί* Solon 19<sub>3</sub>. See § 238. *νέα* occurs in Hdt. nineteen times without a variant. *R* has *νηα* eight times in the eighth book. Euseb. Mynd. 12, and Hippokr. epistle 17, have *νηα*, Arrian the Attic *ναῦν*, a form that may be regarded as Doric in Theog. 680. Herodas 2<sub>2</sub> has *νηῦν* by a probable conjecture of Blass. *νέες*<sup>1</sup> nineteen times without variant in Hdt., *νηες* only twice without a variant. Arrian and Aretaios appear to have the latter form, which is more frequent in Homer than the former. *νέες* is derived directly from *νη-ες*. *νεῶν* Hdt. fifty-nine times without a variant, but *νηῶν* VII 160 in all MSS. *νεῶν* is the Arrianic form. *νηυσί* Hdt., Mimn. 9<sub>2</sub>, Solon 13<sub>44</sub>, Theog. 12. Arrian has the Attic *ναῦσί*<sup>2</sup>, which represents the original Greek form better than the Ionic *νηυσί*. On a *νευσί* in Homer, cf. Hdn. II 553<sub>13</sub>. *νέας*<sup>3</sup> 110 times without a variant in Hdt., *νηας* without a variant V 83, *ναῦς* VI 46, VIII 94 as in Arrian. In these passages *νέας* is to be adopted. *νέας* is from *νηας* < *ναῦ-ας*, as *νέ-ες* from *νη-ες*. Attic *ναῦς*, like *ναῦν*, is a new formation.

3. *γρηῦς*. In Archil. 31 we must read *γρηῦς* for *γραῦς*. *γρηῖ* occurs in an iambic fragment (Bergk *P. L. G.* III 692, Adespota 16). *γρηῦν* is found in Hippokr. VIII 448 in *C*. Bergk reads *γρηῦν* (*sic*) on Archil. 168. Hdn. II 645<sub>30</sub> = An. Ox. IV 337<sub>27</sub> cites the form thus and compares *γρηῦ* χ 395. He, however, remarks: τὸ νηῦς ἢ γρηῦς διηρημένον κατὰ τοὺς Ἴωνας οὐκ ἐκλίθη. The resolved forms (*γρηῦς*, &c.) are later than the closed (*γρηῦς*). Hdn. cites *γρεῦς*, *γρεός*, *γρεῖ* (above under *νηῦς*). Herodas 3<sub>30</sub> has *γρηῦν*.

4. *βοῦς* and *χοῦς*. *βοός* Hdt., Anakr. 21<sub>5</sub>, Hrd. 3<sub>68</sub>; *βοί* Hdt., *βοῦν* Hdt.<sup>4</sup>, Hrd. 4<sub>15</sub>; *βόες* Hdt.; *βοῦς* accusative plural Hdt. (*v. l.* *βόας* IV 8 in *R*, which has also *Γηρυόναο* as an epic reminiscence, cf. Hekat. 349), *βόας* Lukian *Syr. dea* 54, *Astr.* 22 ('*Ἡελίου βόας* an epic reminiscence?) and Arrian 7<sub>7</sub>. *βόας* is an earlier form than *βοῦς*, which is formed from *βοῦν*.

*χοῦς*, from *χόφος*, follows the analogy of *βοῦς*. Hdt. has *χοῦν* (cf. *φλοῦν*). Arrian has *χόον* 13<sub>3</sub> but *χοῦν* 13<sub>5</sub>, so fluctuating are the MSS. Eberhard writes *χόον* in both cases.

5. *ἄρης*<sup>5</sup> Anakr. 70. *ἄρεος* Hdt. II 63, 83, IV 62, VII 76,

<sup>1</sup> *νέες* Gram. Paris. p. 677, § 6 = An. Bachm. II 366<sub>15</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Called Ionic by Tzetz. Ex. II. 847.

<sup>3</sup> *νέας* Greg. Kor. §§ 19, 24, and 53, p. 461; *νηας* Tzetz. Ex. II. 74<sub>8</sub> and on Hsd. W. D. 244.

<sup>4</sup> *βῶν* II 40 *R d* and Aldus; VI 67 Aldus. This form is that of H 238.

<sup>5</sup> The Homeric forms of this word are given Eust. 518<sub>24</sub>, An. Ox. III 237<sub>1</sub> = Hdn. II 639<sub>21</sub> ff.

Tyrt. 16<sub>1</sub> (*embat.*) in *DE* (vulg. \**Ἀρεως*) as in Hom. and Hsd., Lukian, *Astr.* 20, 22. \**Ἀρηος* is perhaps a *v. l.* Hdt. IV 62 (*C*). It is not an Ionic prose form, but is found in Tyrt. 11<sub>7</sub> for the vulgate \**Ἀρεως*, according to Bergk. Schneidewin here adopted \**Ἀρεος*. \**Ἀρηος* is the Homeric and Hesiodic form. The H of APHOΣ upon an Attic vase from Kameiros (*Journ. of Philol.* VII 1877) must be a mistake for E. \**Ἀρεω*<sup>1</sup> Archil. 48. This is said to have been written by Aristarchos in Ξ 485, Σ 100, 213 for Zenodotos' ἀρής<sup>2</sup>. \**Ἀρει* Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>13</sub> (-εῖ *vulgo*, cf. B 479), and Hdt. II 63. This form preserves the natural quantity of the initial vowel (ā). \**Ἀρηι* Hdt. IV 59, 62 in all MSS. (cf. B 385, &c.). Stein reads \**Ἀρεῖ*, which is correct except the diaeresis. The Simonideian form was the prose form as well. \**Ἀρεα* Hdt. II 63, IV 59, V 7, Luk. *Astr.* 27. Homer has \**Ἀρηα* and \**Ἀρην*.

The inflection according to the -ευ- stem<sup>3</sup> is older than that in -εσ-; and is supreme in Aiolic. From \**Ἀρεα*, an ambiguous accusative, came the inflection on the lines of a sigmatic stem: \**Ἀρης*, \**Ἀρεῖ*. On the other hand \**Ἀρης* was inflected as a stem in η, \**Ἀρηο* producing \**Ἀρεω* in Archil., and the Homeric \**Ἀρην*. On the relations of the three stems, see Bechtel, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1886, p. 378. With \**Ἀρευσ* \**Ἀρης*, cf. the so-called Doric Τύδης, \**Ορφης*, \**Ωλίξης* in Ibykos<sup>4</sup>, and the Latin Ulixes, Achilles.

### *Stems in ωι/οι.*

518.] The terminations of the singular (plural not attested) are ω, ωι; ους, οι, ουν (ω?), οι. On the forms in -ώ and -ώι see Ahrens, *Kleine Schriften* I 31 ff., Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 374, and Brugmann, *Gramm.* 70<sup>a</sup> note.

### Testimony of the Grammarians.

The statements of Hdn. II 338<sub>16</sub> = 755<sub>21</sub> (= Choir. 332<sub>14</sub>), Plut. *Mor.* 1078 B that Σαπφός, Δητός were Ionic are unsupported by tradition. Δητός may,

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 639<sub>25</sub> = Eust. 518<sub>26</sub>: σπονδειακὸν \**Ἀρης* \**Ἀρου* ὄθεν κατὰ Ἰάδα διάλεκτον ἐπεκτείνας \**Ἀρχίλοχος* . . . "παῖδ' \**Ἀρεω* μιηφόνου."

<sup>2</sup> The Et. M. 138<sub>2</sub> supposes that this \**Ἀρεω* is the genitive of \**Ἀρεως*. But in Ξ 485 and Σ 213 the MSS. generally have \**Ἀρεως*, not \**Ἀρεω* (in Σ 100 ἀρής), and Didymos' διὰ τοῦ ω may refer to the penultimate, not the ultimate, letter, as is pointed out by Schulze in *K. Z.* XXIX 255, who regards this \**Ἀρεως* as a mistaken reading for ἄρεος, genitive of ἄρος· βλάβος ἀκούσιον in Hesychios. This ἄρος has the same meaning as ἀρή (ἀρὴν ἐτάροισιν ἀμύνειν M 334). It is certainly difficult to see how Aristarchos found a genitive of \**Ἀρης* in the passages. ἀρειᾶς Hippon. 65 is doubtless connected with ἀρειά, derived from this ἄρος, not from ἀρά as L. & S. think.

<sup>3</sup> This appears in \**Ἀρηίθους* Thasos (L.) 14 B 2, 16 B 7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX 433.



however, be read in Homer and in Hesiod, *Aspis* 202, and Hymn to Hermes 521, Apollo 545. [Casaubon wrote *Καλλιστόος* for *-οὺς* in the senarius of Machon preserved in Athen. XIII 583 A (*Καλλιστοῦς δὲ τῆς ὕδς κεκλημένης*), but it is improbable that Machon should have had any knowledge of a form that has disappeared from literature. *Καλλίστιον* is a common name for an hetaira]. Cf. *Ἄδος* (?) Pind. *Nem.* VI 52. Joh. Gr. 268 B claims that forms in *-δος* were in use among certain of the Dorians. *-οῦν* Joh. Gr. 240, 268 B, Greg. K. § 35, Drakon 1163, Birnb. 677<sub>31</sub>. Gram. Vat. 696 regarded *Λητών* and *Σαπφών* as Ionic. These forms are referred to by Hdn. II 755<sub>25</sub>, who held, according to Choir. 333<sub>22</sub>, that *Σαπφοῖν* and *Λητοῖν* (accusative) were derived from the *-ών* forms by a change (unheard of in Ionic) of *ω* to *οι*. For a correction of this passage, which supplies the missing *-ουν* from Choroiboskos, see Ahrens, *Kl. Schr.* I 40.

**519.] Nominative.** There are two forms on inscriptions:—

- |                |                                 |                                       |
|----------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>ώ</i> : | <i>Φλυτώ</i> Rob. I 188 E       | } On Chalkidian vase<br>inscriptions. |
|                | <i>Κλυτώ</i> 190 I F            |                                       |
|                | <i>Μυρώ</i> 190 I B             |                                       |
|                | <i>Φιώ</i> 190 I C, II C        |                                       |
|                | <i>Ξανθώ</i> 190 I H            |                                       |
|                | <i>Νοσσώ</i> Erythrai 206 C 10. |                                       |

(2) *φ (ώι)* : these are rare in Ionic.

- Ξαν[θ]φ* Rob. I 190 II B, Chalkidian.  
*Διονυσφ* C. I. G. 2151, Chalkidian.  
*Ἄρτεμφ* C. I. G. 696 late, Milesian.  
*Φιλυτφ* C. I. G. 2310, probably not Ionic.

In Ionic literature only the former of these occurs.

**520.] Genitive.** *Πειθοῦς* Thasos 70, *Ν]οσσοῦς* Erythr. 206 C 11, perhaps *Φαινοῦς* or *Φαινοῦς* on the electrum stater reproduced in Roberts I p. 177 = Bechtel 247. Herodotos uses *Ἴοῦς*, *Λητοῦς*, *Γοργοῦς* (with no trace of the *ν* stem), *Σαπφοῦς*, &c. *Λητοῦς* occurs in Theog. 1, Herodas *Κλεοῦς* 392, *Κοριπτοῦς* 624, Lukian *Δερκετοῦς*. Ahrens sought to find the form in *-ως*, which is Aiolic and Doric (in part), in Ionic territory. The inscription of Tenos C. I. G. 2338, whence he cites *Φειδῶς* l. 92, &c., contains no Ionisms. In Homer the open forms may be read except in a few cases: A 9 (*v. l.* *Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς υἱός*), Ξ 327 (spurious).

**521.] Dative.** *Ἀλεκοῖ* Amorgos, Rob. I 158 B, is a doubtful reading though the *οι* is plain; *Βαβοῖ* Paros 65, *Πεδιοῖ* Chalkidian, Rob. I 183 A B (Fick *Πεδίωι*). Hdt. has *Λητοῖ*, *Ἀργοῖ*, *εὐεστοῖ*. Hippokr. V 128 *λεχοῖ* is better than *λεχοῖς*. Lukian *Δερκετοῖ*.

**522.] Accusative Singular.** In inscriptions we find *Λητοῦν* Eretria 16 A 48 as in Herodotos II 156, *Δημοῦν* Smyrna 154,



and Μητροῦν C. I. G. 3241, Ἀρτεμοῦν C. I. G. 3223, both late Smyrnaian documents. From the poets the instances are Κυψοῦν Hipponax 87, Λητοῦν Hrd. 298, Μητροῦν 645, πειθοῦν 675. In Herodotos there are two sets of forms: (1) -οῦν<sup>1</sup>. Ἴοῦν I 1, 2, II 41, Βουτοῦν II 59, &c., Τιμοῦν VI 134, 135. In II 156 for Λητοῦν there is the *v. l.* Λητώ. (2) -ώ. Πυθώ I 54, Σαρδώ I 170, &c., Πειθώ VIII 111. Compare the Homeric Πηρώ, Τυρώ, Kretan Λατώ Cauer 117<sup>14</sup>, the Delphic and Attic Φιλώ, forms showing the retention of the nominative accentuation<sup>2</sup>. Kirchhoff inclines to the view that -οῦν is the only correct form. The -ώ forms may have been inserted through recollection of the Homeric accusative. κακεστοῦν in Hesychios is Ionic, cf. εὔεστοῦν in Demokritos 206.

### 523.] *Varia.*

1. *Vocative.* Κοριττοῖ Herodas 612, &c., Μητροῖ 61, &c. The former has as a by-form Κοριττί 646, with which we may compare Νοσσίς 622, a parallel form of Νοσσώ, § 519 (1).

2. *Plural.* In Hippokr. V 128 λεχοῖ, not λεχοῖς as was read by Galen, is to be adopted. In Hesiod, *Theogon.* 274 we find Γοργούς. A few forms appear in Attic poetry, but among the Ionians the plural did not exist.

3. *Variation with -ν stems.* The vocative of χελιδών is χελιδοῖ Anakr. 67, as in Aristoph. *Birds* 1411; cf. ἀηδοῖ *ibid.* 679. Hippokr. has βληχοῦς with which compare βληχοῖ in Theophrastos, βληχώ *Lysistrata* 89. εἰκόν has in Hdt. the accusative εἰκώ VII 69 (εἰκόνα II 143). Cf. κυκεῶνα Hipponax 434 with κυκεῶ κ 290. On γληχώ, &c., see § 552.

### *Stems in ων/ωF.*

524.] This declension has been partly merged with the so-called Attic declension, § 477.

**Nominative.** Hdt. πάτρως, Μίνως, ἥρως.

**Genitive.** ἥρωος Hdt. VI 69, Μίνωος Hdt. III 122 as in Homer. The *Romanus* has here Μίνω, which is the only form in I 171, 173. A similar ingression of the 'Attic' declension is found in the Homeric ἥρω which may be displaced H 453, θ 483 by the dactylic form ἥρωϊ.

**Dative.** ἥρωϊ Hdt. VIII 117.

**Accusative.** ἥρων Hdt. I 167, Homeric ἥρωα in II 143,

<sup>1</sup> Hort. Adon. p. 268 B οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες αὐτὴν εἰς οὖν ἐποιοῦν, Σαφροῦν καὶ Λητοῦν.

<sup>2</sup> According to some of the ancients with the perispomenon accent.

VI 69, as in the non-Ionic inscription from Priene (No. 141<sub>4</sub>). *πάτρων* is found IV 76, IX 78, but *μήτρων* IV 80 according to Stein. *Μίνων* occurs VII 170, 171, with traces of a form in *-εω* and *-εων* due to the supposed fondness of Ionic for *-εω*. In VII 171 the Aldine edition adopted the Homeric *Μίνωα*. Lukian *Astrol.* 20 has *Μίνω*. It is evident that such fluctuation was unknown in the original Hdt., though which form is to be adopted is uncertain.

**Nominative Plural.** ἥρωες Samos 225.

**Dative Plural.** ἥρωσι Hdt. VII 43.

### *Stems in Sigma.*

This declension comprises stems in *-εσ*, with nominative in *-ος*, or *-ης* (525-540); stems in *-ῦς* (541); stems in *-ος* (542), *-υς* (543), and those in *-ας/-εσ*, varying with *-ατ*, nominative *-ας* (544).

### *Stems in -εσ.*

#### 525.] Terminations:—

ος, ης	εες (εις), εα
εος, ευς	εων
ει	εσι
εα (ην), ες	εας, εα.

#### Testimony of the Grammarians.

*Genitive*: -εος Joh. Gr. 239 B, 242, Greg. Kor. § 11, Meerm. 649, 655, Vat. 695, Et. M. 152<sub>12</sub>, Hdn. II 692<sub>27</sub> (= Choir. 156<sub>32</sub>). Cf. Schol. Ven. A on O 302, who quotes ξίφεος from Hekataios. -ευσ. The Homeric ἐρέβευς is called Ionic or Doric in Hdn. II 675<sub>21</sub> (Choir. 212<sub>15</sub>), II 692<sub>36</sub> (Choir. 157<sub>31</sub>), II 336<sub>15</sub>, II 777<sub>10</sub> (Choir. 395<sub>31</sub>), cf. II 328<sub>15</sub> and Et. Gud. 273<sub>29</sub>. κήδευς Schol. Nikander Ther. 2. βέλευς and σάκευς are called Doric by Tzetz. on Hsd. Scutum 334, and ἐρέβευς is said to be Doric, not Doric and Ionic, by An. Ox. II 343<sub>29</sub>. On Homeric forms in -ευσ, see Schol. Ven. A on O 3. *Dative*: -εϊ Joh. Gr. 240, 242, Greg. Kor. §§ 11, 34, Meerm. 655, Birnb. 677<sub>38</sub>. *Accusative*: -εᾶ Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. § 11, Meerm. 649, Vat. 695, Schol. Ven. A on B 115 (cf. also on K 281) δυσκλέᾶ καὶ ἀκλέᾶ Ἰωνικῶς, οἱ δὲ Ἀπτικοὶ ἐκτείνουσιν. *Nominative Plural*: -εες Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 40, Meerm. 652, Vat. 697. -εα. Joh. Gr. 240 B, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Vat. 697, Birnb. 677<sub>53</sub>, An. Bachm. II 367<sub>6</sub>. *Genitive Plural*: -εων Joh. Gr. 240 B, cf. Greg. Kor. § 11, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Vat. 697, Birnb. 677<sub>54</sub>, Bekk. An. I 404<sub>28</sub> = Bachm. An. I 98<sub>22</sub>. *Accusative Plural*: -εας, see Schol. Ven. A on K 281.

**526.] Nominative Singular.**

1. *Names in -κλέης, -κλῆς (Dialectal Subdivision) in inscriptions.*

In inscriptions we notice a difference in names in -κλῆς between the Ionic of Euboeia and of its colonies and that of the islands and of the Asiatic mainland. In Euboeia we find -κλέης, in the other portions of Ionic territory -κλῆς. A similar variation may be observed in Attic inscriptions, though there the difference is chronological merely. The oldest prose inscriptions have -κλῆς, while even in the fifth century the longer form comes to light; and the latter appears, though sporadically, in the inscriptional monuments of the fourth century.

**A. Euboian Ionic.**

Ἰπποκλέης Eretria 16 C 44 (340-278 B.C.); in Styra 19 Θεοκλ < λ > έης 45, Ἐπικλέης 187, Νικοκλέης 271 all of the fifth century. The single case of -κλῆς (Ἡρακλῆς Roberts I 191 B and 192 B on amphorae) may be accounted for by the constant variations in the dialect of vase inscriptions, explained by Kretschmer, *K. Z.* XXIX p. 393 ff.

**B. Ionic of the Islands.**

Ἡπποκλῆς Amorg. 31, Ἡγησικλῆς Keos 44 B 15, Ἀριστοκλῆς 44 B 18, [Φ]ιλοκλῆ[s] 44 B 19, Ὑψικλῆς Delos 55 II 4, Διοκλῆς, Πολυκλῆς, Μενεκλῆς Delos B. C. H. VII 107, lines 6 and 18, Τιμοκλ(ῆ)[s] Thasos 72<sup>1</sup>, Ἰπποκλῆς Thasos 78 C 10, Μεγακλῆς Thasos 81 B 2 and in nineteen names in -κλῆς in the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre (in Bechtel's collection: *Thasische Insch. ionischen Dialekts im Louvre*), Τιμοκλῆς Siphnos 89.

**C. Ionic of the Asiatic mainland and of the colonies of Asiatic cities.**

Πασικλῆς Miletos 93, Τερψικλῆς Mil. 94, both inscriptions of the sixth century, Στρατοκλῆς Theodosia (?) 127, [Τι]μοκλῆς Zeleia 113<sup>2</sup>, Ἡπειροκλῆς Smyrna 153<sup>14</sup>, and Lampsak. 171, Ἀγαθοκλῆς Smyrna 153<sup>19</sup>, Πυθοκλῆς Erythr. 206 A 32, 35, Ἰατροκλῆς 206 A 38, Ἀριστοκλῆς 206 B 48, 206 C 37, Μενεκλῆς 206 C 19, Ἀγασικλῆς 206 C 36, Ἀριστοκλ[ῆ]ς Erythr. *Zeitschr. f. Num.* XIV 152, Ἡγεκλῆς, Ξενοκλῆς, Μεγακλῆς Ephesos (Head, *Num. Chron.* 1880, 117 ff.). From island colonies: Εὐκλῆς Iasos 104<sup>12</sup>, Ἰατροκλῆς 104<sup>32</sup>, Φιλοκλῆς Chios 174 C 19, Φανοκλῆ[s] Chios, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* XIV 153, the Samian Δαμασικλῆς Bechtel No. 217<sup>6</sup>, Πυθοκλῆς 217<sup>8</sup>, Θεμιστοκλῆς 222<sup>6</sup>, Διοκλῆς Perinth. 234 A 14, Ἀγαθοκλῆς 234 B 3. Τερψικλῆς in No. 260 of uncertain provenance, but probably Asiatic Ionic. It may be noticed that Τερψικλῆς was the name of Archilochos' father.

<sup>1</sup> Τιμοκλέους Choiseul and Koehler, -κλέης Boeckh, -κλῆς Karsten.



2. *In the lyric poets*: Προκλέης Phokylides 1<sub>2</sub>, Demodokos 2<sub>2</sub>, with the open form that is not found in the contemporaneous dialect of Miletos<sup>1</sup>. No example of a noun in -κλής has been discovered in a Lelian inscription. It should be noticed that Προκλέους in Demod. 2<sub>2</sub> and Phokyl. 1<sub>2</sub> are non-Ionic, but readily admit the substitution of Προκλέος. The Phokylideian passage might be cured by writing καὶ δὲ Προκλής (Fick), but neither epigram should be tampered with, as it is not certain that the original form has been preserved.

3. *In Ionic prose*: -κλής is the correct form in Herodotos, though rarely admitted by all MSS., as in Ἡρακλής II 145, Προκλής III 50, 51, Μανδροκλής IV 87 (*P R*, but -ής *A B C d*), Σωσικλής V 93 (*A B<sup>1</sup> C d*, -ής *reliqui*). In all these passages Stein and Holder adopt the uncontracted forms; a procedure which is open to grave doubt. Themistokles' name occurs twenty-three times in the uncontracted form in all MSS. In the case of other names the testimony is almost entirely in favour of the open form; which appears in the Arrianic Ἡρακλής 513, 86, 7, Νικοκλής 188. All who quote Hekataios have Ἡρακλής (48, 345, 349), and so in the case of Hellanikos 50 (Θεοκλής). Ion 1 has of course Σοφοκλής.

4. The nominative neuter ἄδος (in Halik. 238<sub>19</sub>, τὸ ἄδος) affords a remarkable confirmation of the Hesychian glosses ἄδημα· ἄδος· ψήφισμα· δόγμα, with which we may compare ἄδηκε βουλή in Hipponax frag. 100. The word is not attested except in Ionic. ἄδος is connected with the last member of the Ionic names Λεάδης Styra 19<sub>242</sub>, and Λεώδης Thasos 77 B 7 (Λεώδεις). The second form is = Ληφοᾶδης (Hom. Ληώδης), the first from Λη(φο)ᾶδης as Λέαναξ from Λη(φο)ᾶναξ. Cf. §§ 281, 289.

527.] **Genitive Singular of Proper Nouns in -ης (Inscriptions).** In the following tables are enumerated the occurrences (in Bechtel's collection) of the genitive of the -ες (-ης) declension together with the genitive of nouns of other declensions, whose genitive is made in -εος, &c. (except the patronymics in -δεος, -δεις, and the terminations -γορεως, which have been tabulated above § 427). The Thasian inscriptions of the Louvre I have placed in the third century, though the latest (part of Nos. 15, 16, 20, 21, and all of No. 18) may be referred to the beginning of the second century. It will be remembered that only those inscriptions are cited which contain one or more Ionisms, and that the lists do not attempt to trace out the usage of the inscriptions after the dialect had passed completely under the sway of Attic.

<sup>1</sup> Both Προκλέης and Προκλής are Old-Attic.







-ΕΟΣ	-ΕΥΣ	-ΕΟΥΣ
	<p>Ἄριστομένεϋς Thas. 72<sub>1</sub>  Κλ]εομένεϋς Thas. 80<sub>10</sub>  Ἄλθημένεϋς Thas. (L.)  4 B 3  Εἰδομένεϋς Thas. (L.) 5<sub>8</sub>  Καλλιμένεϋς Thas. (L.)  11 A 2  Ὀρθομένεϋς Thas. (L.)  12 C 3, 13 A 6</p> <p>Θεογένεϋς Thas. 78 C 5  Κλεογένεϋς Thas. (L.)  12 C 4</p> <p>Λ[εω]σθένεϋς Th. 78 A 9  Εὐρυσθένεϋς Th. (L.) 12  B 5</p> <p>Τηλεφάνεϋς Th. 77 A 9,  78 C 2, Th. (L.) 12  B 10, 14 B 10  Ἀντιφάνεϋς Th. 75 B 6  Ἑρμοφάνεϋς Th. 78 B 13  Ξεινοφάνεϋς Th. (L.) 3 A 5  Λεωφάνεϋς Th. (L.) 4 A 12  Ἀπολλοφάνεϋς Iasos, J.  H. S. IX 341, No. 2</p> <p>Δικηκράτεϋς Th. 75 A 9  Ἀσικράτεϋς Th. 78 B 2  Ἐ[π]ικράτεϋς Th. (L.)  14 B 8, 11 A 4  Ἡγεκράτεϋς Th. (L.) 12  B 8  Ἀντοκ[ρ]άτ[ε]ν[ς] Th.  (L.) 13 A 7  Ἄριστοκράτεϋς Th. (L.)  14 A 7</p>	<p>Ἄριστοφάνεος Th. (L.)  4 A 8  Ξενοφάνεος (?) Th. (L.)  5<sub>3</sub></p> <p>Τιμοκράτεος Th. 82 B 13  (225-200)  Ἐπικράτεος Th. (L.) 2<sub>8</sub>  (about 300)</p>

-ειους	-ου	-ευ	-ους
(L.) 20 A 13, Eryth. 206 B 50	<p>Ἀριστομένου Ery. 206 C 29, 41, 50, Th. (L.) 20 A 2, 21<sub>6</sub> Ὀρθομένου Th. (L.) 15 C 7 Καλλιμένου Th. (L.) 15 A 10</p> <p>Ἐπιγένου Erythr. 206 B 28 Διογένου Th. (L.) 20 C 10 (M)οιρηγένου Th. (L.) 15 B 8 Ἀθηνογένου Eryth. 206 A 31 Ἱερογένου Eryth. 206 A 33, 36</p> <p>Μητροφάνου Ery. 206 C 34 Ἀριστοφάνου Th. (L.) 20 A 4 Λεω[φ]άνο[ν] Th. (L.) 15 B 2 Ἀντιφάνου Th. (L.) 18 B 15</p> <p>Ἐπικράτου Th. 81 B 9, Th. (L.) 20 C 3 Ἀριστοκράτου Th. 82 B 5 Κτησικράτου Ery. 206 C 2 Πολυκράτου Th. (L.) 15 B 7 Ἀντικράτου Th. (L.) 16 A 7, 18 A 11, 20 C 5 Τεισικράτου Th. (L.) 17<sub>6</sub> Τιμοκράτου Th. (L.) 18 B 1 Δεινοκράτου Th. (L.) 19 A 8</p>	<p>Ἀστυκράτευ Ery. 206 B 32</p>	

	-ΕΟΣ	-ΕΥΣ	-ΕΟΥΣ
III Century (continued).	Μενάλλκεος Th. (L.) 6 C 2  Κλεομήδεος Th. (L.) 1 (about 300 B.C.) Πολυάλλθεος Th. (L.) 10 A 11 Εὐηφένεος Th. (L.) 213 (about 300 B.C.)	Θρασυάλλκευς Th. 78 B 14 Δημάλλκευς Th. 81 A 13, 82 A 5 Λεωμήδευς Th. (L.) 11 B 3 Παγχάρειος Th. 722 Κλεοκύδευς Th. 77 A 10 Παγγήθειος Th. (L.) 6 C 7 Δημεῦς Th. (L.) 11 A 3 Ἡγησιτέλειος Th. (L.) 6 B 5	
II Cent. and later.	Ἰατροκλέος Halik. 244 Ἀντιφάνεος Samothr. 236 <sub>5</sub>		Ἡρακλέους Teos 158 <sub>23</sub>

There are numerous occurrences of names in -εος and -ευς in inscriptions later than 400 B.C., which afford insufficient criteria to permit of their arrangement under the foregoing table. Some of these may here be mentioned.

1. Ἀριστοκλέο[s] Erythr. 198, perhaps of the fifth century; Ἀγασικλέ(ος?) Olbia 131, 7 (after 400 B.C., probably fourth century); Ἀστυκλέος Chios 188 (fourth); Μεγακλέος (or -κλέους?) Chios, C. I. G. 2374 *d* appendix; Ἡρακλέος Chios, Paspates 9; Θεοκλέος (or -κλέους?) Halikarn. C. I. G. 2661 *b*, Ἑκατοκλέος (or -κλέου?) Ephesos 149; Μενεκλέος of Soloi, C. I. G. 900; Ἀριστοκλεῦς Perinth. 234 B 19; Μενεκλεῦς Halikarn. 245; Ἀγαθοκλεῦς Chios 191<sub>9</sub>, 192; Τιμοκλεῦς *ibid.* 191<sub>10</sub>, 14 (cf. Ἡρακλεῦς read by Paspates (No. 24) as -κλέους); Attic -κλέους appears in Smyrna 153<sub>14</sub>, 18, 35; -κλείους (§ 220) 153<sub>9</sub> and C. I. G. 3245, both from Smyrna, cf. 3256<sub>3</sub> where -κλήους is written. This last document is very late.

2. Τηλεφάνεος Thas. 83, 1 and Erythr. 198, but -φάνεος Thas. 74: [Πρω]τοφάνεος Olbia 131, 20; Ἀπολλοφάνεος Perinthos 234 B 21, Ἀπολλοφάνου Smyrna 153<sub>3</sub>.

3. Ἐπικράτεος Olbia 131, 6, Ἡροκράτ[ε]ος 131, 8, Ἰφικράτεος 131, 9, Φιλοκράτεος 131, 10 are probable readings; Φιλοκράτειος 131, 22, Μενεκράτειος Perinth. 234 B 7; Καλλικράτου and Ξενοκράτου Samos 222 (pre-Roman).

4. Λεωσέβεο[s] Chios 177<sub>3</sub>, Δεινέος 177<sub>11</sub>, Πυθέος 179<sub>13</sub>.

5. Μεγαμήδευς Teos 157<sub>29</sub>, [Τηλαύγ]ευς Chios 191<sub>7</sub>.

6. Ἀριστομένου Smyrna 153<sub>17</sub>, Σωσιμένου Perinth. 234 A 5; Ἀνδροσθένου Smyrna 153<sub>6</sub>, Καλλισθένους Olbia 131, 11.



-ΕΙΟΥΣ	-ΟΥ	-ΕΥ	-ΟΥΣ
	Παιρισάδου Panti- kap. 122		
	Εὐκράτου Teos 1593		

The forms in -εος are probably of the fourth century, though some may date from after 300 B. C.

528.] **Remarks on the Chronology of the Genitive Forms.** From the foregoing it is apparent that the life of the old termination -εος in the inscriptions was threatened on two sides. First, by -εϋς which was at least Ionic; secondly, by various Attic forms, notably that in -ου. -εϋς begins to take the place of -εος about the middle of the fourth century B. C. It was the third century that witnessed the rapid and wide extension of -εϋς, but after 200 B. C. it too has succumbed. In the Roman period the forms in -εος and -εϋς are practically extinct. The genitive in -ιος was more tenacious of life than that in -εος or in -εϋς. In its inflection of sigmatic stems Ionic was, generally speaking, more conservative than Attic. In the latter dialect proper names gradually yielded to the encroachments of the  $\hat{A}$  declension. In the inscriptions we do not observe a pronounced increase of Attic forms until the third century, and it is worthy of note that of these Attic forms, that in -ους, except in -κλέους, was rarely adopted by Ionic. Doubtless the newer orthography -εϋς was in itself a sufficient approximation to the Attic, as it left no doubt that the sound was not a dissyllable.

529.] I. Ἀριστοκλέους Thasos 72<sub>1</sub> and Εὐρυσθένεους Samos 217<sub>6</sub> are noticeable forms. In No. 72, which dates from the first half of the third century, the genitive ends regularly in -εϋς, except in the form cited; and the -σθενεους form is singular because it is apparently formed in violation of Greek morphology. These forms, as well as Δεοννύς on a coin of Maroneia (Bechtel

p. 114) may be explained by assuming that the engraver began with EO, and then, desiring to adopt the modernized orthography, added Υ after O. See Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* p. 58, and cf. § 247.

The earliest example of the Attic -κλέους dates from the middle of the fourth century B.C. After this date this form strives for supremacy with the epic horic -κλέος.

2. The example of -κλέου is not beyond suspicion, not only because of its isolated position, but also from the fact that Letronne's reading is controverted by Le Bas' Ἑκατοκλέος. If the latter is correct, it is worthy of note that, while -κλέους has been able to drive out the native -κλέος, -κλέου nevertheless, which appears upon Attic inscriptions after 329 B.C., has not been able to effect an entrance into Ionic.

3. The forms in -κλείους represent -κλέους with the intervocalic glide ι, found in εἰάν, ἐννεία, πόλει(ω)ς Zeleia 113 (§ 220), and are paralleled by Ἀντικλείους C. I. A. II 580<sub>3</sub> (324 B.C.), Δημοκλείους C. I. A. II 872, III 12 (341 B.C.), &c. In Attic inscriptions I find no form in -κλείους antedating 344 B.C. (of that date Θερμ]στοκλείους C. I. A. II 701, I 24), while upon Ionic soil the entrance of the glide *iota* into -κλέους does not ensue before 278 B.C. upon the Asiatic mainland, and in fact in an inscription that is all but Attic (No. 206). In Thasos it does not occur before 200 B.C.

4. In an inscription from Pantikapaion (Latyshev II 140), at least as early as the fourth century, we meet with the unique form Αδοκκλῆος (ΚΛΗΟΣ). This genitival form appears in the traditional text of Homer, in Kretan Ἐμπεδοκκλῆος *Mon. Ant.* I 61, No. 8 (together with -κλεῖος *e.g.* *Mus. It.* III 655, 7 No. 71<sub>10</sub>), in Argolic Πατροκκλῆος Loewy 86 (but cf. 89, 103) and perhaps in Kyprian. The epic -κλῆος reappears in poetry (Tyrtaios 11<sub>1</sub>, Kaibel 949, late Spartan), and was adopted even in Herodotos by Aldus (cf. IX 90). As even the Homeric form is to be impeached (for Ἡρακλῆος read -κλέεος), it having been introduced from the analogy of -ῆος, -έος in -ην- stems, a prose form -κλῆος on Ionic soil must be pronounced indefensible. I suggest that the engraver had in mind the H of the nominative and failed to correct his mistake after it appeared in the genitive or H is a downright blunder for E. The latter suggestion is less probable since it is only in late documents that we find the two letters confused, *e.g.* Ἡράκκληα Aiolic, C. D. I. 302, Δημοκκλῆους Smyrna, C. I. G. 3256 (at the earliest from the second century B.C.).

530.] The tables in § 527 show that, as in Attic, names in -κράτης, -γένης, -φάνης have partially passed under the sway of the *Â* declension with which the -ες declension is in close

touch. In Attic inscriptions the accusative passed out of use before the genitive (from 350 on). In Ionic it is not till the opening of the third century that forms in -κράτου, &c., come to light, though by the year 300 B. C. in Attika the older inflection had been almost completely submerged. This is because in Ionic the hold on the dialect forms in -ευσ, after the older -εος had given way, was strong enough to prevent the old declension from being entirely displaced. Nouns in -μένης have -μένον in Ionic by 278 B. C. In Attic these names are genuine -εσ- stems until towards the end of the fourth century, but by 300 B. C. they have passed over into the  $\hat{A}$  declension. Again, it is worthy of note that the Ionic -φάνεος, -φάνευσ, -δίκεος, -πείθεος, -άλκεος, -άλκευς show that -φάνης, -δίκης, -πείθης, -άλκης are treated as -εσ- stems; cf. Attic Εὐφάνους C. I. A. 126<sub>2</sub>, 'Αξιοπείθους C. I. A. 324 D 4, Δημά[λ]κους 'Αθην. IV 199, Hdt. 'Αριαπείθεος IV 76, -ει IV 78, Σπαργαπείθεος IV 76, 78 (Arrian, *Anab.* VI 2, 2 has Σωπείθου).

The form -ευσ comes to light in Rhodian<sup>1</sup> and Knidian<sup>2</sup> documents and in the MSS. of Pindar and Theokritos. The inflection -ου and -ους is also Delphic. The former ending occurs in inscriptions from Knidos, Skyros, Skopelos, &c.

531.] Genitive Singular (excluding inscriptional forms of proper names).

### I. Inscriptions.

τεμένεος Oropos 18<sub>32</sub>, Samos 216, ἔτεος Zeleia 114 F 4<sup>3</sup>, Chios 183 A 15, 51 B 6, προσεχέος τείχους Teos 159<sub>8</sub>, a very late inscription. No case of -ευσ occurs.

### II. Lyric Poets.

1. -εος. ξίφεος Tyrt. 11<sub>34</sub>, ἄνθεος Xenoph. 1<sub>6</sub>, πολυανθέος Mimn. 2<sub>1</sub>, κράτεος Theog. 46, οὔρεος Theog. 881, κέρδεος Theog. 133, ἀεικέος Theog. 811, Καρικευργέος (conj.) Anakr. 91. Cf. also under No. 5. It should be remarked that there is no case of -εος in the iambographic writers.

2. -εος: θέρεος Sim. Am. 7<sub>33</sub> (thus, and not υ υ υ in the first foot), παλιωτριβέος 74<sub>3</sub>. Λυκάμβεος is the form in the MSS. of Archil. 28, and, if correct, is the earliest instance in the Ionic lyric of the influence of the -εσ- stems upon the  $\hat{A}$  declension. Bergk followed Elmsley in editing Λυκάμβεω. Παιρισάδεος occurs in an epigram from Pantikapaion in Kaibel 773 = Latyshev II 9.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., 'Ισοκράτευσ Cauer 178<sub>6</sub>, Θευφάνευσ *ibid.* 182 A 9, Πολυκλεῦς A 18.

<sup>2</sup> 'Αγαθοκλεῦς C. D. I. 3549, 2 ff., 'Αριστογένευσ *ibid.* 21, 'Ανδροσθένευσ *ibid.* 46.

<sup>3</sup> This form occurs also in C. I. G. 2919<sub>1</sub>, a forged inscription from Tralles.



3. -eus. Hipponax 19<sub>2</sub> ῥίγεις, 49<sub>2</sub> τριήρευσ; Herodas 340 τέγεις. In Homer we find a few examples of -eus:—ἐρέβεις, θάμβεις, θάρσευσ, θέρευσ.

4. -ous (Attic). ψεύδους Theog. 607 (quoted by Stobaios), Γανυμήδους at the verse end, 1345, in a passage perhaps belonging to Evenos of Paros, Κυπρογενούς Sol. 26<sub>1</sub>, and Theog. 1304, 1308, 1332, 1383. On Προκλέους Phokyl. 1<sub>2</sub>, Demod. 2<sub>2</sub>, cf. § 526, 2.

5. -hos in Ἡρακλῆος Tyrt. 11<sub>1</sub> is the epic form, for which -κλέεος may be substituted.

6. -ew. A mixed form is Πρηξιτέλεω Hrd. 422: οἱ Πρηξιτέλεω παῖδες· οὐχ ὀρήs κείνα, where no other genitival form had suited the verse. Cf. Λυκάμβεος and Λυκάμβεω under (2) above, and -κλέω, Eretria, Ἐφ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff. In Attic inscriptions of the end of the third century we find -τέλου in proper names.

### III. Prose.

ξίφεος Hekat. 360 (Schol. Ven. A on O 302), θάρσεος Demokr. 207, ἦθεος 127, σκῆνεος 6, 127, 128, ἐπιμελέος 70, πλήθεος Diog. Apoll. 6 (Simpl. 153<sub>11</sub>, a rare instance of the retention of -eos in Simpl.), Hdt. πενταέτεος I 136, ξυνεχέος Philip of Pergamum in *B. C. H.* II 273. Hdt. I 85 and Hippokrates VI 384 have δέους=Homeric δείους from original \*δέεος < δφεϊεσ-ος. The Homeric form was not misinterpreted out of a contracted \*δείευσ, but misread out of δέεος which can be restored K 376, O 4.

Hdt. has usually -eos in proper names. In V 92 β Ἐχεκράτευσ is found in *A B<sup>1</sup> C d*. Traces of this *ev* are rare in the MSS. of the historian. In Herodotos -κλέος is the usual form with the variants:—(1) -κλέους, *e.g.* I 7 (*C R*) or (2) -κλήος, *e.g.* IX 90 Θρασυκλήος in Aldus. It is noticeable that the scribes who wrote our MSS. of Hdt. never adopted the form -κλείους. Ionic -κλέος occurs in the pseudo-Ionists: Lukian, *Syr. dea* 3, Arrian, *Ind.* 59, 10, 91, 18<sub>2</sub>, Abydenos 9, ep. Hippokr. 26<sub>3</sub> (*v.l.*). On the other hand the Attic form comes to light in Lukian, *Syr. dea* 26, Arrian, *Ind.* 512, 13, 8, four times in the letters of Hippokrates. The pseudo-Ionists usually have -eos in other words, *e.g.* Ἰθαγένεος *Vita Hom.* Arrian has κλέους in 36<sub>6</sub>, for which Eberhard reads κλέεος.

### 532.] Dative Singular.

1. -ē in σθένει Erythr. 204<sub>18</sub>, τ]είχει Halik. 240<sub>15</sub>, Ἀργεῖ 240<sub>47</sub> ἔτει Myl. 248 A B C, ἔπει Chios in *B. P. W.* 1889 p. 1195. None of these inscriptions is metrical. In Sim. Amorg. 1, Ἀρεῖ occurs, where Brunck corrected Ἀρεῖ of the vulgate, and also in Sim. Keos 43<sub>2</sub>; in Hipponax 11 ἀγεί is the proper reading according to Bergk, ἄγεί according to Fix. Cf. § 156

ἐνᾶγεῖ is the correct form as conjectured by Meineke, but this form in Archil. 113 has no great probability. Anakr. 107 (eleg.) has τεμένει. πλήθει is found in Tyrt. 49, Theog. 699 (-εῖ possible), ἔλκει in Theog. 1134, πελάγει in Sim. Keos 1352, 1362, 1426, ὄρει 1075.

2. -εῖ in poetry is very rare; ἔγχεῖ Tyrt. 1129, τροχοειδέῃ Theog. 7, φιλοκερδέῃ 199, νήλεῖ 1125. It will be noticed that these forms occur in poets not of Ionic birth. That -εῖ had ceased to exist in purely Ionic poetry before the year 500 B. C. is highly probable; a conclusion that tells against the assumption of a prose -εῖ.

In Herodotos it is the custom to use the non-contracted form even when the MSS., either generally or partially, oppose its adoption (cf. I 70 μεγάθει, III 9 μήκει). The preponderance of -εῖ over -ει in the MSS. as a whole has blinded editors to the large number of instances of -ει in such MSS. as *A B* (173 cases). The contracted form appears to have existed in the archetype  $\chi$ ; and this represents the actual Ionic form of the fifth century, though it is uncertain whether or not it has come down from Herodoteian times to the date of the writing of  $\chi$ . How keen the pursuit of open forms was, is evident from the Aldine edition's στάσεῖ, δόσεῖ, ἀφίξεῖ (I 68), &c. Authors quoting Hekataios have -εῖ, e.g. ὄρει 344, Ἄργει 357. Forms from Anaxagoras likewise, cf. πλήθει, μεγάθει 1, Melissos ὑγίεῖ.

The open forms occur also in the other Ionic writers, who have been subjected to the same μεταχαρακτηρισμός as Herodotos. Thus Hippokrates regularly has -εῖ, and the letters current under his name -εῖ seventeen times, -εῖ only twice. The first epistle of Pythagoras has a contracted form. Lukian in the *Syr. dea* 32 has ἀτρεκεῖ, Arrian about twenty examples of -εῖ to three of -ει; Abydenos frag. 9 has τείχει, Euseb. Mynd. § 1 εὐσεβεῖ, 63 γένει (MSS.) and εὐτυχεῖ (συνεχεῖ Mullach) and κάλλει in the same fragment. Arrian has both Ἡρακλεῖ (363) and Ἡρακλεῖ (86), πλήθει 119. The *Vita Homeri* has τείχει 26.

### 533.] Accusative Singular (Masculine and Feminine).

1. -εα. ἀφανέα Teos 174 *A* 12, Στρατοκλέα Amphip. 102, Theog. βαθυκήτεα 175, εὐτείχεα 1209, περικαλλέα 1277, Demokr. πολυτελέα, αὐταρκέα 36, ἰσοσθενέα 24, δημωφελέα 57, Hdt. διφυέα IV 9, ὑγία III 130, 133, 134. -κλέα is common in Hdt. -κλήα, the Homeric ending, was adopted by Aldus (VII 193, VIII 92). There is no variant -κλήν. Hippokrates has Περι-κλέα III 120. Ἡρακλέα occurs in Ktesias § 21 and six times in Arrian. We find in Herakleitos 16 Ξενοφάνεα, in Lukian, *Vit. Auc.* 4 ἐμφανέα, 6 ἐμφερέα; ὑγία *Syr. dea* 19; *Astr.* 2 ψευδέα and ἀληθέα, 3 πολυειδέα, 5 ἀτελέα. In the *Vita Homeri* the open



forms prevail (twenty-four in all; two contracted forms). On δεσπότεια, Γύγεια and the like, see § 438, 2.

2. -εα. μελιθεῖα Anakr. 41<sub>2</sub>, νεοθηλέα Anakr. 51<sub>1</sub>, δυσμενέα Sim. Am. 710<sub>2</sub>.

3. In Hdt. II 108 we find ἐνδεᾶ. For this form that in -εᾶ should be substituted; cf. epist. Hippokr. 22<sub>1</sub> εὐκλέα. ὑγιά occurs in Hippokr. III 252, and is Attic as well as ὑγιή.

4. -η. ἐξώλη Mylasa 248 A 15 (367/66 B.C.), and so on the forged inscription from Tralles, C. I. G. 2919. This ending occurs also in poetry, where it is not different from -εα: ἐξηκονταέτη Mimn. 6<sub>2</sub> (Sitzler -εα), ὀγδοκονταέτη Solon 20<sub>4</sub>, ἀσκηθῆ Sol. 19<sub>4</sub>. In Theognis we observe ἀπειθῆ 1235 at the end of the verse, and εὐαλδῆ 830 (Bergk, εὐώδη MSS.) before the caesura of the pentameter. There is no example of -κλή in Ionic. εὐφυῆ occurs in Aretaios 331, despite -εα in the plural.

In Hdt. VI 57 for θυσίην δημοτελῆ Stein reads with good MSS. θυσίη δημοτελής.

5. -ην. Ἀντιγένην is found in Thasos 72<sub>8</sub> (300–250 B.C.). Forms in -ην in inscriptions from Smyrna (Μενεκλήν C. I. G. 3238 as C. I. A. II 305<sub>20</sub>, Σωκλήν 3241, and probably Δημοκλήν 3256<sub>2</sub>) are common in the later stages of the life of all dialects. In Attic inscriptions the accusative of names in -κλής ends in -κλέα until the year 300 B.C., afterwards in -κλήν. But other names in -ης have -ην in the earlier part of the century. On Anakreon's αἰνοπαθῆν 36 (Bergk -παθῆ), see under AIOIC.

534.] **Vocative.** Δημοκλεῖς Theog. 923, though -εες was possible. Uncontracted are Περικλεες Archil. 9<sub>1</sub> (eleg.) and Ἡράκλεες 119. Theog. 1323 has Κυπρογένη. Hdt. has Ὑστασπες I 209, since Ὑστάσπης is inflected as an -ες stem (Ὑστάσπεος *l. l.*), and also Πρήξασπες III 34, &c., Ἀρτέμβαρες I 116 and Οἰβαρες III 85.

535.] **Nominative Plural (Masculine and Feminine).** -εες. ἀτελεῖς occurs Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292, but the inscription is Hellenistic. κατηρεφές Anakr. 121, but Λυδοπαθείς 155, Demokr. *Mor.* εὐσταθείς 20<sub>5</sub>, ἀμαθείς 70, θεοφιλείς 107, πολυμαθείς 140, ἀνακηδέες 214; and φιλομεμφές 146, ξυγγενές 152, and εὐφυές 226 (all fragments of Demokrates). Hdt. has ἐπιδεέες (?) IV 130 (*v. l.* -ευέες), Hippokr. φρικώδες V 588 (12). In Hippokr. the open far outnumber the contracted forms.

In the *Syria dea* of Lukian there are twelve, in the *Astr.* two open forms; Arrian also has twelve cases of -εες; Euseb. *Mynd.* § 4 προσφιλέες, 42 ἀπειθέες, 63 ἀφανέες for which Mullach reads διφανέας; epist. Thales 1 φρενήρεες; epist. Hippokr. seven open forms. Abydenos 1 has διφυεῖς, Aretaios contracts seven times, and resolves sixty-one times in the first two treatises. Eusebios has ἀδρανέες. On nominative forms in -εις used as accusative, see § 539.



## 536.] Nominative and Accusative Plural (Neuter).

1. -εα. Upon inscriptions: ἔτεα Olynthos 8 A 5, Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 293 (an inscription containing ἀτελείς and τελῶν), τέλεα Olynthos 8 B 8. In Keos No. 437, an inscription of the fifth century written στοιχηδόν, Roehl has supplied ὀλ[ο]-ρχερ[έα]. In line 17 of the same document θύη is certain. The difference according to Bechtel between the η and εα is here purely graphical; cf. εἴρηται Oropos 18<sub>17</sub> with the usual -εσται in Ionic poetry.

Open -εα occurs in the poets. In the elegists: Archil. 9<sub>1</sub> κήδεα, φάρε' Xenoph. 3<sub>3</sub>, νείκεα Anakr. 94<sub>2</sub>, βέλεα Mimn. 14<sub>8</sub>. Theognis has ἄλγεα 1189, αἶσχεα 388, ἄλσεα 1252, κέρδεα 50, 835, ἦθεα 970, ψευδέα 713, δῆνε' 222. Solon has ἄλγεα 4<sub>8</sub>, 21<sub>2</sub>, ἄνθεα 43<sub>6</sub>, κέρδεα 13<sub>14</sub>. παναλουργέα Xenoph. 3<sub>3</sub>. In iambic poetry we find αἰκέα Sol. 36<sub>11</sub> at the verse end with ἦθη in the next line.

-εα in Ionic prose: οὔρεα Hekat. 172, ψεύδεα Demokr. 119, εἶδεα Melissos 17, &c., ἀληθέα Hekat. 332, Herakl. 107, Melissos 17, Lukian, *de Domo* 20, ἀνωφελέα Demokr. 13, διαπρεπέα 18, ἀσφαλέα 58, ἀσθενέα 185; Protag. πένθεα. Hdt. has -εα throughout, e.g. ἔτεα (ἔτη I 16 b d z), Philip of Pergamum (*B. C. H.* II 273) ἔθνεα, Lukian, *Vit. auc.* 14 δακρυώδεα, *Syr. dea* αἰκέα, ἀτρεκέα, θεοπρεπέα 29, Aretaios ἀπάθεα and ὑγία 91. Hippokr. III 450 has the latter form by a conjecture adopted by Littré. Hdt. II 92 has κρίνεα, the usual nominative being κρίνον.

2. -εα. δῆνεα Sim. Am. 7<sub>78</sub> (first foot), ἔτεα 3<sub>2</sub> (end of verse); αἰέλεα Archil. 12<sub>1</sub> (end of pentameter); ἄνθεα Mimn. 1<sub>4</sub> (before the caesura); σκέλεα Herodas 34<sub>0</sub> (perhaps υύυ).

3. -εᾶ. Hdt. καταδεᾶ II 121 (β), ἀκλεᾶ I 1 are as incorrect as the same forms in the singular. Fritsch in Curtius' *Studien* VI 93 proposes to read καταδέα with hyphaeresis. Bredow preferred καταδεέα.

4. -η. ἔπη Theog. 1366 and ἀσεβῆ 1180 at the end of the verse, a position occupied by ἔτη in Sol. 27<sub>14</sub>. αἰκέα ἦθη 36<sub>12</sub> (trim.); κράτη 36<sub>13</sub> (trim.) according to Blass, where Bergk reads κράτει.

## 537.] Genitive Plural.

1. -εων: ἐτέων Zeleia 114 F 3, τελέων 114 D 6; Archil. ὀρέων 115 (dactylic tetrap. + ithyphallicus), Mimn. ὀχέων 12<sub>11</sub>, δυσμενέων 14<sub>8</sub>, δυσηλεγέων 7<sub>3</sub>; Tyrt. ὀρέων 58, βελέων 11<sub>28</sub>, δυσμενέων 12<sub>21</sub>; Theog. ἐπέων 755, 1334, ὀρέων 1292, χαμαιγενέων 870, εὐσεβέων 1141; Solon νεφέων 13<sub>24</sub>, δυσμενέων 4<sub>21</sub>; μεδέων occurs in Archil. 138, a fragment of uncertain metre.

This form is constant in the prose of Hdt. Ktesias has ἐτέων 21, Herakl. ἐπέων 2, ἐτέων 12, ψευδέων 118 (*vulgo* -ῶν), Demokr. κτηνέων 127, Philip of Pergamum (*B. C. H.* II 273) κερδέων, παθέων, Lukian, *Vit. auc.* 3 ἐτέων.

2. -ῶν: Archil. στηθέων 103<sub>3</sub>, Sim. Am. ἐτέων 1<sub>8</sub>; Theog. κερδέων 46 (in *A O*, *ceteri* κερδῶν), τειχέων 951, στηθέων 1164 (*A*, Stobaios); Solon ἐπέων 1<sub>2</sub>.

3. -ῶν: Archil. ἐνάδεν δυσμενῶν 66<sub>2</sub> (tetram.), for which we may read ἀνὰ δ' ἔχου μένων. Theog. ἐπῶν 1321, Anakr. μελῶν 45 (Blass). τελῶν, Teos, *Mittl.* XVI 292, is Hellenistic.

538.] Dative Plural. τέλεσι Priene 144<sub>2</sub> (φάρεσι in a non-Ionic epigram, Priene 141<sub>3</sub>). Archil. has δυσμενέσιν 7, πελάγεσιν 11, κήδεσιν 66<sub>1</sub>; Kallinos δυσμενέσιν 1<sub>8</sub>; Simonides Amorg. οὔρεσιν 141 (as Hekat. 172, 173), ἀλγεσιν 1<sub>23</sub>; Mimnermos αἰθεσιν 2<sub>9</sub>, Anakr. στήθεσι 39. The dative plural in -εσσι is practically restricted to sigmatic stems in Ionic, only two exceptions being known: ἰχθύεσσι Ananios 5, and περύγεσσι Anakreon 24<sub>1</sub>. In Xenophanes 3<sub>5</sub> χαίτησιν ἀγαλλόμενοι εὐπρεπέεσσι is a conjecture of Bergk, to which Schneidewin's παραῆσιν is preferable; especially since in a fragment of Aristaeas (Kinkel p. 245) we find χαίτησιν ἀγαλλόμενοι παραῆσιν.

539.] Accusative Plural (Masculine and Feminine).

ἀφανέας Teos 156 B 38, ἀκρατέας[s] Chios 174 C 8, ἀνωφελέας Xenoph. 3<sub>1</sub>, εὐγενέας Theog. 184, Τρήρεας Kallinos 4: Hdt. Τρήρεας VII 158, περιδεέας V 44, ἀνθρωποφνέας I 131, Ηιπποκρ. ἰγνέας II 110.

The nominative form -εις is used for the accusative in πρεσβυγενεῖς Tyrt. 4 (Renner -εας), εὐανθεῖς Theog. 1200.

540.]

Many proper names in -ης, inflected in other writers according to the *ā* declension, in Hdt. follow the -ες declension. For a full list of such names, see Bredow p. 230 ff. Some are φαρνάκεος VII 66, Αἰδάκεος VI 13, Τῆδαιος VIII 118, Φαλακταῖος IX 76, Ἀρσάκεος VII 224, Πολυδεκταῖος VIII 131 (Stein's -εω is a conjecture of Valckenaer). Names in -φρένης are invariably -ες stems in Hdt., in Arrian -ᾶ stems. On Herodotean names that are usually -ᾶ stems but incline to the -ες declension, chiefly in the accusative, see above § 438. 2, and Bredow pp. 226-230.

541.] Stem in -υς-.

Original forms of the inflection of μῦς are rare, the influence of the type ὄφρῦς, -ίος having obliterated the ancient inflection. In Hdt. II 141 we find μῦν for the old \*μῦσα; in Herodas 371 μῦς is the nominative plural, whereas the older form is μῦες.



Epicharmos 28 Ahrens;  $\mu\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ <sup>1</sup> for  $*\mu\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$  is supported by a reading in Batrachom. 260 ( $\mu\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\acute{\iota}$ , the regular form from  $*\mu\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$  in 173, 174, 178), but is a mistaken form, only nouns of more than one syllable in the nominative ending in  $-\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\iota$ .

#### 542.] Stems in -os-.

Here belong  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  and  $\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ . *Nominative*: Hdt.  $\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  VIII 83, Arrian  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ <sup>2</sup>,  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ . *Genitive*:  $\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  <  $*\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  Oropos 18<sub>46</sub>, Hdt. II 8, VII 167,  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\varsigma$  Tyrt. 12<sub>45</sub>, Theog. 253, 410, 1266.  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  and  $\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  are everywhere possible in Homer except  $\nu$  171,  $\Theta$  470, 525,  $\delta$  188. *Dative*:  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\iota$  may be read K 238. *Accusative*: the ground-form  $*\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\sigma\text{-}a$  yielded  $*\eta\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha$ <sup>3</sup> =  $\eta\acute{\omega}\alpha$ <sup>4</sup>, which may be read in Homer in place of the traditional  $\eta\acute{\omega}$ .  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}$  may likewise be displaced in favour of  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\alpha$ .  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}$  appears in the MSS. of Hdt. I 8 and deserves the preference over  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\tilde{\nu}$ , an analogue of the  $-\omega\iota$  declension, which Greg. Korinth. § 35 calls Ionic.  $\eta\acute{\omega}\tilde{\nu}$  in the same grammarian is found only in an elegy in Athen. XI 473 A. In Hdt. IV 40  $R$  has  $\eta\acute{\omega}$ , the other MSS. the Attic  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  as Arrian, *Inl.* § 2<sub>5</sub>. Xenophon adopted  $\eta\acute{\omega}$  according to Photios. Our MSS. have however  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ .

#### 543.] Stems in -vs-.

$\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  in Mylasa 249 is the only inscriptional testimony in Ionic to the authenticity of a form preserved in T 117<sup>5</sup>, Hymn II 11, Hesiod *W. D.* 557, Pind. *N. V.* 44, Anakreon 6 and Hdt. *e.g.* II 82. It also appears in a Korkyraian inscription, C. D. I. 3199<sub>2</sub>, in one from Kalchadon, 3052<sub>27</sub>, and is not unknown in Attic (*Timaios* 39 C, *Kratylos* 409 C). The preservation of this original form until so late a period (the inscription no. 249 is not older than the first century B.C.) is an interesting case of the retention of dialect forms.  $\mu\eta\tilde{\nu}$ <sup>6</sup> is only apparently a  $\mu\eta$  stem,  $\mu\eta\nu\sigma\text{-}$  being original.  $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  is from  $*\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\varsigma$  <  $*\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\varsigma$ , according to the law that a vowel followed by a nasal and a consonant is shortened; a law that came into existence after  $\nu\varsigma$  had become  $\nu$  (Aiolic  $\mu\eta\nu\sigma\varsigma$ ).

The genitive  $\mu\eta\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  is found in Oropos 18<sub>6</sub>, Keos 47<sub>4</sub>; nomina-

<sup>1</sup> W. Schulze, *Quaest. Hom.* 50.

<sup>2</sup> Eustath. 727<sub>11</sub>, see II 42<sub>11</sub>, I 504<sub>11</sub>, holds that  $\eta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  is the Ionic form as compared with  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ .

<sup>3</sup> G. Meyer and Schmidt (*K. Z.* XXV 24) regard  $*\eta\acute{\omega}\alpha$  as the original ablaut form which became  $\eta\acute{\omega}\alpha$  through influence of  $*\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ .

<sup>4</sup> In Hdn. II 391<sub>15</sub> = Et. M. 351<sub>15</sub>, Et. Gud. 195<sub>15</sub>, An. Ox. I 158<sub>1</sub>,  $\eta\acute{\omega}\alpha$  is attested as Ionic: incorrectly called Aiolic by Et. Gud. 196<sub>15</sub>, An. Ox. I 137<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>5</sup>  $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  was read T 117 in the Chian edition of Homer. The Schol. Ven. A  $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  calls  $\mu\eta\tilde{\nu}$  Aiolic.  $\mu\eta\tilde{\nu}$  appears in the Herakleian Tables. Cauer 40<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup>  $\mu\eta\tilde{\nu}$  was abstracted from  $\mu\eta\nu\acute{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$ . On the declension of this word see Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 61.



tive plural *μήνες* Anakr. 41, dative plural *μησίν* Halik. 238<sub>18</sub>; Stein correctly edits this form in Herodotos, though *R* has *μήνεσιν* in IV 43, VIII 51.

**544.] Stems in -ασ- -εσ-, nominative -as.**

On the interconnected words *κέρας* and *κάρη* (§ 545), and on *κρέας* see Schmidt's *Neutra*.

*κέρας* is inflected in Hdt. as follows:—*κέρεος* VI 111, IX 26, *κέρει* IX 102, *κέρεα* II 38 and often, *κρέων* II 132, IV 183. In Hippokr. II 68 we find *κέρως* and *κέρατα*. The form with *τ* was contemporary Attic as we learn from [*κέρ*]ατε C. I. A. IV 185 B 46 (410 B. C.). The difference between Hdt. and Hippokr. is marked. *κέρως* could not have come into existence in Ionic at the same time and place as *κέρεος* < \**κέρασος*. *κέρᾱτα* is a new formation, which came into existence after \**κερᾶ(σ)ατος* had been substituted for \**κρά(σ)ατος*. The former of these is the parent of Attic *κέρᾱτος*. *ὑψικέρητος*, which is cited in Hdn. II 68<sub>33</sub> without any statement of its provenance, might at first sight appear to be Ionic; but is in fact a heteroclit from *ὑψικέρης* as *ἀμένητος* from *ἀμένης*. Pindar fr. 325 has *ὑψικέρᾱτα*, but no Ionian used *-κέρητα*.

*κρέας* yields *κρέως* Hdt. II 41, *κρέα* Hdt. I 119, II 47 and often, Hippokr. VII 196, Hekat. 355, Sim. Am. 24<sub>1</sub> (end of trimeter), Theog. 293 (ᾶ), *κρεῶν* Hdt. I 59 and often, Oropos 18<sub>31</sub>, Hippokr. VIII 238, [*κρέεσιν* oracle in Hdt. I 47, cf. C. I. G. 1724], *κρέασιν* Hippokr. VIII 54, 138 as Θ 162. Hdn. II 319<sub>6</sub> = Choïrob. 488<sub>33</sub> has preserved in *κρεοῖν* a trace of the form with *ε* for *α* before an *ο* sound. This may be either Ionic or Attic<sup>1</sup>. That the substitution is preserved in Homer is assumed by Schmidt, who proposes to substitute *κρεέων* for *κρειῶν* in Homer; though in Hymn II 130 *κρεάων* is read by all MSS. (but rejected by Gemoll). I find this plausible, as it accounts for the *ει*, which is difficult.

The Herodoteian forms of *τέρας* are *τέρεος* VIII 37, *τέρατος* and *τέρατα* II 82 in all MSS., *τέρεα* VIII 37. Homer has *τεράων*, *τεράεσσι*, *τέραα*; and *τείρεα* Σ 485, *τείρεσιν* Hymn VII 7 are usually ascribed to the same nominative form. Alkaios 155 used *τερέων* (Eust. 1155<sub>40</sub>), not *τείρεων* (*sic*) as is reported in the Lexicon of Kyrillos, An. Par. IV 192<sub>10</sub>. *τέρατα* is good Attic despite the statements of the grammarians to the contrary, and may well be Ionic of the fifth century. Inscriptional Attic has *κέρατα* but *κρέα*. *Τειρεσίας*<sup>2</sup> was introduced into later literature

<sup>1</sup> That Attic did not repudiate the stem in *τ* is evident from *κρέατος* in Ἀθην. VII 87, 73, the only occurrence upon Attic inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> The name can, however, scarcely be derived from the dative plural *τείρεσι* + *as*, as Ἀλκι-δάμας, &c. I do not know of any certain phonetic change that will explain it as coming from *τερατί-as*.

in the form its initial syllable was forced to assume in the epic. Τερεία in Kaibel 52 may contain the same root, but the name is too singular to be adduced as evidence without further light from other dialects. τείρεα in Σ 485, where it is = ἄστρα, is not to be separated from τέρας. Cf. τερασκόπος and Eurip. fr. 485: ἡ πρῶτα μὲν τὰ θεῖα προϋμαντεύσατο | χρησμοῖσι σαφέσιν ἀστέρων ἐπ' ἀντολαῖς, and Δ 76.

The plural of γέρας occurs frequently in Hdt. in the form γέρεα. This is also found in Miletos 1007. In Kos (Paton and Hicks' *Inscriptions of Kos*, No. 37<sub>21</sub>) we find γ[ε]ρεαφόρος, but γέρη in l. 22 (κρέα l. 23). γερηφόρος appears in *B. C. H.* XII 282, γερηφορία in Dion. Halik.

Epic in colouring is γήραος in Hdt. III 14 (γήραος οὐδῶ), Archil. 116, in Mimn. 2<sub>6</sub>, and in Theog. 527, perhaps a verse of Mimnermos. In 174 Theognis has γήρως which is not Ionic. γήραι, not γήραϊ, is read in Hdt. VI 24. The occurrence of γήραος in Archilochos deserves attention, since it is a case of an Homeric form appearing in a trimeter. Elsewhere the poet contracts α + ο separated by σ (§ 277, 2).

The substitution of ε for α before ο sounds appears also in γήρους, in the pseudo-Hippocratic treatise περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς παθῶν (VII 182). Littré here adopts ἕως γήρους (with Attic -ους), the reading of another hand in *H* (of the fourteenth century) for ἐς τὸ γήρας. In Luke I 36 we read γήρει. The grammarians register γῆρος<sup>1</sup> under the same category as οὔδος, κῶος, σκέπος, κνέφος, &c., all of which forms appear to be nothing more than figments made out of the forms with ε before the case ending. Γῆρος as a proper name is found in an inscription from Panti-kapaion (Latyshev II 140) that is peculiar from the presence of a genitive in -κλήος (§ 529). If connected with γῆρας, it is the only occurrence outside of grammatical literature of a nominative form in -ος interchangeable with one in -as.

Homer has οὔδεος, οὔδεϊ and οὔδει; Aischylos βρέτεος, -ει, -εα, -έων.

The genitive -aos is called Ionic in the case of κέραος, κρέας, γήραος by Hdn. II 301<sub>21</sub> = Choibob. 386<sub>10</sub>, cf. Hdn. II 317<sub>17</sub>, 773<sub>8</sub>, 35, cf. 774<sub>4</sub>, κέραος Et. M. 505<sub>11</sub>; δέπαος, κρέας, γέραος, σκέπαος An. Ox. I 251<sub>23</sub>; κρέας, γήραος Theod. 35<sub>11</sub> (Hilgard); κρέαϊ Hdn. II 316<sub>11</sub>, 774<sub>6</sub> = Choibob. 388<sub>5</sub> [κρέαοιν Choibob. 388<sub>32</sub>, κρέαε Choibob. 388<sub>31</sub>], κρέασι Choibob. 386<sub>28</sub>. γέραα is assumed as an Ionic form, An. Ox. I 99<sub>9</sub> (cf. τέραα μ 394).

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 281<sub>13</sub> = Et. M. 639<sub>1</sub>, II 220<sub>18</sub> = Eust. 1560<sub>30</sub> (cf. 600<sub>11</sub>), II 773<sub>5</sub>, 39 = Choibob. 386<sub>5</sub>, 387<sub>2</sub>. Nowhere is the form called Ionic. Of the forms that appear to be analogous, the only instances which are ascribed to definite dialects are δέρος (on which see Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 341) and κῶος, which are called Ionic or Doric by Et. M. 257<sub>9</sub>; the latter, Aiolie by Tzetzes on Hesiod, *W. D.* 61. ψέφος is Pindaric (frag. 324) according to Et. M. 818<sub>34</sub> (cf. Lobeck, *Rhem.* 315).



## 545.] Stems in Tau.

1. Stems in -ντ-. It has been supposed that Hipponax 12 has preserved the original participial inflection of τάλᾱς<sup>1</sup>:—

τί τῷ τάλαντι Βουπάλῳ συνώκησας;

With this form we may compare αἰνοτάλαντα in Antimachos. The correct explanation is that τάλαντι is a neologism like Σαρπήδοντος, θεράποντος, δράκοντος. Nominative and vocative were alike in the case of -αν and -αντ stems. Participles in Ionic are inflected as in Attic, e.g. κατθανοῦσι Archil. 64, φάγουσι Hipponax 82.

Other stems in -ντ are: Ἀλκιδάμας Keos 41 (on ᾱ, see § 161), Δηιδάμαντ- Aigiale 28 A; [Ἀγ]λωφῶντος Thas. 78 A 2, [Νι]-κοφῶντος 75 A 2 (see § 277, 1, on the contraction of α + ο), Λεωμέδοντος Smyrna 153<sub>10</sub>, Δηιλέοντος Smyrna 153<sub>18</sub>, Μεγακρέ(ο)ντος Chios 177<sub>4</sub>, Ἡγεκρέοντος Samos 217<sub>9</sub>.

Herodotos has ὀδών<sup>2</sup> VI 107 = Attic ὀδούς. An indirect attestation of Ionic ὀδών is found by Bechtel in ΚΟΚΟΔΟΝ<sup>3</sup>, Styra 19<sub>53</sub>, formed as Χαλκῶδων. Hippokrates also has ὀδών. Plural ὀδόντες Hippon. 62<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 43<sub>2</sub>, Hippokr. II 320. ὀδόντες is the aorist participle of the √ēd (or perhaps ēd) eat. Its initial ο is assimilated from the ε of Aiolic ἔδοντες. See J. Schmidt in K. Z. XXXII 329.

2. Stems in -τ-. δόρυ is inflected as a stem in ρ in the following cases: δουρός Tyr. 11<sub>20</sub>, δουρί Anakr. 21<sub>9</sub>, δορί Archil. 21, 2. δουρικλυτοί 35. Elsewhere the τ form: δόρατα Hdt. VII 89, 224, IX 62 in all MSS., but incorrectly, δούρατα I 79 (all MSS.), δούρασι I 172, VII 41 (in P only), Tyr. 11<sub>37</sub>. The forms in ου are Ionic, notwithstanding Archil. δορί (§ 253, 1). Δούριδος occurs upon a Samian inscription (C. Curtius' *Samische Inschriften*, No. 13).

Hdt. has γόνυ VI 27, γούνατος II 80, γούνατα I 199, III 103, V 86, γουνάτων I 112, IX 76 (γύνων Lukian *Syr. dea* 22), γούνασι IV 152, II 132 (γόνασι A B C), VII 88 (γόνασι A B). οὐς yields ὦτα, ὦσί in Hdt., ὦτα Herakl. 4, ὦτων Herakl. 15. ὦς is found in a late inscription from Delos (B. C. H. II 322) and in one from Oropos (Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1889, p. 3, l. 19). Hippokrates has ὠτός II 78, VI 368 (θ, Littré οὔατος), οὔατα VI 390 (ὦτα in θ), IX 84, οὔατων VI 126, IX 86; but ὠσίν VI 128, ὦτα II 646, VI 392 as Herakl. οὔατα is found in Theog. 1163, ὠσί Anakr. 21<sub>4</sub>. In Homer we have the forms with οὐ- except μ 200 (ὠσίν, for which οὔας has been read). See § 266.

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 628<sub>3</sub> = Choir. 280<sub>31</sub> = Bekk. An. III 1421; Theokr. 2<sub>4</sub> has τάλᾱς. In Hrd. 335, 788 we have a hyper-Ionic τάλῃς, according to Crusius, for the usual reading τᾱ λῃς. I do not think such a slip possible even in the speech of the vulgar.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eust. 85<sub>412</sub>, where προόδων and χαυλιδῶν are cited. Epicharmos has κυνόδων fr. 9<sub>2</sub> (Ahrens).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meister in *Jahrb.* vol. 125, p. 525.



Hdt. has ἐν χροῖ IV 175. The word is rare in Ionic as in Attic prose. Homer generally has χροός, χροῖ, χροά which recur in Euripides. χροά is found in Archil. 100, Tyrt. 10<sub>27</sub>, Theog. 217, cf. ἀπαλόχροος 1341. χρώτα occurs in Keos 43<sub>20</sub>. Hdn. has a nominative χροῦς I 401<sub>5</sub>, II 921<sub>8</sub>, &c., from which he derives χροός. Hdt. has μελάγχροες, Hippokr. -χροίος.

σταῖς Hdt. II 36 (not στάς) yields σταιτός. See Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 357. Hdt. I 120 has ὄνειράτων (cf. v 87) from τὸ ὄνειρον (ὄνειρος VII 16). ἔρωσ Archil. 103, ἔρωτι Anakr. 19<sub>2</sub>, ἔρωτα Hdt. V 32. ἔρωσ occurs in Homer Γ 442, Ξ 294, a form with τ for the first time in Hymn II 449 (ἔρωτα). Theognis has the Homeric ἔρος 1322, ἔρον 1064. ἐσθήν Mykonos 92<sub>24</sub> is a heteroclit (ἐσθήτος Hdt. IX 80), cf. μύκην in Hekataios (schol. Ven. A on O 302). Both of these words are classed by Bechtel (*Ion. Inschr.*, p. 66) with those which he maintains have pan-Hellenic η stems. The genitive of the latter noun is μύκew in Archil. 47.

From εἶλως we have εἶλωτες IX 80, εἰλώτων (C, -τέων R) in IX 80 and IX 28. In IX 10 εἰλώτων is read, but in VI 58, 75, 80 εἰλωτέων is the sole reading of all the MSS. εἶλωτας VI 81 is indifferent as no stress is to be laid on the accent. The co-existence of the two genitive forms in this and other abundantia such as μέγαρον, μέγαρος may have been in part the cause of such formations as μυριαδέων, -ων, ἀλωπεκέων, -ων, &c.

On λῖος from λῖς = λέων, see § 484. Hippokr. VIII 168 has ἄλειφα for ἄλειφαρ.

κάρη nominative Anakr. 43<sub>1</sub>, accusative Tyrt. 10<sub>23</sub>, Ionic for κάρᾱ. This nominative in Homer forced an entrance into the genitive and other cases. In earlier prose the word went out of use save in compounds (Hdt. παραδοκεῖν which has Attic ᾱ, Hippokr. καρηβάρεια, -βαρέω, -βαρικός), but in post-Homeric poetry κάρη was treated as a stem of the first declension. Theognis 1024 (Mimnermos?) has κάρη. κάρην occurs in Kallimachos fr. 35 B, Nikander *Ther.* 131, &c. κάραν appears in the Anakreontics 50<sub>9</sub> and is the accusative of the Attic dative κάρᾱ (in tragedy).

#### 546.] Stems in Delta.

According to Hdn. I 526<sub>27</sub>, II 18<sub>27</sub> (cf. Drakon 23<sub>19</sub>, 45<sub>22</sub>), in trisyllabic nouns in -ις, the ι was long in Ionic, short in Attic, e.g. πλοκαμῖς, κεραμῖς, but ἀγαθῖς and τρυφαλῖς always have -ῖς. Clip-names in -ᾱς<sup>1</sup> have -ᾱδος<sup>2</sup>, rarely -ᾱ, in the genitive. -ᾱ is

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Μικᾱς Thas. (L.) 14 A 7, Ἑκατᾱς Erythr. 206 B 23, Πρηξᾱς 206 A 8, Εὐδᾱς Samos 225, Πυγμαῖς Amorg. 28 A, Νοσσικᾱς Thas. 76<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Hdn. II 657<sub>7</sub> Βιττᾱς Βιττᾱδος, Κυρᾱς Κυρᾱδος.

the original termination, -âdos having worked its way in from the analogy of *φυγάς*, *νομάς*, &c., G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 345. On the accent of -âdos see Bechtel (*Ion. Inschr.* p. 60). Examples are: Ἡράδος Thasos 76<sub>1</sub>, 82 B 3, Thas. (L.) 18 A 10, 20 B 6, Μολπᾶδος Abdera 163, 10, Διονυσ[ᾱ]δος Abd. 163, 15<sup>1</sup>, Ἀπολλᾶδος Dittenb. *Syll.* 344<sub>63, 98</sub> (Ephesos), C. I. G. 3253 Smyrna (late), Εἰρηνᾶδος Erythr. 206 B 25, Σωπᾶδος 206 C 27, Βατ(τ)ᾶδος Perinth. 234 B 16, cf. Dittenb. *Syll.* 172<sub>4</sub> (Erythrai?), Κακρᾶδος Halik. 240 A 43, Ταυσᾶδος 240 A 64, Ὀλετᾶδος 240 B 47. These genitives in -âdos appear upon Ionic soil as early as the first half of the fourth century. Dative in -âdi: Φιλωνᾶδι Smyrna, C. I. G. 3392 (late). Μαιάς has the genitive Μαιᾶδος Hipponax 21 A.

Διονυτᾶ Smyrna, C. I. G. 3137<sub>33</sub>, Θευνδᾶ Iasos 106 (first century B.C. or later), Ἀπολλᾶ Ephesos (Dittenb. *Syll.* 344<sub>72</sub> first century), are the only examples of -â, which never gained a foothold in Ionic. See Dittenberger *Sylloge* No. 344, note 28.

Names in -ûs have -ûdos, e.g. Δεονῦδος<sup>2</sup> Erythr. 198, and -ûos, e.g. Διονῦος Olbia 133, inflected on the lines of ἰχθῦς.

\*Ἀρτεμις<sup>3</sup> yields Ἀρτέμιδι Chios 193, Miletos 101, Pantikap. 120, Phanag. 165, Paros 59 (epigr.), and so in Hdt. The accusative is Ἀρτεμιν § 491. On late coins Ἀρτέμιδος Ephesos Head II. N. 498, Ἀρτέμιτος Magnesia, *ibid.* 502. Μαιήτις, Φθιωτίς, Ἰστιαιωτίς, Θεσσαλιωτίς, Τάναϊς have in Hdt. -ιδος, accusative -ιν. New Ionic usually prefers -ιος. Hdt. has κανναβίδα IV 74, but -ιος 74, 75.

Θέτις yields Θέτιδος Erythr. 206 B 27 (also Epic). On Θέτιος see § 481. Theog. 499 has ἰδριες as Homer. νεήνις has the dative νήνι Anakr. 14<sub>3</sub>.

The Homeric genitive \*Ἀῖδος which occurs in Theog. 917 is from the stem \*Αῖδ-. Ἀΐδης is elsewhere an Ἀ stem (Ἀΐδαο Theog. 244, 427, 906, Ἀΐδεω Theog. 703 (in A), Solon 24<sub>8</sub>).

πάλμυς has πάλμυδος Hippon. 15<sub>4</sub>, but πάλμυν 1<sub>1</sub>; vocative πάλμυν 30 A, 30 B. Hdt. has νεήλυδα I 118, ἐπήλυδα I 78.

Hdt. has Μελάμποδα II 49, τρίποδα I 144 &c., αἰγίποδας IV 25 but Οἰδιπόδεω IV 149, Οἰδίπουν V 60, ἀρτίπουν III 130.

A grammarian in Bekk. Anecd. I 104<sub>1</sub> says that Hdt. used the dative form κόμμιδι<sup>4</sup>; whereas in reality both Hdt. and Hippokr. use κόμμι; cf. § 484.

On the parasitic ε in hyper-Ionic -εων, see §§ 74, 2, and 480.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Διονυτᾶδος C. I. G. 3141<sub>55</sub>, 3242 (both late inscriptions from Smyrna), Διονυσᾶδος Abdera, in *Cut. Brit. Mus.* Thrace 74, No. 62, 68, 85.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Zeit. f. Gym.-Wesen*, 38, p. 110, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Buck, *A. J. P.* X 463.

<sup>4</sup> This form was used by the comic poet Krobylos (Hdn. II 76<sub>710</sub>).

χρυσάγιδ<ε>ος Keos 41 (epigr.) is due to the error of the stone-cutter.

#### 547.] Stems in Theta.

Hdt. has ὄρνιθος, ὄρνιθα IV 131, and ὄρνιν II 73, ὄρνιθες and ὄρνεια, ὄρνιθων and ὄρνιθίων in II 77, ὄρνισι, ὄρνιθας.

#### 548.] Declension of θέμις, χάρις.

Hdt. has Θέμιος II 50, Theognis θέμιστας 1141 as A 238. Cf. θέμιστος Aiolic and epic, θέμιτος in Pindar, θέμιδος Aischylos. The stem θεμιστ- has been regarded as a compromise between θεμισ- and θεμιτ-. Hdt. uses the adjective θεμιτός V 72, ἀθέμιστος VII 33 (A B C), VIII 143. See THESSALIAN § 37, 6 e.

ἄχαρις has the dative ἀχάρῃ I 41, despite χάριτα VI 41, IX 107, ἀχάριτα I 207 (neuter plural), ἀχαριτώτατον VII 156; ἀχαρίστοισι I 90, εὐχαρίστως I 32. Hdt. has χάριν V 99, ἄχαριν III 24. Χάρισιν occurs Thasos 68 B.

#### 549.] Stems in Gutturals.

In the old Chian inscription 174 we find A 16 οὐροφύλακες, A 19 οὐροφύλακας, whereas Hdt. uses both φύλακος and φύλαξ according to Stein: φύλακα I 41, 44, VIII 41, φύλακας VII 95, cf. also χρυσοφύλακας IV 13, 27, and Herakl. 123 φύλακας. In Hdt. I 113 φύλακα is supported by *d* and Aldus only, and in II 121 (γ) φυλάκους is undisputed.

From θρίξ, we have τρίχα Paros 67<sub>1</sub>; Hippokrates has ἔλμιγες, -ων, from ἔλμιγξ for the ordinary ἔλμινς, ἔλμινθος (VII 596).

Theog. 1 uses the Homeric vocative ὦ ἄνα<sup>1</sup>; Hdt. has ὠναξ I 159, IV 150 &c. Theog. 949 has the Homeric (E 299) ἀλκί. Anakreon 24 has in πτερύγεσσι a rare instance of the Aiolic transference of the ending -εσσι to non-sigmatic stems.

ῥήνιξ Hippokr. VIII 116 (adjective ῥηνικός) is a noteworthy form. ῥήνις is found in lexicographers. Cf. κέληξ, κέλης.

On hyper-Ionic -εων, see § 480.

#### 550.] Stems in Labials.

In VIII 322 Hippokrates uses λίπα with ἔλαιον in a preceding clause; in 324 we have ἐλαίῳ χρίων λίπα.

#### 551.] Stems in Rho.

The inflection of πατήρ, θυγάτηρ, μήτηρ in Herodotos presents nothing unusual. The tendency of Homeric forms to find a footing in MSS. of Hdt. is seen in πατέρι, III 34, *R* and Aldus. πατρός is found in Theodosia (?) 127, πατέρα Delos 57, Chios 192. μητέρα is read in Keos 43<sub>26</sub>. θυγατρός Pantikap. 120, θυγατέρας

<sup>1</sup> ἄνα is called Ionic, Bekk. An. II 930<sub>18</sub>.



Keos 43<sub>27</sub>. The epic and Aiolic<sup>1</sup> *θύγατρα* is called Ionic by An. Bachm. (Max. Pl.) II 65<sub>3</sub>, but is not met with. Hdt. has *Δήμητρος*, -τρι, -τρα (*Δήμητραν* II 123 in *d* and Aldus; cf. Kratylos 404 B where Schanz read -τρα, and Plutarch *de Malig.* 13 &c.). Hippokr. VII 596 *γαστήρσι*, *v. l.* *γαστρήσι*. In Hdt. the word presents no peculiarities.

*χείρ* has the following inflection:—*χείρός* Hdt., Hippokr., Sim. Keos 136<sub>3</sub>. *χειρί* Hdt., Hippokr. *χείρα* Hdt., Hippokr., Archil. 130, Sim. Keos 141<sub>6</sub>. *χείρε* Hippokr. VIII 236 *vulgo*, *χείρας* in *θ*. *χειροῖν* Solon 1350<sub>62</sub>; cf. note 2 below. *χείρες* Hdt., Hippokr. *χειρῶν* Hdt.; Herodas 7<sub>3</sub> has the hyper-Ionic *χειρέων*. In *δ*<sub>11</sub> *χειρέων* is a correction for *χειρῶν* of the papyrus. The appearance of this form harmonizes with the date of the papyrus (first century A.D., see § 113). *χειρέων* also occurs Hippokr. II 74, III 462; the correct form V 466. *χερσί* Hdt., Hippokr., Mimn. 12<sub>6</sub>, Tyrt. 10<sub>25</sub>, Sim. Keos 142<sub>8</sub>. *χείρας* Hdt., Hippokr., Solon 4<sub>4</sub>, Sim. Keos 115<sub>1</sub>.

In MSS. of Hdt. we occasionally find the forms with *ε*. Thus *χέρας* VIII 106 *C P*, the Venetus *δ* and Aldus. Steph. Byz. *s. v.* *Αὐτόμολοι* cites Hdt. II 30, but in a form that is so Atticized that we need not wonder at *χερός*. Aldus alone has *χερός* II 169, V 77, VII 112, 115, *χερί* II 106, III 78, IV 71, VIII 121, IX 72, *χέρα* VII 42, *χέρας* IV 64, 69.

It is interesting to note that in Attic inscriptions we find [*χ*]*ε*[*ι*]*ροῖν* C. I. A. II 742 A 14; *χειρσίν* C. I. G. II Add. 2811 *b* 10 (Aphrodisias) and 2942 *c* 4 (Tralles). In both places Boeckh read *χερσίν*. Hdn. II 277<sub>22</sub>, 748<sub>19</sub> denies the existence of this dative form with *ει*. Hdn. II 748<sub>17</sub> says that the form *χερός* occurred in iambographic poets; but he cites no example in proof.

The difference between the Homeric and Herodoteian inflection consists in the possession by Homer of the following non-Herodoteian forms:—*χερί* (only three times), *χείρε*, *χείρεσσι*, *χείρεσι*.

*άνήρ* has *άνέρος* Xenoph. 6<sub>4</sub>, *άνέρι* Kleobulina 1, *άνέρας* Phokyl. 15<sub>2</sub> (*vulgo* *άνέρος*), all poetical forms. The iambographic poets use the forms known to prose: *άνδρός* Sim. Amorg. 71<sub>10</sub>, *άνδρί* 7<sub>22</sub>, *άνδρα* Archil. 124, *άνδρῶν* Hipponax 45<sub>2</sub> trim., *άνδράσιν* Archil. 64 and 74<sub>6</sub> tetr., Phokyl. 15, Mimn. 1<sub>5</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 77<sub>2</sub>, 92, 95, *άνδρας* Hippon. 21 B trim.

On Aldus *άνδρέων* Hdt. VII 187, see § 480.

In Hipponax 51<sub>1</sub> Buttman read correctly *μάρτυρσιν* (Welcker *μάρτυσσι*) for Tzetzes' *μάρτυσιν*. Theog. 1226 has *μάρτυς*. The suffix in *μαρτυρ*-, *μάρτυς* is a product of dissimilation (Kretschmer *K. Z.* XXXI 447) from *mrtru*-. A suffix -*tur*- is unknown. *μάρτυς* is found in Pindar and in tragedy, and *μάρτυς* occurs upon an Attic epigram *Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1888, p. 3. *μαῖτην*

<sup>1</sup> Tzetzes, Ex. II. 74<sub>11</sub>. This epic form from the shorter stem is due to an objection to the succession of short syllables.

and *μαῖτυρς* occur in Kretan, *μάρτυρος*<sup>1</sup> in Homer, Phokian and Delphic, *μάρτυρ* in Aiolic according to Hdn. I 236<sub>14</sub>, and certainly in Doric. Hdn. I 47<sub>7</sub> (cf. Eust. I 14<sub>20</sub>) cites *μάρτυρες* as occurring in the comic poets and in Hipponax. This form is found in Herakl. 4, 15, 118 (-as), and was read by Zenodotos in B 302.

The accusative *μάρτυν* occurs in Sim. Keos 84<sub>4</sub>, *μάρτυρα* 148<sub>5</sub>. The latter form is found in Archil. 152.

Solon frag. 14 has preserved the older form *μάκαρ* (Bergk *μάκαρς*) which occurs also in Diphilos (Clem. Alex. *Str.* VII 303). Alkman's *μάκαρς* (frag. 10) is due to analogy.

### 552.] Stems in nu.

The quasi *nu* stem Ionic *μείς* has been discussed above § 543. Under this section are included the stems of comparatives which end now in *nu*, now in *sigma* (-ω from -οσα, -ους from -οσες). The *nu* stems of Ionic are in general declined as in Attic. Hence only such inscriptional forms as serve to explain the language of the lyric poets, Herodotos, and the later prose writers are adduced.

The omission of *ι* in the form *πλέον*, &c. (see § 219, 3), is highly probable, at least in Herodotos, notwithstanding that the MSS. sometimes preserve it. It is difficult to see how the form *πλεῦν* could coexist with *πλεῖον*. The forms with *ευ* are less frequent in other Ionic prosaists.

**Nominative Singular:** *πλέον* Hdt. II 60, Herakl. 112 (Cobet for *πλείων*); neuter *πλέον* or *πλεῦν* often in Hdt. (all MSS. *πλεῖον* in I 192). *πλεῦν* occurs II 52, IX 41.

**Genitive Singular:** *πλέονος* Keos 43<sub>5</sub>, as Demokr. 21, Hdt. *πλεῦνος* I 97, II 89, III 40, IV 43, V 34 with no case of *πλέονος*, though this form appears in *AB*<sup>1</sup> in IV 43. It is to be noticed that *πλείονος*, which does not appear on Attic inscriptions till the second century B.C., is found in no Ionic document. For *γλήχους* in Hippokr. VII 160 it is to be noted that *θ* has *γλήχωνος*.

**Dative Singular:** *Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι* Naxos 24, Milet. 93 &c. In VII 49 Hdt. has *πλέονι* (*πλείονι d*, *πλεῦνι* Stob.) side by side with *πλεῦνα*; in II 25 for *πλέονι R d* have *πλείονι*.

**Accusative Singular:** *ἐλαττον* Orop. 18<sub>5, 22</sub> (cf. Hippokr. *ἐλασσον* II 36) and *πλέον* 18<sub>4</sub> are neuter. In Hdt. we find *ἐλάσσω* often, e.g. VII 8 (a), where is also the sole occurrence of *ἐλάσσονα*; *καλλίω*; *ἀμείνω* seven times, but IV 158 *ἀμείνονα*; *μέζω*; *ἔσσω*; *κακίω*; *πλέω* but *πλεῦνα* IV 114, VII 49, 51, IX 111; *κρέσσω* but *κρέσσονα* IX 41; *αἰσχύονα* IV 144. In

<sup>1</sup> An. Par. III 135<sub>14</sub>, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I 132, Greg. Kor. p. 591 (Aiolic).



Hippokr. we find ἀμείνω II 24, 30, 146, πλείω 270, 292, 318, 326, ἐλάσσω VII 228 (cf. *Vita Hom.* 16), πλέονα II 112, ἥσσονα 316. ἀμείνω occurs in Theog. 409, 1161, πλείω Theog. 907 (O has πλείον), κακίω in Archil. 64 (cf. κάκιον 13).

κυκεῶνα Hipponax 434, as in Hippokrates II 306, Lukian *V. A.* 14, Aret., Aristoph., Plato. Homer has κυκεῶ, -ειῶ. Τυφῶνα in Hdt. II 144, but also Τυφῶ in III 5. For γλήχωνα of the vulgate in Hippokr. VI 248, θ has γληχω (*sic*; see under genitive). Hdt. has εἰκόνα II 143 (cf. § 523).

The accusative singular of nouns in -ων, -ωνος is not -ω as in Attic inscriptions of the classical period: Ἀπόλλω C. I. A. I 915 (464/57 B.C.), Hdt. Ἀπόλλωνα I 87; Ποσειδῶ C. I. A. II add. 66 C 14 (356 B.C.), Hdt. Ποσειδέωνα VII 129, VIII 55.

**Vocative Singular.** In certain Milesian inscriptions from Naukratis (Roberts 132 A, B, F) Mr. E. A. Gardner has thought to discover a vocative Ἀπόλλω, a form hitherto unknown. That Mr. Gardner's conclusions rest upon incorrect reading of the inscriptions has been shown by Merriam, *Am. Journ. Archaeol.* III 304, and by Bechtel *Ion. Inschr.* p. 153. For Ἀπόλλω, σοῦ εἶμι read Ἀπόλλωνό(ς) εἶμι. On χελιδοῖ see § 523.

### Nominative Plural.

(1) *Masculine and feminine.* In Chios 174 B 24 we find ἰάσσονες. In Hdt. ἀμείνονες (but ἀμείνους V 78), πλεῦνες (πλέους II 8, where *R d z* have πλείους, and II 120, where all MSS. have πλείους), κρέσσονες, ἐλάσσονες, μέζονες, κακίονες, ἔσσονες. Hippokrates has πλείονες II 58, 84, πλείους II 642, 668 (*bis*), μέιους II 628, βελτίους II 24, ἐλάσσους II 646, μέζους II 628, ἥσσοις II 646 (ἥσσον *A C H*). Demokritos 115 has πλέονες, Xenophanes 34 μέιους, Theognis κρέσσοις 618, 996.

The nominative plural in -ους was also carried over into the accusative.

(2) *Neuter (nominative and accusative).* In inscriptions we find μέζονα Oropos 1816, πλέω Miletos 1002. Hdt. has ἐλάσσω (ἐλάσσονα III 102 accusative), κρέσσω, ἀμείνω, πλέω (πλέονα II 145, where *A B C* read πλείονα), μέζω (μέζονα nom. VIII 37, accusative I 26, II 68 where *P R d z* have μέζω, II 148, III 102). In Hippokrates we find πλείω II 650 nominative and III 482 accusative, πλέονα VI 368, ἀμείνω II 30, μείζονα II 52, μείζω II 624, μέζω 324, III 450, ἐλάσσονα VIII 36 (θ), ἐλάσσω II 24, 306, χείρω II 702, μείω III 534, κακίω II 306, κρέσσω VI 14. Demokritos 92, Anaxag. 14 (*bis*) have πλέω, a form adopted by Mullaeh in Melissos 3, where Simplicius read πλείω; Protagoras has κρείσσω (*sic*), Anaxagoras 6, 14 ἐλάσσω, 6 μείζω (Simpl.) In Theognis 702 we find πλείονα, in Herodas 385 πλέω.



**Genitive Plural.** Hdt. *πλεόνων* and *πλεύνων*; *πλειόνων* Demokr. 20. On hyper-Ionic *-εων*, see § 480.

**Dative Plural.** The regular termination is *-σι*, *e.g.* in *Μακεδόσιν* Olynthos 8 B 9, *ἐλάσ[σ]οσ[ι]* Keos 43<sub>1</sub>, *μνήμ[οσ]ιν* Halik. 238<sub>10</sub>. Theognis has *νήφοσι* 481, 627, Xenophanes 2<sub>7</sub> *ἀγῶσιν*, Archil. 74<sub>7</sub> *δελφῖσι*. Hdt. has *πλέοσι* II 53, VIII 69 (*πλείοσι R*), IX 122 (*πλείοσι ABC*), and so in Hippokr. III 450 in many MSS. (Littre *πλείοσι*); *μέζοσι* I 194, *εὐδαίμοσι* II 78.

An irregular *-εσι*, recalling the ending of *ἵνεσιν*, Ψ 191, &c., occurs in *δαιτυμόνεσι* Hdt. VI 57 (*-εσσι ABC*), *πλεόνεσιν* VII 224 in *Rd*. Neither of these forms is to be adopted. *μήνεσι* (§ 543) reminds one of Aiolic *μήννεσι* C. D. I. 213<sub>12-13</sub>, though in that form one *σ* does duty for two. *σπλήνεσι*, found in Hippokrates III 432, 450, 452, 496, IV 120, 148, 156, 160, 218, 220, is a noteworthy form for *σπλησί*.

*ἡγεμόνεσσιν* Solon 1<sub>6</sub> is not to be expelled though not Ionic, because of the existence of Homeric forms in his diction. The conjectures of Fick (*B. B.* XIV 254) *ἡγεμονοῦσι* or *ἡγεμονεῦσι* are improbable on other grounds. *πλεόνεσσι* in Theog. 800 is Homeric.

**Accusative Plural** (*masculine and feminine*). In Hdt. the Attic *πλείους* occurs I 167 for which Stein has substituted *πλείστους*, Bredow *πλέους* or *πλεῦνας*; in II 120, II 121 (δ) Stein reads *πλέους* where all MSS. have *πλείους*. *πλεῦνας* is the common form. On *πλεῦνας* or *πλέονας* see § 287. Other forms are *αἰσχίονας*, *μέζονας*, *ἔσσονας*, *ἐλάσσονας*, *ἀμείνονας* (*ἀμείνους* V 92 (α) in C). Hippokrates adopts *ἀμείνους* II 92, *πλείους* 20, 308, *βελτίονας* II 64, *πλείονας* 278, *Vita Hom.* 34 *πλείους*. Theog. 605 has *πλέονας*.

Ionic uses the longer forms more frequently in nominative and accusative plural (masculine and feminine), the shorter more frequently in accusative singular, in nominative, accusative, and vocative plural (neuter).

If we compare the Ionic comparatives (*nu* stems) as attested by inscriptions with their Attic kindred, it is clear that the older forms were retained for some time by the Ionians, and that at a comparatively early date those derived from sigmatic stems came into use. But in Attika we find in the epigraphic monuments down to the opening of the first century B.C., only such forms as *μείζω*, *πλείω*, *ἐλάττω*; *ἀμείνους*, *ἐλάττους*, *πλείους*. Forms in *-ονα*, *-ονες*, *-ονας* appear in Athens with Sulla.

Later Ionic does not use *πλέες*, *πλέας* < \**πλε-ισ-ες*, < \**πλε-ισ-ας*. Cf. Hom. *πλέες*, Kretan *πλίες*, Hom. *πλέας*, Kret. *πλίανς*.

*Adjectives.*

553.] Varying case forms have been discussed under Declension of Nouns. On πολλός, πούλυσ see §§ 254, 479. On πλέος, πλέη, πλέον *full*, see § 478. In the following are mentioned some words whose structure is of interest, and others not recorded in L. S.

Hdt. has σῶς I 24, III 124, IV 76. A feminine σῶη is found in Babrios 94<sub>s</sub> (σῶην). For σόον, occurring in Hdt. II 181, σῶον (*CP*) may be substituted. This form has come to light on an Attic inscription C. I. A. I 36<sub>9</sub>. σῶοι should be read V 96, VIII 39, cf. σῶαι I 66, σῶα IV 124, VI 86 (*a*), σῶων II 121 (*β*). In these passages Stein wrongly adopts σόος. [σ]όαι? Hrd. 6<sub>93</sub>.

In I 194 ζῶς is found (ζῶς *R d*) and so in II 122 (ζωίων *ABC P*); and in Archil. 63<sub>2</sub> ζωοῦ is the MS. reading for which Porson substituted ζοοῦ. In 63<sub>3</sub> [Archil.] has ζωοί.

πίερα is found in Hippokr. II 90, VII 516 (*vulgo*), II 76 (πίερα). πιαρός in VII 512, 514 (and 516 according to Littré) has been emended to τὸ πῖαρ, because πιαρός appears only in later Greek. Anakreon's πέπειρα (87) recalls πίερα, which in Homer exists alongside of ἡ πίων. αἱ πέπειροι Hippokr. VI 562; πέπειρον II 306, 308, πέπειρος VIII 228 (*θ*) have been attacked in favour of the feminine forms.

Hdt. has -ετις for -ετης, *e.g.* τριηκοντοέτιδας σπονδάς VII 149 (-αέτιδας *B d z*). Noteworthy is ἐπήλυδα ἔθνεα VIII 73.

ἄδαῆς in Abdera 162 (epigram), is a word known to Hdt. IX 46, but not to Homer, who has ἀδαήμων.

ἀνηρίθευτοι Chios 174 B 25-26 is from ἔριθος with the initial vowel lengthened in composition. In ἀνερίθευτος the lengthening has not taken place.

ἄλογ- and ἄλουγ-: see § 295, III.

σινδῶν *ἄλς* Samos 220<sub>19</sub>. ΛΙΣ is all that is preserved. Since there appears to be no break after the word, it must not be filled out by λισ(ή). Cf. Odyssey 12. 79: πέτρη γὰρ λῖς ἐστι, and λιτί, λίτα. λιτός occurs in this Samian inscription (l. 23).

With τεσ(σ)ερακαιεβδο[μη]ροντούτης Paros 58, cf. πεντηκοντόγνος Iliad IX 579, ἑξηκονταέτη Mimm. 6<sub>2</sub>, ὀγδωκονταέτη Solon 20<sub>4</sub>, πρωτότμητος, found only Paros 67 (period of the empire), is applied to the hair of an ephebos.

αὔτοικος Zeleia 114 E 6.

Adjectives of two or three endings. ἔρημος (§ 123) in Hdt. has usually two, rarely three, endings. ἔτοιμος has sometimes three endings. Hippokr. has ἡ ἄρτιος, Hdt. ἡ ἡλίθιος. αὔλειο has usually no feminine in early Greek except in Hom. and Hdt.

so δούλειος (δουληίη Hdt. III 14). In Hdt. ἐδῶδιμος has three, ἱππάσιμος three, but two in IX 13, λόγιμος three, but two in VI 106, παραθαλάσσιος varies (but two VI 48; VII 110, VIII 23 three); αἴτιος and μετάρσιος have three, ἐπέτειος three, but two in II 92; αὐτομάτη is found in Hippokr. VI 326.

Apollon. *Adv.* 602 = Schn. 189<sub>5</sub> states that Ionic adopts the -η forms in compounds instead of the -ο of the stem, and cites *inter alia* ὀρκιητόμος, αἰμηπότης.

**554.] Comparison of Adjectives (Regular).** Forms which do not differ from those in use in Attic or not noteworthy for other reasons are not adduced.

**1. -τερος, -τατος.**

Hdt. has πρηύτερος (Plato πραότερος), βραχύτερος, ταχύτερος, ταχύτερον and θάσσον as adverbs. Hippokr. and Arrian have ταχύτερον. οἰκτρότερος is Herodoteian. New Ionic is κεινότερος and στεινότερος = Attic κeno- and στενο-. Melissos 14 has κενεώτερος. κυδρότερος is found in Xenoph. 2<sub>6</sub>, Ion 2<sub>10</sub>, κύνιστος Theog. 904. From adjectives in -οος we have ἀθροώτερος, εὐπνοώτερος, δυσπνοώτερος (-πνουστέρος Hippokr. II 154), εὐρωώτερος, εὐχροώτερος, λευκοχροώτερος in Hippokrates. ὑβριστότερος Hdt. III 81 and not -ιστερος.

ἀνδρηότερος Hdt. I 79 (-ειω- *d*, -ειο- *ceteri*), -ηιότατος IV 93 (-ειο- MSS.), IX 37 (-εω- Venetus 8, -ειο- *ceteri*). In I 123 Stein reads ἀνδρειωτάτῳ, in all the other passages -ηιο-. -ηο- is correct.

ἱρωτάτας is read by Stein V 82 (cf. Attic ἱερω-), where ἱρο- of *P* (*pr.*) *r* is better.

In VII 99 we have εὐδοξοτάτας (-ωτ- *d*).

Hdt. has οἰκηιότατος III 65 (-ηο- *R*, -ῆιω- *P d z*, -ειο- *Prisc.*), V 5 (-ειο- *r*) according to Stein. Since *ηι* cannot here be regarded as two sounds, we must write -ηιότατος with Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 252. ἐπιτηδεότερος and -ότατος are read by Stein. I would adopt -ειο-<sup>1</sup> which occurs as follows: I 110 -εω- in *CP z*, -ειο- *AB d*; I 126 -εω- *CP*, -εο- *AB*, -ειο- *R d z*; IV 72 -εω- *CP z*, -ειο- *AB d*, -εο- *R*; VI 102 -ειο- *A*, -εο- *R*, -εω- *reliqui*, except *B* which has -ιο-; IX 2 -εο- *AB R*; IX 25 -εο- *AB R*. In I 115 Stein cites only *AB* with -εο-, II 133 -εω- *B corr.* *P d z*. How ἐπιτήδεος, even if correct (§ 219, 5), can yield -εότερος, -εότατος, I do not see. Hippokrates II 334 has the correct form ἀνεπιτηδειώτερος.

**2. -εστερος, -εστατος<sup>2</sup>.**

Hdt. has σπουδαιέστερος I 8, -έστατος I 133, as Hekataios

<sup>1</sup> Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 43, prefers -ηο-, which is nowhere found. Demokr. has ἐπιτηδείεστατος (Eust. 1441<sub>16</sub>).

<sup>2</sup> Et. M. 31<sub>7</sub> αἰδοιέστατον, ἀφθονέστατον ποιητικά, κατ' ἔθος Ἰώνων γινόμενα; cf. 394<sub>5</sub>, 420<sub>8</sub>.



*apud* Eust. 1441<sub>17</sub> (Hdt. -ότατος II 86), ἀμορφέστατος I 196, ἀγνωμονέστερος IX 41, ὑγιηρέστατος II 77 but ὑγιηρότατος IV 187, ἔρρωμενέστερος IX 70, εὐνοέστερος V 24; ἡσυχέστερος Hippokr. VI 76, 80 (-αίτερον A C), II 154 (some MSS. -αίτερος which Littré adopts), ἀκρητέστερος II 496, VI 74, 80, 82, 84 (-έστατος VI 82), εὐδιέστατος II 54, ἀφιληκέστερος VI 186.

### 3. -αιτερος, -αιτατος.

μεσαίτατος Hdt. IV 17 is not an analogue of παλαίτερος, which occurs in Homer and in Hdt. I 60, but formed from \*μέσαι (cf. μεσαιπόλιος Hom.) as παλαίτερος from πάλαι<sup>1</sup>. μέσσατος is found in Theog. 998. Hippokr. has γεραίτερος II 162, 334, VI 186, IX 50, the Homeric form; πλησιαιτέρω occurs in Hdt. IV 112, but παραπλησιωτάτην V 87. These forms are sporadic; as is clear from Hippocratic ὀψίτερος, Platonic ὀψιαίτερον. ὀδυναίτερον Hippokr. III 478 (v. l. -ώτερον) is a noteworthy form from ὀδυνηρός.

555.] Irregular Comparison of Adjectives. ἀγαθός: ἀμεινότερος Mimn. 14<sub>9</sub>; on κρέσσων see § 142; ἀρείων Hippokr. VIII 58, ἀρειότερος Theog. 548; βέλτερος Theog. 92, 181, 866, βέλτιον Mimn. 21<sub>0</sub>. κακίων Archil. § 196. χείρον Hippokr. II 680. χειροτέρη IX 240 is to be read χειρίστη. On ἔσσω see § 139. ἐλάσσω § 163. ὀλίγος (notice the use Hdt. IX 70), ὀλιγότερος Hippokr., ὀλίζων § 377. On μέζων see § 142. πλέων, πλέον § 552. In Hippokr. VIII 36 θ has πλέα for πλέονα of C and πλείονα of the vulgate. On πλέα and connected forms, see Collitz, B. B. X 306.

ρήιδιος or ῥήιδιος yields ῥήιτερος or ῥήτερος. ῥηιτέρως Hippokr. VIII 10, but ῥαῖον in θ VIII 124, 274 for ῥήιον. In the first case Littré adopts ῥαῖον, in the second ῥᾶον. Hippokr. VII 196 ῥήιον according to Littré (v. l. ῥήον, ῥᾶον, &c.). ῥήδιον Theog. 577 (ῥήιον conj.). ῥᾶον is found in Theog. 429, ῥήτερον 1370.

ὀνήιος yields ὀνήιστος in Phoinix of Kolophon *ap.* Athen. XI 495 D, Herakl. 114, Anaxag. 10, Pythag. *apud* Diog. L. VIII 49, Aretaios 331. The comparative exists in Nikander *Alex.* 627 (ὀνήιον).

Of πέπων the comparative is πεπειρότερος in Hippokr. VI 554 (θ). πιότερος Hippokr. VII 512, 516, πιότατος VII 512. ῥίγιον Mimn. 4<sub>2</sub>. φίλος requires the aid of μάλλον and μάλιστα in Hdt. ὠκύτερος Theog. 715, 986, 1306, ὠκιστα 427 (cf. O 238). Heightened superlatives are rare in Ionic prose. Hippokr. VI 522 has ἐγγιστότατα.

From adverbs or prepositions are formed ἀνώτερος Hippokr. III 528, ἀνώτατος Hdt. II 125; κατώτερος Hippokr. III 528; ἀγχότερος Hdt. VII 175.

<sup>1</sup> With the adverbs in -αι, cf. those in -ai in Lithuanic.

δοῦλος is an adjective Hdt. VII 7 (δουλοτέρην); cf. ἀνεμοὶ ὑετώτατοι II 25, βασιλεύτερος Tyr. 127.

**556.] Comparison of Adverbs.** Some noteworthy forms are ἡσσόνως Hippokr. VI 14 (in *A* according to Gomperz), θειοτέρως Hdt. I 122, ἰσχυροτέρως III 129, εὐπετεστέρως III 143; ἱκανωτάτως Hippokr. VI 24, ἐσχάτως VI 14, ἐλαχίστως IX 254. Hdt. has κατωτάτω, ἄσσον (Sim. Am. 7<sub>26</sub>, 33), ἀγχοτάτω (*v. l.* -τα in *A B C d* VII 64), ἀγχιστα, πλησιαιτέρω, προσωτέρω, προσωτάτω and -ωτατα, ταχύτερον and θᾶσσον. Hippokr. has ἐξωτάτω, τηλοτέρω, ἔγγιον VI 568, ἐγγιστότατα, πελασάτω (VI 298, 340, VIII 140, 292), ταχύτερον.

μᾶλιον, a specifically Ionic form according to Choireoboskos (An. Ox. II 240<sub>2</sub>), is found Tyr. 126. Cf. § 163. μᾶλλον occurs in Archil. tetr. 63<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 598, &c. μαλιώτερα<sup>1</sup> is suggested by Bergk for the μαλκώτερα of Solon 27<sub>15</sub>.

### *Personal Pronouns.*

In his treatment of the Ionic pronouns Apollonios Dyskolos draws upon Homer with but few exceptions. On the Herodoteian forms, see Ekedahl, *De usu pron. pers. et refl. Herodoteo*, 1885. Dual forms do not occur in post-Homeric Ionic.

#### **557.] First Person.**

1. ἐγώ Hippon. 63, Anan. 4<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 8<sub>1</sub>, 74<sub>1</sub>, Solon 2<sub>1</sub>, Xenoph. 7<sub>4</sub>, Theog. 878, 1226, &c., Hdt., &c. ἐγών occurs in Theognis in only three places (253, 527, 968) though possible elsewhere, except in 27. This form is found in all dialects except New Ionic and Attic. In Theognis ἐγών occurs only before vowels as in Homer, and with the second syllable in the arsis of the second foot.

2. ἐμέο<sup>2</sup> in Homer (K 124), in Demokritos, and Pherekydes according to Apoll. 82 C, Hdt., epist. Hippokr. 27<sub>39</sub>.

ἐμεῦ<sup>3</sup> Hom., Archil. epod. 92, Mimn. 14<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 957, 1101, 1235, Pherekydes, and Demokritos (Apoll. 82 C), Hdt., and also in late Doric texts.

ἐμεῖο<sup>4</sup> is found in Homeric Ionic, not in prose.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hesychios' μάλιον· μᾶλλον, and μαλιωτέρα· προσφιλεστέρα.

<sup>2</sup> An. Par. III 317<sub>19</sub>, Et. Gud. 436<sub>28</sub> (cf. 169<sub>17</sub>), An. Ox. I 143<sub>28</sub>, 322<sub>23</sub>, An. Bachm. (Max. Plan.) II 66<sub>32</sub>. ἐμέο is called Attic An. Ox. I 156<sub>31</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Hdn. I 474<sub>18</sub> = II 330<sub>26</sub> = Joh. Alex. 23<sub>18</sub>, An. Ox. I 399<sub>4</sub>; Ionic and Doric, Apoll. 82 C and *Adv.* 185<sub>6</sub> (Sehn.); Doric, An. Ox. I 156<sub>32</sub> and An. Par. III 317<sub>19</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> An. Ox. I 131<sub>4</sub>, 156<sub>31</sub>, ποιητικῶς Choireob. *Orthogr.* in An. Ox. II 202<sub>18</sub>.

The Attic  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$ <sup>1</sup> appears sometimes in the MSS., *e.g.* Archil. ep. 111, Theog. 100, 262, 697, 1203, 1240, 1340, 1342, in Hdt. occasionally, and in Herakl. 1. In the spurious portions of Theognis  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$  is probably correct, as - $\omicron\upsilon$  in other words ( $\text{'Αἶδον}$ ).

$\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ <sup>2</sup> Hipponax 62 (tr.), Anakr. 76, 81, Homer, Hdt., Herodas (about ten times).

$\mu\omicron\upsilon$  is incorrect in Hippon. 83 tetr. It is found in Theognis' second book (1366).

3.  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$  Mimn. 8<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 14, Hippon. 19<sub>1</sub>, 20<sub>1</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>22</sub> (*vulgo*  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\mu\omicron\iota$ ), Anakr. 24 ( $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\gamma\epsilon$  7), Hdt., &c.

$\mu\omicron\iota$  Mimn. 1<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 787, &c., Hippon. 19<sub>4</sub>, Anakr. 50<sub>1</sub>, Hdt., &c.

4.  $\epsilon\acute{\mu}\epsilon$  Anakr. 45, Sol. 19<sub>3</sub>, Hdt., &c.  $\mu\epsilon$  Hipponax 78, Anakr. 25, 47, Solon 4<sub>31</sub>, Naxos 23, 24, Theog. 88, Hdt., &c.

5.  $\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  Mimn. 2<sub>1</sub>, Solon 15<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 513, &c. (Theognis does not use the Doric  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ ), Hdt., Hippokr., Lukian (*Syr. dea* 2, *Astr.* 4), Arrian *Ind.* 34<sub>12</sub>, 35<sub>6</sub>, &c. Hyper-Ionism overreaches itself with its  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$ , which Mullach has adopted in Demokritos, *Phys.* 1, despite the statement of Apollonios<sup>3</sup> and the testimony of the MSS. of Sextus Empiricus who quotes the fragment.  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$  appears in the supposititious letters of Hippokrates twice, and Thales (a)<sup>4</sup>. See below on  $\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ .

6.  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$ <sup>5</sup> Hdt., Hippokr. (in II 316 *A* has  $\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$ ), Herakl. 114, Philip of Pergamum (*B.C.H.* II 273), &c.

$\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$  Theog. 353 (thus *A*,  $\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$  *reliqui*), Solon 13<sub>72</sub>, Herodas 1<sub>2</sub> and often, Phoinix of Kolophon II 20 (Schneid.).

$\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$  Theog. 228, a verse of Solon (13<sub>72</sub>). In the MSS. of the latter we find  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$ , not  $\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$ , as we might expect. In the MSS. of Hdt.  $\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$  is unusual ( $\acute{\alpha}$  in I 112), as it is in Hrd. (1<sub>48</sub>).

$\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\upsilon$ <sup>6</sup>, a molossus, Hrd. 1<sub>46</sub>. In the same line we have  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$ . Crusius gives the form a place in his edition, though even in Homer it occurs but four times.

7.  $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ <sup>7</sup> Theog. 345, 467, 833, 1213, 1215, Archil. 39<sub>1</sub> (trim.), Sim. Amorg. 3<sub>1</sub>, 13<sub>1</sub>, Anakr. 2<sub>7</sub>, Herodas 2<sub>44</sub>.  $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  is both Old and New Ionic, and is the only form in Ionic prose.

<sup>1</sup> Called Ionic by Tzetzes *Ex. II.* 93<sub>25</sub>, and on Hsd. *W. D.* 225 (Gaisf.). In the first passage  $\mu\epsilon\upsilon$  and  $\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$  are called Doric and Aiolie.

<sup>2</sup> An. Ox. I 143<sub>29</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Apoll. *Pronom.* 118 B.

<sup>4</sup> In some MSS. of Hdt. we find the open form, II 6 (*P*), IV 139 (*s*), VI 11 (*CP*), VIII 29 (*R*), 144 (*R*) &c. Aldus regarded this form as a mark of Ionism and adopted it when it was without MS. authority (VIII 143, IX 87).

<sup>5</sup> Apoll. *Pronom.* 120 C, Joh. Gramm. 242.

<sup>6</sup> Joh. Gramm. 242 B.

<sup>7</sup> An. Ox. I 51,  $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$  ( $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ ?) II 216<sub>13</sub> (Choir.), Apollonios 123 A.



$\eta\mu\iota\nu$ <sup>1</sup> occurs in Homer and Attic<sup>2</sup>, but does not occur in post-Homeric poetry or prose composed by an Ionian. Whether  $\dot{\upsilon}\mu\iota\nu$  or  $\dot{\iota}\mu\iota\nu$  should be read in Theognis 235 with cod. O is doubtful. Most of the MSS. have  $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ . Among them is A, which alone presents the correct reading of the following verse.

$\eta\mu\iota\nu$  Anakr. 43<sub>1</sub>, 63<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. 77<sub>5</sub>. Why Bergk should adopt this form in Anakr. 62<sub>2</sub> in preference to  $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ , is not clear.

Aiolic (epic)  $\alpha\mu\mu\iota\nu$  occurs in Theog. 418.

8.  $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ <sup>3</sup> is the inscriptional form (Miletos 96, of the fifth century, where the smooth breathing is correct), and that adopted by Hdt., who is followed by Lukian, Abydenos, Euseb. Mynd., Arrian 34<sub>10, 12</sub> (but cf.  $\sigma\phi\alpha\varsigma$ ). The letters of Hippokrates have fourteen cases of  $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ , one (X) of  $\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$ , Aretaios fifteen cases of  $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  to one (267) of  $\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$ . Philip of Pergamum has  $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ , B. C. H. II 273.

$\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  Arch. 97, at the end of the pentameter, Herodas 19, 29, 76<sub>6</sub>. In Homer  $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$  may always be read.

$\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$ <sup>4</sup> Theog. 1215 and in Herodas frag. (6), *Class. Rev.* V 481.

Aiolic (epic)  $\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon$  occurs in Theog. 1273.

### 558.] Second Person.

1.  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$  Archil. 88<sub>2</sub>, Hipponax 32, Anakr. 2<sub>6</sub>, Hrd. 4<sub>18</sub>, Theog. 696, 781, though the Doric form is  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}$ . Herodotos and the other Ionic prosaists have  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ .

2.  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron$  in Herodotos; and twenty-three times in Homer.

$\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$ <sup>5</sup> Sol. 20<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 253, 516 (thirty-four times in Homer). The Solonian form shows that the poet did not write in his native dialect.

$\sigma\epsilon\nu$  Theog. 377 Hrd. 1<sub>38</sub>, 2<sub>81</sub>, 5<sub>21</sub>, 39, 7<sub>83</sub>.

$\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ <sup>6</sup>, the Attic form, Theog. 414, 1239, Hrd. 1<sub>85</sub>.

$\sigma\omicron\nu$  in Hippon. tr. 76 cannot be Ionic. It occurs also in Theog. 969.

$\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron$  in Theog. 1 and  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$  1232 are epic.

<sup>1</sup> Apoll. 123 A says  $\tau\omicron$   $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$   $\pi\alpha\rho'$   $\iota\omega\sigma\iota$   $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$   $\tau\omicron$   $\iota'$   $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\theta\theta$   $\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$   $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$   $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$   $\varphi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$   $\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\omicron\rho\theta\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ , and then cites Doric  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\nu$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\nu$ . The Et. M. 84<sub>21</sub> wrongly calls  $\eta\mu\iota\nu$  Doric, but is correct about an Ionic  $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ . Cf. also Hdn. II 517<sub>207</sub>, An. Ox. II 216<sub>13</sub> ( $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ ), Eust. 1112<sub>34-37</sub>, cf. 1611<sub>3</sub>, 1670<sub>4</sub>, 1690<sub>13</sub>; Bekk. An. III 1150<sub>10</sub>; An. Ox. I 188<sub>21</sub> states that the  $\iota$  is found in Ionic, Doric, and Aiolic. In An. Ox. I 188<sub>1</sub>, 6 the Homeric forms  $\eta\mu\iota\nu$  A 147 (where a long ultima had to be assumed on account of the following  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\rho\rho\omicron\nu$ ) and  $\eta\mu\iota\nu$  P 415 are referred to.

<sup>2</sup>  $\eta\mu\iota\nu$  is almost a characteristic of Sophokles' style in contrast with that of Aischylos and Euripides.

<sup>3</sup> Apoll. 126 C, Schol. Ven. A on  $\Theta$  352.

<sup>4</sup>  $\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$  if enclitic, Apoll. 127 A citing  $\pi$  372, the only example in Homer. In Sophocles some prefer to write  $\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$ .

<sup>5</sup> An. Bachm. (Max. Plan.) II 66<sub>32</sub>; Doric and Ionic *ibid.* II 367<sub>32</sub> (=Gram. Par. 678).

<sup>6</sup> Tzetz. on Hsd. W. D. 225 (Gaisf.).

3. σοί<sup>1</sup> Mimn. 8<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 14, 27, Archil. 88<sub>3</sub>, Theog. 655 (see below on τοι), Paros 60 (epigr.), and in Ionic prose.

τοι Kall. 2<sub>2</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>108</sub>, Hippon. 16<sub>2</sub> tr., Archil. 79, Anakr. 75<sub>3</sub>, 95 (eleg.), Theog. 95, 465 τοι in *A*, *vulgo* σοι, 633 (?), 634, 655 in *A* (Bergk σοί), 656, 1319. Doric τοί < τφοι appears nowhere in Theognis. Renner holds that for enclitic σοι in Theognis τοι (=Skt. *tē*) should be substituted (88, 407 (here Bergk reads τοι for *A*'s σοι), 695, 776); and also for σοι in 1238, 1283.

Sitzler opines that σοι as an enclitic should be retained in Theognis. The older elegy differentiated σοί and τοι after the Homeric fashion. σοι in Hipponax 20<sub>3</sub> is correct according to Bergk. The MSS. have τοι, which I would adopt. Herodotos has τοι (unemphatic).

Herodoteian usage is (with but very little opposition in the MSS.) in agreement with that of Homer in its differentiation of σοί and τοι. Both Homer and Herodotos agree in differing herein from Attic and the other dialects.

4. σε Mimn. 7<sub>4</sub>, Hippon. 28, 31 (σ' and σέ), 64<sub>2</sub>, Anan. 4<sub>1</sub>, Anakr. 2<sub>6</sub>, 40 (σέ), 72 B, 95, Theog. 5, 93, 103, 559, 873, &c. (Theognis does not use σέ), Herodas 4<sub>3</sub>; and in Ionic prose.

5. ὑμεῖς Theog. 493 (Theognis does not use the Doric form ὑμέες), Herodas 2<sub>35</sub>, 7<sub>21</sub>. The proper form in Ionic prose is ὑμεῖς, never ὑμέες, though the latter form appears in *PRz*, in Hdt. VIII 22, and in Lukian's *Vit. auct.* § 13, where it is adopted in Sommerbrodt's critical edition (Ω Γ have ὑμεῖς). Apollonios *Pronom.* 118 B expressly warns against the adoption of the open form<sup>2</sup>.

6. ὑμέων<sup>3</sup> Herodotos, Hippokrates, and other Ionic prosaists, e.g. Lukian *Vit. auct.* § 13. Herodas has one (2<sub>27</sub>) distinct case of ὑμέων (— —), the only occurrence of such an open genitive in poetry.

ὑμέων Solon 11<sub>5</sub> according to Diogenes Laert., while Plutarch, Clemens, and Diodoros have the Attic ὑμῶν. ὑμέων appears

<sup>1</sup> Apoll. 104 C.

<sup>2</sup> ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, σφεῖς. ἔστι πιστώσασθαι καὶ τὸ ἀδιαίρετον τῆς εὐθείας παρ' Ἰωσὺ ἐκ τῶν περὶ Δημόκριτον, Φερεκύδην, Ἑκαταῖον. τὸ γὰρ ἐν Εἰδωλοφανείῃ "ὑμέες Αἰδολίον περιχεύετε" παρὰ Παρθενίῳ ὑπὸ ποιητικῆς ἀδείας παραληφθὲν οὐ καταψεύσετα διαλέκτου πιστουμένης ἑλλογίμοις συγγραφεύσιν. The mention of Parthenios innovation may be regarded as evidencing a desire on the part of Apollonios to counteract current views as to the nature of Ionic in respect of vowel openness. Cf. § 113 ff. The appearance of such an hyper-Ionic form in a poet who was a teacher of Vergil is specially noteworthy. Tzetzes, *περ μέτρων* An. Ox. III 333<sub>7</sub>, has ὑμέες in an hexameter.

<sup>3</sup> Apoll. 122 A, who also cites the form from a Doric source (Sophron 79) though ὑμῶν is the genitive in that dialect. Apoll. also mentions the Homeric ὑμέων (ν 7). Joh. Gramm. 241 B, 242 B refers to both as Ionic.



often in Herodas. In Homer the form occurs four times; in O 494 we find ὕμεων.

ὕμῳν in Archil. tetram. 74<sub>6</sub> I would emend to ὕμέων.

The epic ὕμέων (four times) is not employed in post-Homeric Ionic.

7. ὕμῳ<sup>1</sup> Archil. 89<sub>1</sub>, Sol. 11<sub>6</sub>, Theog. 825, Hrd. 1<sub>19</sub>, 2<sub>100</sub>, and in Ionic prose. ὕμῳ occurs in Hrd. 4<sub>79</sub>. On ὕμῳ, Bergk's reading of Theog. 235, see under ἦμῳ.

8. ὕμέας Herodotos, Hippokrates, &c. The fictitious letters of the latter have this form seven times, ὕμᾶς in 27<sub>39</sub> (in 27<sub>39</sub> the MSS. vary). ὕμᾶς is found in the *Vita Homeri* § 19, Hrd. 7<sub>118</sub>.

ὕμέας is everywhere possible in Homer, and is so read in Hrd. 2<sub>60</sub>, 7<sub>55</sub>; in 7<sub>118</sub> read ὕμέας.

ὕμῳ' (epic) Theog. 1104 in *A*, other MSS. ὕμᾶς or ὕμῳς. Bergk conjectures ὕμᾶς or ἦμῳς. But the latter form occurs only once in Homer (π 372), and the former is quite unknown to the epos.

### 559.] Third Person.

The original usage of this pronoun has not been restricted in Ionic as in Attic.

1. εἰ<sup>2</sup> in Herodotos occurs only in the enclitic form (III 135); Ion Ἐπιδ. 1 (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* II 46).

2. οἷ<sup>3</sup> always appears in the enclitic form in the lyric poets: Xenoph. 1<sub>20</sub>, 2<sub>9</sub>, Theog. 178, 186, 391, 405, 519, 1255, 1376, Solon 42<sub>4</sub> (melos), Archil. 29<sub>2</sub>, 97, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>79</sub>, Hrd. 4<sub>60</sub>.

For Rhēgion 5, according to Bechtel, is Doric. In Mimn. 12<sub>9</sub> ἵνα οἱ θοόν is to be rejected for ἵνα δὴ θ. In Hdt. IV 34, VI 119 we find οἷ used of things neuter in gender. Here as elsewhere in Hdt. the form is enclitic and = αὐτῷ, αὐτῇ. See also Lukian *de domo* § 20. I do not find the orthotone οἷ.

3. εἰ < σφε as an enclitic occurs in Solon 13<sub>27</sub> by a conjecture of Hermann.

4. σφεῖς<sup>4</sup> in Hdt. (indirect reflexive IV 43, VII 168).

5. σφέων<sup>5</sup> in Hdt. (enclitic, neuter V 58) and Hippokrates II 312 but σφῶν αὐτέων II 58 in the vulgate (σφέων adopted by Littré), III 194 (σφῶν Littré).

<sup>1</sup> Apoll. *Pronom.* 124 B, who notices that ὕμῳ is the enclitic form. This is confined to Homer and Attic, unless we admit it in Theognis.

<sup>2</sup> An. Bachm. (Max. Plan.) II 66<sub>32</sub>; Apoll. 136 B calls εἰ Ionic.

<sup>3</sup> Apoll. *Pronom.* 105 C.

<sup>4</sup> Greg. Korinth. § 70; τὸ σφεῖς καὶ σφᾶς καὶ σφῶν διαιροῦσι καὶ οὕτω προφέρουσι σφέες, σφέας, σφέων. This does not apply in the case of σφεῖς, and is flatly contradicted by Apoll. *Pronom.* 118 B, who expressly attests σφεῖς as Ionic. See on ὕμεῖς. In no case do the MSS. of Hdt. support Gregory's statement, nor is there any such epic form. Even Aldus refrains from σφέες.

<sup>5</sup> Joh. Gr. 242, Greg. Kor. 70 σφέων.



6. *σφι* (= *αὐτοῖς*, *αὐταῖς*) in Herodotos is enclitic. This form is rare in Attic (*O. K.* 421, where Elmsley read *σφιν*: see on *Medea* 398).

*σφίν*<sup>1</sup>, enclitic, occurs in Archil. 74<sub>8</sub> (tetr.), 125, Sim. Keos 84<sub>5</sub>, Theog. 66, 422, 732, 772. This form is also Doric and Homeric, and is used in tragedy (*Prom.* 252, 457).

*σφίσι* (= *ἐωντοῖς*, *ἐωνταῖς*) Hdt. In V 103, VI 105, VIII 68 (β), the pronoun is not reflexive. Stein here reads *σφι*. The MSS. vary constantly between *σφίσι*, *σφι*, and *σφιν*. When the pronoun is reflexive, read *σφίσι*, otherwise *σφι* (not *σφιν*). Aldus confuses *σφι* with *οἱ* in III 14. *σφίσι* appears in Sim. Keos 103<sub>3</sub>, *Prom.* 481, *O. K.* 59 (indirect reflexive).

7. *σφέας*<sup>2</sup> (= *αὐτούς*, *αὐτάς*), enclitic in Hdt. but *σφᾶς αὐτούς* Hippokr. II 78, where Littré's *αὐτέους* is not to be preferred to the vulgate *αὐτούς*. Aretaios has *σφέας* five, *σφᾶς* seven times. The *Vita Hom.* has *σφέας* § 17, and so Lukian *V. A.* 14. In Archil. 27<sub>2</sub> (tr.) *σφέας*, and so the Homeric *σφέας* may be read as a monosyllable (see Menrad *de contractionis usu* p. 111 for *σφας* in place of *σφέας*).

8. *σφέα* (= *αὐτά*), enclitic, Hdt. I 46, &c., also in Attic poets. Cf. the Attic (poetical) nominative *σφέα*.

9. *σφέ*. The epic and Doric<sup>3</sup> *σφέ* (enclitic) appears in Theog. 552. In Hdt. VII 170 it is found in most of the MSS., and here, if at all, it is to be accepted. Bekker and Abicht adopt the *σφεας* of the Cambridge (36, Askew) MS. In I 71 *R* confuses *σφε* with *σφεας*. Stein has no better authority for his *σφι* than the Aldine edition; but finds for the construction of the dative after *ἐποτρύνω* a parallel in O 258. All the MSS. in III 53 have *σφε* for *σφεα*, which is due to Valckenaer. In III 52 Bredow emended *σφε* to *σφεα*. *R* confuses the two in I 89, but here we have the guidance of other MSS. to show the correctness of the latter form.

10. *μίν*<sup>4</sup> (enclitic) in the lyric poets is generally = *αὐτόν*, sometimes = *αὐτήν*: Hippon. 52 (trim.), Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>8, 16, 29</sub>, Kall. I<sub>20</sub>, Mimn. 1<sub>7</sub>, 14<sub>2</sub>, 15, Xenoph. 6<sub>2</sub>, Tyrt. 12<sub>37</sub>, Solon 13<sub>41</sub>, Theog. 195, 293, 310 in MSS., 1127, 1173, 1347, Hrd. 331, 7<sub>102</sub>. In Hdt. *μιν* is anaphoric in all genders<sup>5</sup> and also an equivalent of *ἐωντόν -τήν* (ind. reflex.)<sup>6</sup>. It occurs in Ion's *Ἐπιδ.* I, ii

<sup>1</sup> Apoll. 125 A, B; Greg. Kor. 61 (τὸ σφίσι σφιν λέγουσιν) cannot refer to Herodoteian usage.

<sup>2</sup> Apoll. 128 A *σφέας* (M 43) and *σφας* (θ 315), Greg. Kor. 70, Hdn. II 155. (N 276) *σφεας* enclitic.

<sup>3</sup> Apoll. 128 A, 131 A; cf. Aiolic *ἄσφε*.

<sup>4</sup> Apoll. 108 A, schol. Ven. A on A 201, interlinear schol. on A 399.

<sup>5</sup> *μιν* = *αὐτό*, *c. g.* in I 93, 178 (cf. II 138); in *μιν αὐτήν* I 205 *μιν* is Kyros.

<sup>6</sup> *μιν* in Homer is not reflexive unless accompanied by *αὐτόν*.

Protagoras, Lukian *Syr. dea* 4. *μιν* has been expelled from *Eumenides* 631, *Choeph.* 622, 791, *Septem* 453, *Trach.* 388 in favour of *νιν*. The MSS. of Pindar have the Ionic (Homeric) *μιν* as well as the Doric *νιν*<sup>1</sup>.

11. *νιν* Theog. 364 (*eum*) is called a Doric<sup>2</sup> form of the accusative, but was used by the Attic tragic poets in trimeter for *eum*, *eam*, *id*, *eos*, *eas*, *ea*. The above case is the sole instance where Theognis seems to have adopted a Doric form in the declension of the pronouns not differentiated by gender. *νιν* is plural in Bakkyllides 8. In Herodas *νιν* is used more frequently than *μιν* (333, 51, 90, 96, 621), and seems to be preferred after words ending in *s* or *ν*.

560.] Possessive Pronouns. *ἐμός* Homer, Hdt., Anakr. 12 A 146, &c., Theog. 530, 540, &c. *σός* Homer, Hdt., Theog. 360, 518, 598, 738, 1091, &c. *τέός* (Epic, Aiolic, Doric<sup>3</sup>), Hdt. *ὄς* Homer (who has also *ἐός*), Sim. Amorg. 7112, Tyrt. 102, Theog. 920, Hdt. I 205 (the only occurrence). *α̃* was used by Demokritos for *ἴδια* according to Photios. *ἡμέτερος* Homer, Hdt., Tyrt. 51, 6, Solon 196, Theog. ten times, *ἡμετέρειος* Anakr. 71. *ὑμέτερος* Homer, Hdt., Solon 111, 192. *σφός* Hom., of one person Theog. 712 (*σφῆσι πολυφροσύναις*); cf. Hsd. *Theogony* 398. In Homer *σφός* is always used with reference to more than one. *σφέτερος* Theog. 142, Euseb. 1, Hdt. (plur.). In Homer it is used of more than one person.

### *The Demonstrative Pronouns.*

#### 561.] The Article and ὃδε.

##### 1. The Article.

The lyric poets hold fast to a considerable extent the Homeric use of the article as a demonstrative, *e.g.* Mimm. 23, 125, 145, Tyrt. 410, 1026, Xenoph. 123, 73, Theog. 51, 104, 349, 392, 397, 398, 883, Solon 1358, 375, Archil. 745, 895, Sim. Amorg. 783. In Theognis we observe traces of the Homeric and Doric *τοί*: 305 in *A*, 936 (Theog.?), 1062 (Mimm.). This *τοί* even appears in the Aldine edition of Herodotos<sup>4</sup>. Ionic, Attic, Aiolic, Thes-

<sup>1</sup> Tycho Mommsen, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher* 83, p. 44 ff., pronounces in favour of *νιν*.

<sup>2</sup> The horizon of Apollonios (108 A) is limited in that he restricts *νιν* to Doric. It was doubtless Old Attic too.

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that Theognis does not use a form that Apoll. 135 A calls Doric, though it occurs in Homer. In tragedy *τέός* is restricted to the melic parts.

<sup>4</sup> See Struve, *Quaest.* I 10.



salian, Arkado-Kyprian displaced the older *τοί, ταί*, and adopted *οί, αί*, which owe their origin to form-association with the singular. Herodotos preserves the use of the article as a demonstrative pronoun (*e.g.* I 172, II 162, III 23, V 97, VII 6, IX 25). *ὁ δέ* is common in Hdt., and indicates, as it does in Homer, not merely a change of person, but also a change of action on the part of the same person. In Hippokrates we find frequently the phrase *ἐπὶ τὰ . . . ἐπὶ τὰ* (*e.g.* II 296, 328). It may be noted that in inscriptions the article may or may not occur with proper names when reference is made to descent, as, for example, in Πολυάρητος ὁ Ἰστιαίου Thasos 72<sub>3</sub> and below, l. 6 Πολυάρητον Ἰστιαίου.

On the feminine *τῶν*, not *τέων*, see § 444, on *ταῖς*, § 450, *τοῖς*, § 473, 2, 475.

2. New Ionic has *ὅδε, ἥδε, τόδε*: plural *οἷδε*, &c. The Homeric *τοῖσδεσι, τοῖσδεσσι* have their parallels in later Ionic. In Demokr. 13 we find *τοῖσδεσι*, a form that is put into the mouth of Pythagoras by Lukian *V. A.* 5 (perhaps *-δεσσι* in Ψ). In Hippokrates in certain adverbial phrases: *πρὸς τοῖσδεσιν* VIII 358 (*τοῖσδεσιν* in θ, *τοῖσδε vulgo*), *σὺν τοῖσδεσιν* VIII 268 (θ), 372 (*τοῖς δεσσι* θ, *τοῖς δεσιν* some other MSS.), 308 *ἐν τοῖσδεσιν* (θ, Littré *τοῖσδεσιν*). All these forms occur in the treatise on the *Diseases of Women*.

Like forms occur in Aiolic and in Thessalian.

562.] *οὔτος*. Hdt. has *τοιούτο, τοσοῦτο*, rarely the *-ν* forms, *e.g.* III 27, 85, VII 103 *τοιούτον*; I 107, 178, 207, IV 45, V 50, VII 153 *τοσοῦτον*, but they are frequently found in Hippokrates. The difference between Old and New Ionic is noteworthy; for Homer uniformly adopts the *-ν* forms. The feminine *τούτων* in Ionic and Attic is due to the analogy of the masculine. The Dorians said *ταυτᾶν*, the Aiolians *ταῦταν*. So too *οὔτοι, αὔται* are made on the lines of *οὔτος, αὔτα(η)*. Even Theognis (638, 1057) does not adopt the Doric *τοὔτοι, ταῦται*. On a very late inscription from Teos (*B. C. H.* IV 182) we find *τοῦτα* for *ταῦτα*<sup>1</sup>.

In the inflection of *οὔτος* hyper-Ionic *ε* has obtained an entrance into the MSS. of Herodotos and Hippokrates, of the authors quoting the early Ionic prosaists, into Aretaios, Lukian, and later pseudo-Ionists. In Hdt. masculine and neuter *τουτέω* (and *αὔτέων*) are not supported by a consensus of MS. authority. In the case of Hippokrates the depravation has advanced far beyond the point reached in Herodotos. It has yielded such forms as *τουτέου, τοιουτέου, τουτέω, τοιουτέω, τοιουτέων, τουτέοις, τουτέοισι, τοιουτέοις, τοιουτέους, τουτέους*.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gram. 243 B, Meerm. 659 called *τούτας* Doric for *ταύτας*. This statement is rejected by Ahrens.



In Herakleitos are read *τολουτέων* (2), *τουτέοισι*<sup>1</sup> (126), Lukian *Vit. auct.* 4 *τουτέοισιν*, where Ψ has *τούτοισιν*. Most of these monstrous forms owe their existence to the perverse attitude of the editors towards the Ionic dialect. The MSS. have again and again the correct form *τούτων*, not *τουτέων*, *e.g.* Anaxag. 4, 9, 11, 14, Diog. Apoll. 2, Demokr. 204 (*τουτέω*). See §§ 113-116. On the feminine gender see § 447, 3.

563.] *αὐτός* (Pronoun of Identity). The oblique cases of *αὐτός* are used generally for the reflexive; though the MSS. of the lyric poets often have *αὐτοῦ*, &c., *e.g.* Theog. 480, 539, 895, 955, 1009 (Mimn.?), 1218, Tyrt. 10<sub>3</sub>.

In the neuter Hdt. never has the *-ν* form (always *τῶντό*). *τῶντόν* appears in Parmenides 117, 118, Hippokr. III 212 (*τῶντό* in C), but *τῶντό* II 12, and so usually in Hippokrates. Diog. Apoll. 2 has *τῶντό* (Simpl. *ταῦτό*), Arrian the same form in 25<sub>5</sub>, but the Attic form six times. Lukian *Vit. auct.* 14 *τῶντό* (*-ν* in ΩΓΦ). On the crasis forms, see § 316.

The MSS. of Herodotos give only a feeble support to a masculine and neuter *αὐτέων*; but in I 133 *αὐτέω*, though well attested, is to be rejected. In Hippokrates, Aretaios, Lukian and other pseudo-Ionists, we encounter such forms as *αὐτέη*, *αὐτέης*, *αὐτέη*, *αὐτέην*, *αὐτέησι*, *αὐτέον*, *αὐτέω*, *αὐτέων* (masculine and neuter), *αὐτέοισι*, *αὐτέους*. All these are hyper-Ionic figments (§ 108). Though often well supported in the MSS. of the pseudo-Ionists, there are numerous instances where the parasitic *ε* has been foisted on the early prosaists (*e.g.* Demokr. 12, 71) without good evidence. This hyper-Ionism has not attacked the MSS. of the lyric poets. On feminine *αὐτέων* see § 447, 3.

The dialect has no example of compounds of *αὐτός* other than those found in the reflexive *ἐμεινωτοῦ*, &c.; that is, Ionic has not *ἑσαυτῶ*, *αὐταντον*, *αὐτούτα*. *αὐτός* is never petrified. The *αὐτοσαντοῦ* of a Vienna papyrus of the fourth century B.C. (*Philol.* XLI 746) is Doric, despite the fact that the document is chiefly Ionic.

564.] *κείνος*. This form is stated by the grammarians<sup>2</sup> to be Ionic on the principle by which *χθές* is declared to be Ionic for *χθές*, and *ὄπτῃ* for *ἐοπτῃ*.

<sup>1</sup> Gram. Paris. 681 (An. Bachm. II 370<sub>6</sub>), Eust. 1026<sub>43</sub> attest *τουτέοισι* as Ionic, and regard it as an example of *προσχηματισμός*. This is the only case that I recall of the mention of such a form in grammatical literature. The analogy of *ὀτέοισιν* in part misled the grammarians.

<sup>2</sup> Apoll. 73 B, Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. pp. 447, 456, Meerm. 654, Aug. 669, Vat. 699, Birnb. 678<sub>36</sub>, An. Bachm. II 365<sub>11</sub> (Ionic and Attic), Schol. Ven. A n O 94 (*οἶος κείνου*), where A C D E, &c., have *ἐκείνου*, Aristarchos *κείνου*. Arist. often adopted forms which the scholiast takes pains to call Ionic. Cf. a Roche, *H. T. K.* p. 247.

χθές occurs in Hdt. in but one passage (II 53 *πρώην τε καὶ χθές*). In Attic comedy this form appears in the phrase *χθές τε καὶ πρόην*, and occasionally, according to Rutherford (*Phryn.* p. 372), in cases where it lends itself to the aid of the metre (*Clouds* 353, *Wasps* 242). *ἐχθές* was the regular Attic form. *ἐορτή* occurs upon an Oropian inscription 18<sub>31</sub> (see § 287, I, note). On *ἐθέλω* in relation to *θέλω*, see § 588. In Hipponax 63 (Hdn. I 116<sub>25</sub>, II 924<sub>17</sub>) we find *ῥωδιός*, of which the common form was *ἐρωδιός*, occurring in Hipponax 76 and Sim. Am. 9. The spelling with iota subscript seems to be due to the supposed connexion with *ῥοιδίζω*. Hrd. 8<sub>35</sub> (Crus.) has *ἀρωδι[ῶν]*.

ἐ-κεῖνος may be compared with the Oskan *e-tanto=tanta*. The loss of the ε in other words may be due to the parallelism of *ἐκεῖνος*, *κεῖνος*; and at the same time furthered by the laws of sentence phonetics.

Homer has *ἐκεῖνος* and *κεῖνος*, *ἐκεῖσε* and *κεῖσε*, *κεῖθεν*, *κεῖθι* and *κεῖνῃ*. For *ὄφρ' ἂν ἐκεῖθι* ρ 10 (the only occurrence of *ἐκεῖθι*), we may read *ὄφρα κε κεῖθι*: cf. *ὄφρα κε κεῖνῃ* β 124. In Parmenides 118 *κἀκεῖνο* is read. The Aiolic form is *κῆνος*, Doric *κῆνος* (*κεῖνος*) with *τῆνος* as a by-form from a different stem.

1. *κεῖνος* is found in all inscriptions (§ 224, 15) free from the suspicion of containing an admixture of Atticism.

2. Of the Ionic poets, the *elegists* use *κεῖνος* more frequently than *ἐκεῖνος*. The shorter form is found in Archil. 34, 121, Mimn. 141, 9, Theog. 47, 223, 308, 479 (Athen., *ἐκεῖνος* Stob.); cf. *κεῖθεν* Mimn. 95, Theog. 711 (*sic* Bekker, *κἀκεῖθεν libri*). The longer form appears in Archil. 63, Theog. 787, 1205. In the *iambographic* poets *κεῖνος* is the correct form: Archil. tetr. 51, Sim. Amorg. 751, 84; *ἐστ' ἐκεῖνος* Archil. 87 (epode) may easily be read *ἔστιν κεῖνος* (*ἔστιν* has MS. authority); in 92, also an epode, *ἐμεῦ δ' ἐκεῖνος οὐ καταπρωῖξεται*, Schneidewin emended δὲ *κεῖνος* correctly, as I think, though Hdt. III 36 has *Καμβύσης . . . ἔφη ἐκεῖνους . . . οὐ καταπρωῖξέσθαι*. Archil. 170 has *κεῖ* (An Ox. I 249<sub>27</sub>), of which the Aiolic equivalent is *κῆ*, and 132 *κεῖθι*. Solon 383 has the latter form. *κεῖνος* is found in Anakr. 86 (iambic tetr.). Herodas has *κεῖνος* in 142, 423, 27, 30, 73, 522, 616<sub>20</sub>, 764, 797; *ἐκεῖνος* in 476 *bis*, 478, 642, 711.

3. Prose. In the MSS. of *Herodotos* *ἐκεῖνος* is so decidedly preferred to *κεῖνος*<sup>1</sup> that Bredow<sup>2</sup> and Dindorf<sup>3</sup> proposed to expunge the latter form altogether. Kirchhoff, on the other hand, would follow the testimony of the iambic poets and the inscriptions and admit only *κεῖνος*. Stein steers a middle course in adoptin

<sup>1</sup> *ἐκεῖνος* is found about 230 times without *v.l.* *κεῖνος* is not often the sole reading, *e.g.* I 11, 207, III 74, 140, IV 9, V 15, 87, VI 13, 69, VII 13, VIII 61, IX 90 (*A B*). In V 23 one inferior MS. has *ἐκ*-, in V 82 *ἐκ*-, *A B*, in VII 103 *ἐκ*-, only *R*, in VIII 58 *κεῖνα* in *C* (?) *R*, in IX 52, 53 *ἐκ*-, in Demokr. 205, Herakl. 67 have *ἐκεῖνος* with no case of *κεῖνος*.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 118-120.

<sup>3</sup> *De dial. Herod.* xxxvi.



κείνος only when the MSS. pronounce in its favour. This procedure necessitates the adoption of both forms in one and the same chapter, *e.g.* I 207 κείνοι but ἐκείν- three times, III 74, VI 69, VII 136, 239 (ἐκείσε, but κείνον). κείθεν is found I 122 and καὶ κείθι II 122 according to Stein (*v. l.* κακείθι, &c.), κείνωσ I 120 (no *v. l.*), ἐκείσε VII 239, ἐκεί IX 109.

In the case of Hdt. the κει- forms are not to be abandoned. Both forms coexisted, as they did in Homer and in Attic. But the distinction which has been set up (that ἐκείνος is less emphatic than κείνος) is valueless.

In the MSS. of *Hippokrates* ἐκείνος is the preferred form, *e.g.* II 60, 78, 128, 226 (κείνοι in *A*), VI 368 (*bis*, in one case *θ* has κείνο), ἐκεί II 80, 90; κείνος IX 34, 50, κείθι and κείθεν VII 586, κείθι VIII 22. In the pseudo-Hippocratic letters the proportion is twenty to three in favour of ἐκείνος. Lukian adopts the longer form almost everywhere, and Arrian and Eusebios Myndios always avoid κείνος.

### *Reflexive Pronouns.*

565.] In the oldest phase of the dialect represented by the Homeric poems the compounded reflexive pronoun does not exist. Thus Homer says ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ, ἔμ' αὐτόν, ἐ αὐτήν<sup>1</sup>, ἐμέθεν αὐτῆς and the like. So in Archil. 6<sub>3</sub> αὐτόν μ' ἐξέσάωσα was a reading for αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον. In the elegists of Ionic birth there occur two passages which would seem to show that the compound form had become a part of the apparatus of the dialect in the early post-Homeric period. These are Mimn. 7<sub>3</sub> = Theog. 795 (τὴν σαντοῦ φρένα τέρπε) and Xenoph., Bergk<sup>4</sup> p. 116 (ἐμμαντόν). The objections<sup>2</sup> brought forward to these forms are less valid on the ground of the presence of the compound than on that of their failure to display the proper Ionic vocalization. If in Herakleitos, Herodotos, and other prose writers the compounded forms have obtained sole possession, it is not incredible that by the time of Xenophanes they should have gained an entrance into the dialect. ἐαυτῇ is as old as Hesiod<sup>3</sup>. Alkaios

<sup>1</sup> Such spellings as ἐωυτήν in some MSS. may be referred to Ionic editions. μωυτόν also occurs; La Roche, *Hom. Textkritik*, 252 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In Minnermos Ahrens read αὐτοῦ or σωυτοῦ, Bekker σ' αὐτοῦ, Renner σὴν ὑτοῦ (as Hymn to Hermes 565). The last named reading was once suggested by Bergk, who in his latest edition clings to σαντοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> *Theogony* 126. ἐωυτῇ appears upon a papyrus MS. according to Wileken, *Berichte d. Berl. Akad.* 1887 p. 812. Most of the MSS. have ἐαυτῇ (ἴσα οἱ αὐτῇ Büttl., ἴσον ἔοντα Köchly). If ἐωυτ- is as old as Hesiod, which I doubt, the αὐ of σαντοῦ and ἐμμαντόν is more difficult to defend.



has *ἐμαύτω* 72, *ἐαύτω* 78, *σαύτω* 87, *σαύτω* 101, Sappho *ἐμαύτα* 15<sup>1</sup>. *ἔωντῶ* in Parmen. 117 is a conjecture for *ἐαντῶ*. Recent editors of Pindar reject the traces of the reflexive (Gildersleeve on *Ol.* XIII 53)<sup>2</sup>. The suspicion that attaches to Anakreon's *χθόνιον δ' ἐμαντὸν ἦρεν* (frag. 64) extends to the Xenophanic fragment containing the same form. In Anakreon *δέ μ' αὐτ'* may be conjectured, in Xenophanes any conjecture is otiose, since it is not even certain that the first part of the fragment is genuine. Bergk once made trimeters out of what Meineke thought pure prose. Trimeters were probably not written by the Kolophonian poet.

If the existence of the compound form may not be disputed, objection might however be raised on the score of the character of the diphthong. Apollonios (*De Pron.* 94 B) reports as Ionic the pronoun under the form *ἐμωντοῦ*; and in the monuments of the prose literature which are stamped with the die of the dialect, the diphthong *av* has given way to *εων* (*ων*). Now it is possible that at the time of the first beginnings of the compound forms, the points of departure for their formation were *ἐμ' αὐτόν*, *σ' αὐτόν*, &c.; whence it follows that *ἐμαντόν* and *σαντοῦ* were correct, at least in poetry, up to the time when the Herodoteian system of composition came into vogue. *ἔωντῶ* was then formed from *ἐοῖ αὐτῶ*, and *ἔωντοῦ*, *ἐμεωντοῦ* followed in its wake. The forms with *av* in later Ionic poetry recall the Homeric *ἐ αὐτήν* (or *ἐφ' αὐτήν*) in *Ξ* 162, *Ἐ αὐτήν* P 551. Of the epigraphical examples with *av*, none is old enough to avoid the suspicion of being due to Attic influence. In inscriptions we find (1) *ἐουτῶν* 144 from Priene, and (2) forms with *av*: *ἐαντοῖ* (dative) Oropos 18<sub>28</sub>, the oldest example (either between 411-402 or between 387-377 B.C.), *ἑαστῶν* (= *av* § 243) Samos 221<sub>10</sub> (after 322 B.C.), Asiatic Ionic No. 263<sub>2</sub>, *ἐαντοῦ* Zeleia 113<sub>1</sub> (after 334 B.C.), and in other inscriptions after 350 B.C. when Attic influence cannot be gainsaid: *ἐαντοῦ* Theodosia (?) 127<sub>1</sub>, *ἐαντῆς* Pantikap. 123, Chios 192<sub>2</sub>, *αὐτοῦ* Ephesos 147<sub>18</sub> (300 B.C.) Smyrna 153<sub>16</sub>, *ἐαντῶν* Olbia 129<sub>14</sub> (period of the empire).

Two sets of forms have been handed down as peculiar to the Ionic dialect.

1. *ἐμωντοῦ* Apoll. 94 B C<sup>3</sup>. This form occurs nowhere in literature (*ἐμωντόν* Zenodotos A 271), and is the only instance of a pronoun reported by Apollonios which is unattested in the monuments. It owes its rise to the influence of *ἐμο(ι) αὐτῶ* = *ἐμωντῶ*, where elision has been at work.

<sup>1</sup> Apollonios attests *σαύτω*, *φαύτω*. Between *σ' αὐτῶ* with elision (Ahrens) and *σαύτῶ* the difference is trifling. On the passage in Apoll. 103 A, see Dyroff, *K. Z.* XXXII 103 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *σαντῶ* fr. 97 in one MS.

<sup>3</sup> *τὸ ἐμωντοῦ παρ' Ἰωσι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν* is certainly wrong as it stands.

2. ἐμεωντοῦ, σεωντοῦ, ἑωντοῦ, &c. These forms are not due to the contraction of ἐμέο αὐτοῦ, σέο αὐτοῦ, ἑο αὐτοῦ; the *ων* does not stand in any shifting relation to *αυ*, and is to be kept apart from the *ων* which varies with *αυ* in *θαῦμα θαῦμα* (§§ 205, 258). In Ionic the force of analogy carried *εων* from the dative, where *ἑωντῶ* was the direct result of the fusion of *ἐοῖ αὐτῶ* (as *οἱ αὐτοί* became *ὧτοί* § 316), into the genitive and accusative, where *ἐμεωντοῦ* and *ἐμαντόν* would have been in place. In Attic *ἐμαντοῦ* owes its *αυ*, by a similar process, to the influence of the accusative *ἐμ(ἐ) αὐτόν*. So *σαντοῦ* arose from the analogy of *σ' αὐτόν*. *σεωντοῦ* is to be explained as arising from *σέ(ο) αὐτοῦ*<sup>1</sup>.

Of this second type of form there is no example on any inscriptional monument. Boeckh's ἐ(ω)ντῶν<sup>2</sup> in Bechtel's No. 144, a decree of the Κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων from the Πανιώνιον in the neighbourhood of Priene, cannot hold ground against *ἐωντῶν*, on which see § 256. Nor is there any example in Ionic poetry of the form with *ων*, except in Herodas. In Ionic prose we find the following forms: *ἐμεωντοῦ* Hdt. IV 97 (*A B R*), Euseb. Myndios, ep. Pythag., ep. Hippokr. *ἐμεωντῶ* Hdt. III 142. *ἐμεωντόν* Herakl. 80 (Plutarch), Euseb. Myndios, ep. Hippokr. XXVI 2 in *A*. *σεωντοῦ* Hdt. I 45, III 155, ep. Hippokr. XVII 22. In Herodas 7<sub>99</sub> we find *σεωντοῦ* added in the margin, but at the top of the column (No. 40) *σεωντοῦ* is written. The word forms the first foot of the trimeter. *σεωντόν* Lukian *Syr. dea* 25, *Vit. auct.* 5, Euseb. Myndios; *σεωντήν* Hrd. 2<sub>66</sub>. *ἑωντοῦ* Hdt. I 45 *bis*, Herakl. 17, Hippokr. III 200, 204, 208, 210, VI 114 (with *enis*? *M* has here *μετεωῦτοῦ*, *A* *μεθ' ἑωντοῦ*), Demokr. 92, 100, 188, Lukian *Syr. dea* 12, 18, 19 *bis*, 20, 55 *ter*, *Astr.* 14, Arrian *Ind.* 47, 8<sub>10</sub>, 92, and 20<sub>6</sub> (*ἑαυ-* MSS.), 42<sub>3</sub>, Abyd. 1, Euseb. Mynd., ep. Hippokr. often, Aretaios nine times, *ὧντοῦ* twice, *Vita Hom.* thirteen times; *ἑωντῆς* Hdt. V 28, Hippokr. III 208, *Syr. dea* 14, Arrian *Ind.* 10<sub>6</sub>. Hrd. 6<sub>84</sub> has *ὧντῆς*. *ἑωντῶ* Hdt. III 142, Hippokr. II 188, Demokr. 205, Herakl. 45, Arrian *Ind.* 92 (MSS. *ἑαυ-*), 20<sub>4</sub>, Eusebios; *ἑωντῇ* Hdt. I 11, Lukian *Astr.* 2. *ἑωντόν* Hdt. I 45, Hrd. 5<sub>78</sub>, Hippokr. I 630 (*ἑωντό A*), Demokr. 20<sub>22</sub>, 30, 100, Lukian *Syr. dea* 20, 25, 29, 51, 53, 57, Arrian *Ind.* 43, 78, 94 (MSS. *αὐτόν* and *αὐτόν*), Euseb. Mynd.; *ἑωντήν* *Syr. dea* 22 *bis*, 27, 39 *er*; *ἑωντό* Hippokr. VI 178, 180. *ἑωντῶν* Hdt. IV 11, Hippokr. II 210 vulgo (*-τέων B M N*), II 12, Herakl. 114, Demokr. 213, Lukian *Syr. dea* 49, 58, *Astr.* 12. *ἑωντοῖσι* Hdt. VI 138, Hippokr. VI 354 (see below), Herakl. 5, Lukian *Astr.* 20. *ἑωντούς* Hdt.

<sup>1</sup> So Brugmann, *Gram.* § 96. This is preferable to Wackernagel's explanation (*K. Z.* XXVII 279) whereby *σεωντοῦ* was formed from the analogy of *σεαντόν*, from *τεφ' αὐτόν*. W.'s theory presupposes that, through remembrance of *σαντόν*, *τεαντόν* became *σεαντόν*.

<sup>2</sup> This form is defended by Renner, Curtius' *Studien* I 2, p. 5.



IV 148 (see below), Herakl. 106 in Stobaios, Gaisford following *B man. sec.*, Bywater *εαν-*, Lukian *Syr. dea* 26, 35, Arrian *Indl.* 247.

In authors quoting the Ionic prosaists the Attic forms occur very often, *e.g.* *εαντό* Anax. 15, Melissos 5. *εαντοῦ* Anax. 6 *ter*, 16, Demokr. 20<sub>21</sub>, 84, Melissos 5, *Vita Hom.* twice, Ion *Ἐπιδ.* 1. *εαντῶ* Parm. 117. *εαντῶν* Demokr. 46, although Stobaios has preserved the *ων* forms very often. *σεαντόν* Demokr. 98. Herodas has the Attic forms *εμαντόν* 2<sub>88</sub>, *εμαντήν* 3<sub>27</sub>, *σαντοῦ* 2<sub>83</sub>, *σαντῆς* 6<sub>4</sub>, *σαντόν* 1<sub>63</sub>, <ἐ>*αντόν* 2<sub>28</sub>. The MSS. rarely have *ωντ-* for *εωντ-*, a form comparable, as it were, to Attic *αὔτ-* (Hrd. 6<sub>84</sub> *ωντῆς*).

In the MSS. of Hippokrates and of the pseudo-Ionists we often find the illegitimate parasitic *ε* in *εωντέον* (Hippokr. III 214 *B M N*), *εωντέω* (Hippokr. III 214 *B M N*), *εωντέης*, *εωντέην*, *εωντέω* (Hippokr. II 188, 214), *εωντέων* (Hippokr. II 76, Lukian *Astr.* 1, Euseb.), *εωντέοισι* (Hippokr. II 90), *εωντέρισιν* (Hippokr. II 90).

Hdt. rarely uses the uncompounded forms, *e.g.* *αὐτῷ τ' ἐμοί* III 142, *σοὶ αὐτῷ* I 108 Stein with *P* (*A B σοὶ εωντῶι*). *αὐτόν-μιν* I 24 (cf. *μιν - - εωντόν* *ibid.*) is perhaps an error; *αὐτήν μιν* II 100 is an unusual (Homeric) use as direct reflexive. Herodas has *με αὐτήν* 6<sub>23</sub>, *μιν αὐτήν* 7<sub>12</sub>, not as Hdt. I 205. The strengthening of the reflexive by *αὐτός* occurs in Hippokrates VI 600 *αὐτὰ (omis. vulg.) αὐτοῖσιν*, 178, 188 *αὐτὸ εωντοῦ*, 180 *αὐτὸ εωντῷ*, *αὐτὸ ἀφ' εωντοῦ*.

In the plural we find both *εωντῶν*, &c., and *σφέων αὐτῶν*, &c., *e.g.* Hdt. I 73. *αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν* V 91 is an unusual turn for *ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσι*.

In Hdt. the pronoun of the third person is not used in the singular for the second or for the first, though the MSS. here and there support such a usage. Cf. I 124 (*εωντ- R d z*), III 36 (*εωντ- R*), and IV 97 (*εμεωντοῦ A B R*, others *εωντοῦ*). In V 92 (a) *αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννον καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖσι . . . . δίζησθε κατιστάναι* is the only case in Hdt. Usually the plural of the first person is *ἡμέων αὐτῶν*, of the second *ὑμέων αὐτῶν*. *σφέας εωντούς* in IV 148 is a reading long abandoned for *σφέας αὐτούς*; *σφίσιν εωντοῖσι* Hippokr. VI 354 is the vulgate reading for *σφίσιν αὐτοῖσι* in *θ*.

### Relative Pronouns.

566.] In the Homeric dialect, besides *ὅς*, *ἧ*, *ὃ*, we find the demonstrative *ὃ*, *ἧ*, *τό* used as relatives<sup>1</sup>. *ὅς* is also used as a demonstrative in the epic dialect, which also uses *ὃ* for *τό*. In the language of the elegy we find occasionally the relative used

<sup>1</sup> See Joh. Gr. 240, Gram. Aug. 668, Birnb. 678<sub>14</sub> (*τὸν θέλω*). The relative use of *τόν* in A 36 is called Ionic by An. Par. III 3176.



for the demonstrative:—Phokyl. 1<sub>1</sub> (cf. Demod. 2<sub>1</sub>), 3<sub>8</sub>, Tyrt. 2<sub>3</sub>, Solon 35<sub>1</sub>, Theog. 169, 800 (MSS. vary in both cases).

In the iambographic poets and elegists we find some few survivals of the use of the demonstrative as a relative. The aspirated relative has, however, evidently gained upon the τ-forms from the year 700 B.C.

#### A. Iambographic Poets.

1. Demonstrative as Relative. τó Sim. Am. 13<sub>2</sub>; τῆς Sol. 36<sub>3</sub>, Hrd. 2<sub>64</sub>; τῷ Archil. epod. 87<sub>3</sub>, Anakr. 86 (Elmsley); τῇ Hrd. 32<sub>1</sub>, Sim. Am. 7<sub>3</sub>; τὰς Hrd. 4<sub>17</sub>; τῶν Hrd. 5<sub>28</sub>; ταῖσι Hrd. 6<sub>31</sub>.

2. Pure Relative. ὅς Anan. 1<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. 4<sub>1</sub>; ἣ Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>13</sub>, 27, 44, 58; οὗ Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>117</sub> (οὗτε)<sup>1</sup>, Hrd. 6<sub>42</sub>; ἥς Hrd. 4<sub>1</sub> (ἥς τε), 5<sub>30</sub>; ᾧ Hippon. 32, Hrd. 3<sub>69</sub>; ὅν Sim. Amorg. 23<sub>2</sub>, Hippon. 45; ἣν Hippon. 37<sub>2</sub> (conj.), Hrd. 5<sub>82</sub>; ᾧ Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>4</sub> (where οἷα is the usual Attic construction), Hrd. 5<sub>37</sub>; ὧν Hrd. 5<sub>50</sub>, 7<sub>61</sub>, 9<sub>4</sub>; ἥς Archil. 94<sub>3</sub>; οὗς Archil. tetr. 59<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. 2<sub>67</sub>; ᾧ Solon 37<sub>2</sub>, 3<sub>2</sub>.

#### B. The Elegiac Poets.

1. Demonstrative as Relative. τó Xenoph. 2<sub>17</sub>, Theog. 17, cf. Mimn. 11<sub>5</sub> τόθι; τοῦ Theog. 256, 451, Xenoph. 5<sub>3</sub>; τῇ Theog. 216; τόν Theog. 501, 879; τῇν Xenoph. 6<sub>5</sub>; τοί Theog. 383; τὰ Theog. 481, 583-584, 1185; τῶν Theog. 462, 716, 1096, 1175; τοῖς Theog. 132 (but *A* has οἷς, Bergk ὅτοις), τοῖσιν Sol. 13<sub>48</sub>; τὰς Theog. 880; τὰ Theog. 591.

2. Pure Relative (including ὅσ τε). ὅς Theog. 91, Hipponax hex. 85<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 94<sub>1</sub>; ὅσ τε Theog. 703, 1124, and Anakr. 51<sub>2</sub> (ionics); ἥτε Theog. 196, 386, 410, 705, 827, 1198; ὅ Mimn. 4<sub>2</sub>; ὅ τε Mimn. 5<sub>7</sub>, Theog. 466; οὗ Theog. 152; οὗ τε Theog. 395; ᾧ Theog. 412, Mimn. 2<sub>16</sub>; ὅν Tyrt. 5<sub>2</sub>; ἣν Archil. eleg. 6<sub>1</sub>; ἥν τε Theog. 336, Sol. 27<sub>8</sub>; οἷ Theog. 598; οἷ τε Theog. 737, 1069; αἷ τε Theog. 709; ᾧ Sol. 26<sub>2</sub>; ὧν Tyrt. 10<sub>19</sub>, Theog. 34; ὧν τε Mimn. 2<sub>13</sub>; οἷς Theog. 1312; οὗς Theog. 84, Tyrt. 10<sub>7</sub>.

567.] **The Relative Pronoun in Prose.** If we compare the use of the iambographic poets with that of Hdt., we observe this difference: Hdt.<sup>2</sup> uses the forms beginning with τ in by far the greater number of oblique cases when no preposition precedes<sup>3</sup>; also when the oblique cases are preceded by prepositions which cannot suffer elision<sup>4</sup>. The exceptions are now generally brought

<sup>1</sup> Gaisford οὗ γε. But cf. the use of τε in Theog. 1049, Mimn. 2<sub>1</sub>, 8, 11<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. p. 385, Struve, *Quaest.* 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Exceptions are οὗς II 81, οἷσι V 6, ᾧ II 118, ἥς and ἥ I 109, ἣν I 39, ᾧ III 40.

<sup>4</sup> Exceptions are πρὸς ᾧ IV 200, ἐν ἣ V 16, 49, VI 97, and always when ἐν ᾧ = while, e. g. I 164, ἐς οὗς II 95, ἐς ᾧ V 91, VIII 60 and always when ᾧ = until, and = ἐς ὅσον as IV 56, 71, VII 50. ἐς οὗ generally has the v. l. ᾧ, which is read by Struve and Stein. ἐως οὗ II 143 has also been changed

into line except in the case of certain formulae, such as ἐς ὄ. In case the relative follows upon a preposition whose final vowel may be elided<sup>1</sup>, the aspirated forms are in place in the oblique cases<sup>2</sup>; and in the nominative ὄς, ῥῆ, ὄ are invariably employed. What has been said above holds good in the case of ὄσπερ.

It is doubtful whether so artificial a system can have found a place in the ordinary language of Herodotos' day. The language of the inscriptions as well as that of the Ionic philosophers records a usage different from that of Herodotos, and similar to that in vogue in Attika. While the speech of the iambic writers still preserves both the τ- and the aspirated forms, it is not so complicated as that of Hdt. It is more likely that the preservation of the old forms in Hdt. should have been upheld by syntactical requirements than by so purely external a canon as that adopted with considerable uniformity in the Herodoteian MSS.

The prose inscriptions have only the pure relative, not the τ- forms, e.g. ὄς Thasos *J. II. S.*, VIII 402<sub>3</sub>, ὄν Miletos 100<sub>7</sub>, ὄν Thasos 72<sub>9</sub>, ἄπερ Miletos 100<sub>7</sub>, ῥῆσιω Teos 156 B 36. ῥῆσιν Teos 158<sub>8</sub> deserves attention as ὄσοῦν is not found in Attic, nor indeed in any other dialect except Ionic; ὄτεωσιῶν Amphip. 102<sub>21</sub>. The demonstrative relative appears in τ(οῦ) Amorg. 34 (epigram).

The fragments of the philosophers usually have the pure relative forms: Anax. 6 ῥῆν, 5 οἴσι, 10 ὦν, Diogen. 6 ὦ, ἄτε Herakleitos 11, 112 οῦ, 93 ὦ, 115 ὄν, Demokr. 73 ἄ, 168 οἴσιν but 188 τῶν ἂν δέη, 60 τόν, 47 τοῖσι.

In Hippokrates traces of the demonstrative form are exceedingly rare<sup>3</sup>: τὰ occurs in VI 476 (twice in θ), 486 (τὰ *pro* ἄ *vulg.*) τῆπερ VI 480 (*sic* θ, Littré τῆ περὶ), τοῖσι VII 478, IX 84, τῶ I 586 (A), II 74 (Zwinger ἀφ' ὦν, perhaps ὄτων). Elsewhere we find the aspirated forms, e.g. ῥῆς II 12, 14; ὦ II 644, ὦπε III 196; ῥῆπερ II 24; ἄ II 18, III 84; ὦν II 256, 618, 660, 668, 676 (περὶ), as III 84; οἴσι II 250, 334, 372, 608, 612 *bis*, 626, 642, 662, III 74, VI 610; ῥῆσι III 196 (*v. l.* ὄσησι II 648, 658 *bis*; οῦς II 372 *bis*, 664; ἄς II 648. ἄτε occurs often in Hdt., in Hippokr. II 26, 78, III 226, Diogen. 6, οἴον τε Hippokr. II 38, Diogen. 6, &c.

Of the pseudo-Ionists<sup>4</sup> Lukian follows in general the lead of Herodotos. In a few passages (*Syr. dea* 18, 24, 31, 48) A E have

to ἐς ὄ (cf. Greg. Kor. p. 472). ἐξ οἶ, &c., is found nine times, but ἐκ τοῦ, &c. eighteen times. μέχρι and ἄρχι οῦ are uniformly used. περὶ with τοῦ always in position to suffer anastrophe.

<sup>1</sup> ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, παρά, ὑπό. ἀμφί and ἀνά chance not to occur with a relative.

<sup>2</sup> Exceptions are ἐπὶ τῆν IX 11 (*v. l.* ἐπὶ ῥῆν), ὑπὸ τῶν VII 217 (*v. l.* ὑπ' ὦν).

<sup>3</sup> Gomperz' *Apologie der Heilkunst* p. 78 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Lindemann p. 86.



the aspirate forms, the other MSS. those with τ-. In 25 only *A* has ᾶ. When a preposition precedes there is considerable variation in the MSS. We find ἐν οἴσι *Astr.* 10, ἐν τοῖσι *Astr.* 24, *Syr. dea* 2, 10, 21, 47; ἐπὶ τοῦ *Syr.* 12; ἐπὶ τῆς 30; ἀντ' ὧν 12; ἀπὸ τέω (so Jacobitz) *Astr.* 7, 12. The examples that are Attic rather than Ionic may safely be corrected. Eusebios has τά, τάπερ, τῶν, ἀπ' ὧν, but ἐν τῷ. The other imitators of Ionic prose use the aspirated relative. Arrian has a fondness for ὅστις.

**568.] Interrogative and Indefinite Pronoun.** Nominative τίς, τί, τις, τι *Hom.*, *Hdt.*, *Hippokr.*, &c. Genitive: τέο<sup>1</sup> *Homer*, *Hrd.* 8<sub>1</sub>; τεο in *Homer* only π 305, *Hdt.* I 58; τεῦ *Homer*, *Hdt.* V 106, *Kall.* 1<sub>1</sub>, *Hrd.* 2<sub>98</sub>; τευ *Homer*, *Hdt.* I 19, *Archil.* 110, *Theog.* 749, 750; τέου *Archil.* 95 (MSS. τεοῦ); του *Hippokr.* II 34; τίνος *Theog.* 1299, *Hippokr.* III 214; τινος *Hippokr.* V 726. Dative: τέφ *Hymn* I 170, *Hdt.* I 11, IV 155; τεφ in *Homer* four times, *Hdt.* II 48, 124, IV 47, *Anax.* 6 *bis*; τφ the most common form in *Homer*, *Theog.* 139; τίνι in *Homer* only ξ 96, P 68; τινι *Homer*, *Hippokr.* III 82. Accusative: τίνα *Homer*, *Hippokr.* III 214; τινα *Homer*, *Hdt.*, *Hippokr.* Nominative: τίνες *Homer*, τίνα (?) X 450; τινες *Homer*, *Hdt.*, *Hippokr.*, τινα *Homer*, &c. Genitive: τέων *Homer*; τεῶν *Hdt.* V 57 (*sic A B*, τέων *C P*); τίνων, τινων. Dative: τέοισι *Hdt.* I 37, VIII 113, IX 27; τοῖσι in *Homer* (κ 110) accord. to *Aristarchos*, *Hdt.*; τισι *Hippokr.* II 618, 644, III 76. Accusative: τινας *Homer*, *Hippokr.*, τινα *Homer*.

*Note on the interrelation of the stems of this pronoun.*

The stem τε- (*I. E.* *qe*, cf. *Avest.* *ca-hyā*, *Goth.* *hvi-s*) appears in τέο (τεῦ), a more original form than τέον. τέο is formed from \*τε-σιο as ἐμέο (ἐμεῖο) from \*ἐμε-σιο. τέον is formed as if the stem were τεο-; which appears also in τέφ, τέων, τέοισι. The τ of τῷ is borrowed from that of τοῦ < τεο; and the dental of τέφ together with the ε is taken from τέο. In the dative, from \*qō we should expect \*πῷ, \*ποῖς. The forms with τιν- are built up from the lost accusative \*τι-ν which was constructed from a stem τι-. In τίνα, which replaced the old τι-ν, the stem appeared to be τιν-. The form τίσι, however, need not be explained as arising from τιν-σι; it may be the direct descendant of τι+σι. τι- appears in ἄσσα < τῖ-α (after a word ending in α), which is not *Herodoteian*. The *Aiolic* forms τῖφ *Sappho* 104, and τῖοισιν 168 are not descendants of τέφ, τέοισι as often stated, but from the different stem τί- (qí-), found in (ἄ)σσα < τῖα. Cf. ὄτεια *Gortyna* 452 and τέιον ποῖον. *Κρήτες*. This stem τι- was not originally in place in the dative. *Schmidt K. Z.* XXV 93, *Wackernagel K. Z.* XXVII 89, XXVIII 121, XXIX 149.

**569.] The Compound Relative ὅστις.**

1. *Nominative.* ὅστις *Hom.*, *Tyrt.* 12<sub>16</sub>, *Theog.* 221, 744, 1173, *Anakr.* 94<sub>3</sub> (eleg.), *Sim. Am.* 770, &c., *Herakl.* 35, *Teos* 156 A 1,

<sup>1</sup> *An. Ox.* I 403<sub>9</sub> (cf. I 400<sub>6</sub>) τέο *Ionic*, τεῦ *Doric*.



Herodotos, Hippokrates; Arrian is fond of ὅστις, &c., in preference to the simple relative forms. ὅτις<sup>1</sup> Hom., Theog. 676; ἥτις<sup>2</sup> Hom., Sim. Am. 7<sub>108</sub>, Hdt., Hippokr. *e.g.* II 12. ὅτι Hom., Theog. 160, 690, Hdt., Herakl. 105, Hippokr. II 358. ὅττι Hom., Theog. 17, 818 (not Ionic).

2. *Genitive.* οὐτινος, ὅττεο, ὅττεν Homer; ὅτεν Hom., Hdt. The form ὅτινος might have been Ionic if analogy had had its way, as was the case in Doric. Herodas 4<sub>40</sub> has the non-Ionic ὅτον; but cf. δτεύνεκ' 5<sub>20</sub> despite δτούνεκεν 7<sub>103</sub>.

3. *Dative.* ὅτεφ<sup>3</sup> Hom., Hdt., Demokr. 166, 188, Herakl. 127, Herodas 7<sub>112</sub>, but ὅτφ 2<sub>26</sub> (cf. 7<sub>27</sub>). δτεωιοῦν is found in Amphip. 10<sub>21</sub>. ὅτφ is found M 428 where Zenodotos read ὅτεφ; ὅτφ occurs in Theog. 154, 416, 609<sup>4</sup>, and in Anaxag. 6 *ad fin.* according to Simplicius (Diels 157<sub>4</sub> for ὅτφ, Preller and Mullach adopt ὅτεων). In Solon el. 24<sub>1</sub> = Theog. 719, Bergk adopts ὅτφ (Renner ὅτεφ), where Plutarch has φτε, Stobaios ὅσοις. ὅτφ is found also in Hippokr. III 238, 252, Lukian's *Syria dea* and in Arrian. φτινι Hsd., Theog. 631 (in *A*), 807 (φτινι *A*). In both passages this form should have been adopted by Bergk (cf. Hom. οὐτινι); φτινι Hippokr. II 664.

4. *Accusative.* ὄντινα Hom., Tyrt. 12<sub>33</sub>, Theog. 403, Hrd. 4<sub>12</sub>, Hdt.; ὄντινῶν Sim. Am. 7<sub>49</sub>; ὅτινα Hom.; ἥντινα Hom., Hdt. (not τήντινα as all MSS. I 90); ὅτι Hom., Hdt., Hippokr. II 12, III 228; ὅττι Hom.

5. *Nominative.* οἷτινες Hom., Hdt., Herakl. 114, 126, Hippokr. II 240 (οἱ δέ τινες); αἷτινες Hom., Hdt.

6. *Genitive.* ὅτεων Hom., Hdt.; ὅτων Hippokr. II 64, 74 (? see § 567), a rare form in Attic (see on Xen. *Anab.* VII 6, 24).

7. *Dative.* δτέοισι Hom., Hdt. See Eustathios quoted under δτεφ.

8. *Accusative.* οὔστινας Hom., Hdt.; ὅτινας Hom.; ἄστινας Hom., Hdt.; ὅτιν' Hom. X 450 (?).

ἄσσα<sup>5</sup> < ἄ + τῆα Hom., Phokyl. 6<sub>2</sub>, Theog. 1048, Solon 38<sub>4</sub> (?). Hdt. I 47, 138, 197, Herakl. 122, Melissos 17; in Anax. 6 ἄσσα is a conjecture (Simpl. ὄσα).

**570.] Other Pronominal Forms.** On the form of the pronouns κοῖος, κόσος, κότερος, &c., see § 342. ἀμός is not found in Ionic literature, but occurs in the Herodoteian οὐδαμοί, μηδαμοί

<sup>1</sup> This form is totally distinct from ὅστις (from γα-s). ὅτις contains the neuter \*σφοδ of the reflexive σφο-, which appears in Lokrian φότι (C. D. I 1479 A 6) and in the Homeric φώς. The ττ forms in Homer are due to the assimilation of δτ, and are Aiolic.

<sup>2</sup> Tzetz. Ex. II. 63<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Eust. 230<sub>8</sub>, 1026<sub>43</sub>, 1036<sub>33</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> This form is neither Doric nor epic. Homer prefers ὅτεφ with synizesis.

<sup>5</sup> Bekk. An. I 461<sub>2</sub> (= Bachm. An. I 161<sub>11</sub>).

The former is also Homeric. Demokritos, who gave to several of the letters of the alphabet names different from those in ordinary use, followed Alkaios 76, who divided οὐδείς into οὐ + δείς (neuter δέν). Plutarch πρὸς Κολώτην 4 (*Mor.* 1109 A) quotes a saying of Demokritos: μὴ μᾶλλον τὸ δέν ἢ τὸ μηδέν εἶναι<sup>1</sup>. No grammarian assigns δείς, δέν for τις, τι to any special dialect. Dr. Jackson (*Journ. of Philol.* XXI 73) ventures to find δαμά (μή + δαμά) in Parmenides. ὁ δεῖνα is unknown to Hdt.

### Numerals.

571.] A special Ionic termination is -φασιος; -ξος in διξός, τριξός (§ 380) is specifically Ionic. 1. εἰς, &c., Hdt., ἐν and ἔνα Samos 220<sub>32</sub>, ἐν Miletos 100<sub>1</sub>, ἐνός Chios 174 D 19, cf. Keos 43<sub>3</sub> and Iasos 104<sub>41</sub>. μιᾶς Olynthos 8 B 13. μίαν Miletos 100<sub>3</sub> disposes of Aldus' μίη in Hdt. *e.g.* II 100, and R d's μίην in II 111, and show that such forms in Anaxagoras, Hippokrates (*e.g.* VIII 274 in C), and later Ionic writers are hyper-Ionisms. See above, § 419. πρῶτον Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 8, Keos 43<sub>16</sub> and Hdt., cf. Πρωτῆς Styra 19<sub>47</sub>. Hdt. has οὐδένες III 26, IX 58.

2. Homer, Hesiod δύω, δύο: δύο Paros 62, Samos 220<sub>21, 26, 29, 31</sub>, Ananios 3<sub>2</sub>, &c., with the noun in the plural as often in Attic. δυῶν is found in Chios 174 D 9. It occurs in the Herakleian tables and in Gortyna 1<sub>40</sub>. In the Chian document it occurs in conjunction with the Aiolic πεντηκόντων. Hdt. has δύο but not δύω, though the latter occurs as a *v. l.* in C, *e.g.* VI 57, VII 24, 28. The indeclinable δύο is often used in Hdt. as in Attic. δύω is found only in composition (see under 12). Hdt. has also δυῶν<sup>2</sup> VI 57, &c., but not δυοῖν, despite I 11, 91, where there is no *v. l.* δυοῖν is Hippokratic (VI 216, 286, 472, VII 138) cf. § 412; δυοῖσι Hdt. I 32, VII 104; δυσί is not Herodoteian. Hippokrates has δυσί (II 522 *v. l.* δύο, VII 368) as perhaps Thukydides VIII 101 (but see Phrynichos, p. 289 R) and certainly post-Aristotelian literature and inscriptions (*e.g.* C. I. A. II 467<sub>27, 47148</sub>) of the Roman period. Hdt. IV 66 has σύνδυο, cf. σύντρεις 1 429. δεύτερος Hdt., Hippokr.; δευτεραῖος Hdt.; δῖς Archil. 163, Sim. Am. 7<sub>64</sub>, Hippokr. II 78; διξός § 380; διφάσιος (Greg. K. p. 527); ἀμφοῖν Hippokr. II 686 (ἀμφοτέρων A, Galen), VII 120 (ἀμφοτέροισι in θ), VIII 238, 240; cf. § 412, where δυοῖν is adduced from Lukian and Arrian.

3. τρεῖς Chios 174 A 3, Iasos 104<sub>53</sub>, Zeleia 113<sub>30</sub>, Paros 63, Oropos 18<sub>4</sub>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zenobios in Et. Mag. 639.

<sup>2</sup> δυῶν Eust. 802<sub>26-0</sub> (cf. 26<sub>21</sub>); An. Par. III 88<sub>2</sub> on τῶν δύο II. K 253: Ἀττικὸν ἢ κοινόν, Ἰωνικὸν γὰρ δυῶν.



(accusative). The accusative has usually been displaced by the nominative in Ionic, *e.g.* Anakr. 42, 83, Ananios 32. The original form is *τρίνς* (cf. *τρίνς* Gortyna 5<sub>54</sub>), from which descended *τρίς*, the reading of *θ* in Hippokr. VI 482, VIII 184, 260, 304. *τριῶν* Oropos 18<sub>15</sub>, Keos 43<sub>9</sub>, Hippokr. II 636. [*τρι*]σί Keos 43<sub>2-3</sub>; *τριοῖσι* in Hipponax tr. 51<sub>1</sub> (*σὺν τριοῖσι μάρτυρσιν*) is formed on the model of *τριῶν*, from a stem *τρι-*. It is doubtful whether this form is due to the satirist's residence at Klazomenai, the Aiolic city which was late in joining the Ionic league (Paus. VII 3, 5); *τρίτος* Hdt., Hippokr. II 688, Erythr. 206 A 38; *τρίς* Sim. Am. 7<sub>64</sub>, Sam. 215 (epigr.), Hdt., Hippokr. II 78; *τριξός* § 380; *τριάκαδι* Erythr. 206 C 47; *ἡμιτριταῖος* Hippokr. II 608.

4. *τέσσερες, τέσσερα*. To the forms adduced, § 134, we may add *τέσσερσι* Hippokr. VI 198, VII 368, the reading of *θ* which ought to have been adopted by Littré. In VIII 200 *θ* has *τέρσεσι*. Hdt. has *τεσσέρων, τέσσερσι, τέσσερας*. Doric *τετόρων* in Phokyl. 31 is borrowed from the Hesiodic epos (*τέτορα* *W. D.* 698), cf. *τέτορες* Kinkel p. 178 (No. 248), a fragment rejected by Flach. *τέταρτος* Hdt., Hippokr. II 682, 690, Zeleia 114 F 3, Kyzik. 108 B C. Homer has also *τέταρτος* (Joh. Gr. 241 B). *τεταρταῖος* Hippokr. II 680.

5. *πέντε* Anakr. 42, Keos 43<sub>23</sub>; *πέμπτος* Mylasa 248 B 1, Halik. 238<sub>5</sub>; *Πένπτις* Styra 19<sub>282</sub>; *πεμπταῖοι* Hippokr. II 682; *πεντάκις* Hrd. 3<sub>23</sub>. 6. *ἕξ* Chios 174 A 5 is a unique form (§ 378); *ἕξ* in *δεκαῖς* below. *ἕκτος* Thas. 71<sub>11</sub> < *έκστ-*, or from a form without the sibilant. *έκταῖος* Hippokr. II 646.

7. *ἑπτά* Samos 220<sub>21</sub>; *ἑβδομος; ἑβδομαῖος* Hippokr. II 682, Epidaurian *ἑβδεμ-*. 8. *ὀκτώ; ὀγδοος*, Erythr. 206 A 46; *ὀγδοηκοστός* Hippokr. II 626.

9. *ἐννέα* No. 137 (Chalkidian), *ἐννεία* Zeleia 113<sub>30</sub> (on the *ι* cf. § 220), *ἐννεοβολουῶν* Orop. 18<sub>22</sub>. Ionic *ἐννατος* in Hdt. as in Homer is = Kretan *ἥνατος* < *ενF-*; Attic *ἐνατος* Hippokr. II 704, Myl. 248 A 1; *ἐναταῖοι* Hippokr. II 682. 10. *δέκα* Eretria 15<sub>13</sub>; *δέκων* Chios 174 D 14 is a loan form from Aiolic<sup>1</sup>. *δέκατος* Keos 47<sub>6</sub>, Milet. 93, Halik. 241, Phokaia 170, *ἐπιδέκατος* Amphip. 10<sub>13</sub>, Eretr. 15<sub>14</sub>. 11. *ἑνδεκα* Zeleia 113<sub>23</sub>, *ἐνδέκατος* Hdt., Hippokr.; *ἐνδεκαταῖος* Hippokr. II 654.

12. The later Ionic has *δυνώδεκα*, Hdt. II 145 and in some thirty other passages without any variant; so also Thasos (L.) 8 A 5. In VIII 121 Stein reads *δυνώδεκα* in opposition to *δυνωκαῖδεκα* of *A B C*, and also in VI 108, where all MSS. have *δώδεκα*. The latter form occurs in Hippokr. II 520 (*A*), where the Homeric *δυνωκαῖδεκα* is adopted by Littré. Arrian *Ind.* 19, has *δώδεκα*. This Attic form is to be expelled from the text of

<sup>1</sup> This form, like *πεντηκόντων, ἐνενηκόντων* in the same inscription, arose from the fact that the final *α* of *δέκα*, &c., was regarded as a neuter plural termination. That the dative plural of like formation does not occur is a matter of chance.



Herodotos. δωδέκατος and δυοκαιδέκατος occur in Hippokrates; δυωδέκατος Hdt. I 19, III 92 (δω- *A B C d*). In III 91 for δυοκαίδεκα (*A B*), δυωκαίδεκα (*C P d*), Stein reads δύο καὶ δέκα (*μυριάδας*). δεκαδύο is found in Iasos 104<sub>32</sub>, a document containing few traces of Ionic. It appears in C. I. A. II 476<sub>31</sub> (100 B.C.). 13. τρία καὶ δέκα Hdt., τρίτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., τρισκαιδέκατος Hippokr. II 712. 14. τεσσereσκαίδεκα Hdt. VII 36, I 86 (-ar- in all MSS.), Hippokr. VI 216 is indeclinable; τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt. III 93, τεσσereσκαίδεκατος I 84 (-ar- in all MSS. as Hippokr. II 668); τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαταῖος Hippokr. II 148. 15. πεντεκαίδεκα Chios 174 A 19, Hdt.; πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt. 16. δεκαῆξ Iasos 104<sub>45</sub>, ἑκκαίδεκατον Hdt., ἑξκαίδεκα Hippokr.; ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., ἑξκαιδέκατος Hippokr. 17. ἑπτακαίδεκα, ἑβδομος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., ἑπτακαιδέκατος Hippokr. 18. ὀκτωκα[ῖδ]εκα Halik. 238<sub>18</sub>, ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., ὀκτωκαιδέκατος Hippokr., ἐν δυοῖν δεοῦσαι εἴκοσι Hippokr. VI 216 (so θ, other MSS. δεοῦσαι), δυοῖν δεόντοι εἴκοσι VI 286. 19. ἑννεακαίδεκα, εἵνατος καὶ δέκατος Hdt. 20. εἴκοσι(ν) Paros 62, Anakr. 18, Hrd. 3<sub>91</sub>, εἰκοσταῖος Hippokr. II 654. 21. εἴκοσι[ν] ἐ[ν]ός Iasos 104<sub>40</sub>, εἰκοστή πρώτη Hippokr. II 680. 22. δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι Hdt. 30. τριήκοντα Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 10, Erythr. 202<sub>17</sub>, τριηκοστός Myl. 248 A 1, Hippokr. II 680 (with Attic α), τριηκοσταῖος Hippokr. II 150, τριηκόστ[ια] Keos 43<sub>20</sub>. 35. τριήκοντα πέντε Hdt. but ἐνὶ καὶ τριηκοστῷ. 38. δυὼν δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα Hdt. I 15. 40. The Herodoteian and Homeric τεσσαράκοντα Iasos 104<sub>52</sub>, Kyzikos 111<sub>11</sub>; τεσσ[ερα]κ[ό]ντων Chios 174 C 16 as in Aiolic<sup>1</sup>; τετρωκοστῶι καὶ πέμπτῳ Myl. 248 B 1 as in Archimedes II 282, 23 = Attic τεσσαρακοστῶι, &c. Doric is τετρώκοντα (Herakl. Tablets). On the objections to referring this to the type ὀγδώκοντα (*K. Z.* XXV 235) see Schmidt *Neutra*, p. 192, τεσσαρακοστός Hippokr. II 678, 698 (with Attic α). 49. ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα Hdt. I 16. 50. πεντήκοντα Olynth. 8 A 5, Iasos 104<sub>47</sub>, πεντηκόντων Chios 174 D 7 as in Aiolic. It is to be noticed that this form, δέκων, τεσσ[ερα]κόντων, and ἐν[εν]ηκόντων stand in close proximity to inflected numbers in this inscription. 60. ἑξήκοντα Thasos (L.) 95, ἑξηκοστός Hippokr. II 678. 70. ἑβδομήκοντα Chios 174 A 7, Delphic and Herakleian ἑβδεμήκοντα, ἑβδομηκοστός Hippokr. II 700; ἑβδομήκοντα τριῶν Iasos 104<sub>35</sub>; τεσ(σ)ερακαιεβδο[μη]ροντούτης Paros 58. 80. ὀγδώκοντα Hom. and Hdt. < ὀγδοηκ-; ὀγδοηκοστός Hippokr. II 678. 90. ἐν[εν]ηκόντων Chios 174 C 26, inflected as in Aiolic. See under 40. Hom. ἐννήκοντα τ 174, ἐνενήκοντα B 602. In Dittenb. *Syll.* 170<sub>34</sub> from Miletos (234 B.C.) we find ἐνενήκοντα. 100. ἑκατόν Anakr.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. τριηκόντων Hsd. *W. D.* 696 (Stobaios, Eust.).

8<sub>3</sub>, Keos 43<sub>8</sub>, Chios 174 A 13, ἑκατοστός Hippokr. II 680; cf. ἑκατοστὺν Samos 221<sub>39</sub>. 200. διηκοσίῳ Zeleia 114 D 5, Chios 174 D 19. 300. τριηκόσιοι Thasos (L.) 9<sub>6</sub>, Chios 174 B 23, C 16. 400. τετρακοσίῳ Kyzikos 111<sub>11</sub>. 500. πεντάκοσίῳ Mykonos 92<sub>22</sub>, Chios 174 D 7. In γ 7 Aristarchos and Herodian read πεντᾱκόσιοι, and so Ludwig. La Roche has πεντη-. 700. ἑπτακοσίῳ Chios 174 C 18, 21. 800. ὀκτακοσίῳ Chios 174 C 23, Aiolic ὀκτωκόσιοι. 900. εἰνα[κ]οσίῳ Chios 174 D 2, εἰνακόσια Hdt. II 145 (cf. Hom. εἴνατος). Here *R* has ἐννα- and so *Rd* in II 13. 1000, &c. χιλίους<sup>1</sup> Thas. 72<sub>14</sub>, χιλίων Chios 174 D 2, 12, C 17, 23, δισχιλίῳ Chios 174 C 20, τρισχιλίῳ Chios 174 C 25, τρισχίλια Hdt. I 50, πεντακισχιλίῳ Chios 174 C 15, Hdt. πεντακισχίλια II 145, &c. In Homer Aristarchos wrote ἐννεάχειλοι, δεκάχειλοι which would seem to be more in harmony with Ionic than ἐννεάχιλοι, δεκάχιλοι<sup>2</sup>. With χιλιαστὺν Ephes. 147<sub>20</sub>, Samos 221<sub>30</sub>, cf. Methymian χέλληστus. χιλιάδων in Hdt. II 28 is correct, not χιλιαδέων as *Cd* in VII 29. 10,000. μυριάδες Hdt. VII 29.

Hdt. uses *μηδαμός*, *οὐδαμός* in the plural only (e. g. VI 103 οὐδαμαί). These stems are used in Attic for the construction of adverbs only. The neuter plural is used adverbially in Hdt. (as Halik. 238<sub>40</sub>) and the feminine is rare. *μηδαμέας* IV 114 in good MSS. (*ABC*) is an instance of the tendency of the scribes to inflect according to the -εσ- or -ην- declensions. See above § 454.

In composition with nouns the form of the cardinal is not preserved, Hdt. herein agreeing with Homer, e. g. διέτης, τριπάλαιστα, but τετραέτεα χρόνον I 199. πέντε, ἕξ and εἴκοσι appear as πέντα-, ἕξα-, and εἴκοσα-.

The conjunction in Hdt. of smaller and larger numbers may be illustrated by the following: I 32 πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσίῳ καὶ ἑξακισχιλίῳ καὶ δισμυρίῳ: III 95 τάλαντα μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα. Hippokr. VII 138 has τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα.

### Patronymics.

572.] The grammarians called -ιάδης an Ionic by-form of -ίδης, e. g. Gram. Par. p. 677 Ἀμφιτρωνιάδης, Greg. Kor. p. 487 Πηληϊάδου καὶ Λαερτιάδου (*sic*). -ίδης is also recognized as Ionic, e. g. Greg. Kor. p. 460. Hdn. II 858<sub>25</sub>, An. Ox. IV 326<sub>27</sub><sup>3</sup>, Bekk. Anecd. II 850<sub>15</sub>, call the patronymics in -ων Ionic. It is of

<sup>1</sup> The only attempt to explain the divergence between the *ει* and *ι* forms sufficiently plausible to warrant mention, is that of Kretschmer, K. Z. XXIX 422. The forms in χίλοι are derived from \*χισλοί, χεῖλοι from \*χέσλοι. Aiolic is χέλλιοι, Lakon. χηλίοι.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schol. Ven. A on Ξ 148, Schulze K. Z. XXIX 242.

<sup>3</sup> Here -αδιος is called Aiolic (see under that dialect), -δης Common.



course not restricted to Ionic. The same dialect sometimes has both *-ίδης* and *-ίων*. Euboian *Ἰππώνδης* recalls the Boiotian *-ωνδας*. A unique patronymic is that in *-αδευς* occurring nowhere outside of Hipponax, who has *Ἑρμῇ Μαιαδεῦ* (frag. 16) = *Μαιάδος Ἑρμῇ* (21 A). *Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεα* (accusative) appears in hexameters (85). It may be observed that the ending *-κλίδης* may be derived from clip-names in *-κλος*, e.g. *Ἀριστοκλίδης* Styra 19<sub>163</sub>; cf. *Ἀριστοκλείδης* 19<sub>12</sub>. *Παρμενίδης* owes its *-ίδης* to the analogy of *Παρμονίδης*. *Παρμενείδης* occurs (but not on Ionic inscriptions). For the heavier *-είδης* we not unfrequently find the lighter *-ίδης* substituted. In masculines derived from *ην*-stems we expect to find *-ηίδης*, *-είδης*, in feminines *-ης* (*-ης*). On *Σελληίδεω* and *Βασιληίδεω* see §§ 233, 235, on *Νηιρείδων* § 233.

## THE VERB.

### 573.] The Dual.

Conjecture as to whether the dual in Homer is Ionic rather than Aiolic must be barren of result. In the most ancient period of the cultivation of the epos the dual was alive in both dialects; but in early post-Homeric times in Ionic it had passed out of ordinary use. It occurs but once (No. 265) in an inscription dating from about 460 B. C.: *Κριτίος<sup>1</sup> καὶ Νησιώτης ἐποίησάτην*. Though the dedicator of the memorial, Hegelochos, was either an Euboian or an Ionian of one of the Kyklades, there is nothing to compel us to assume that the artists were also Ionians. The inscription was found near the Parthenon and the alphabet is Old Attic, though the dialect is Ionic. An indubitable example of the Ionic usage in the fifth century is the Parian inscription No. 59, in which there are two dedicators (*εὐχσάμενοι στήσαν*). In post-Homeric Ionic literature there does not occur a single example of the occurrence of the dual of a verbal form.

### *The Syllabic Augment.*

574.] This augment may be omitted in such Ionic poetry as has an epic colouring<sup>2</sup>, but not in iambic verse. To the rule

<sup>1</sup> On the accent, see Götting in *Arch. Zeit.*, 1845, p. 96. The conjunction of Kritios and Nesiotes is attested in two other inscriptions in which *ἐποίησάτην* occurs. See Brunn, *Geschichte der gr. Künstler*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> The examples in the grammarians of the so-called omission of the syllabic augment are either drawn from Homer outright and usually called Ionic and poetic (at least in the later grammarians), or tacitly regarded as epic. Cf.



that in prose only pluperfects and iteratives may omit the augment  $\chi\rho\eta\nu$  is but an apparent exception. It is derived from  $\chi\rho\eta + \eta\nu = \chi\rho\epsilon\omega \eta\nu^1$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\eta\nu$  is an analogical formation.

The omission of the augment in Homer, notwithstanding the treatises by Grashof, Poehlmann, M. Schmidt, La Roche, Koch, Skerlo, and Molhem, has been generally regarded as practically subject to no rule. Latterly Mr. Arthur Platt has shown (*Journal of Philology* XIX 211) that, when the aorist is employed to denote the immediate past or in its gnomic use, the forms with the augment are much more frequent. The imperfects in narration are often devoid of the augment. M. Schmidt (*Philologus* IX 426 ff.) endeavoured to establish the procedure of Aristarchos, who, he maintains, omitted the augment of verbs beginning with  $\lambda$  and  $\tau\rho$ ; when  $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon$ ,  $\tau\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon$  stand after the second foot; when a noun precedes whose ending is  $\alpha$  (except neut. pl. in  $-\epsilon\alpha$ , and  $-\iota\alpha$  usually); and when the verb is preceded by a preposition with anastrophe.

1. In prose inscriptions this augment is never omitted.

2. In the following metrical inscriptions this augment is omitted:  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon$  Amorgos 34 (but  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$  in l. 2),  $[\acute{\epsilon}]\tau\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon$  Erythrai 200,  $\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  Paros 59. These inscriptions are epigrams. In Halik. 241, after a dedication in prose, we read  $\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$   $\text{Μακεδ\acute{o}\nu Διονυσίου Ἡρακλεώτης}$ . Boeckh read  $\acute{\epsilon}]\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ , but, apart from the objection to this conjecture because of the unusual position of the verb in a prose inscription, the omission of the augment in artists' signatures is not unknown, even when it does not constitute a part of an hexameter.  $\text{Μαχάτας πόησε}$  in C. I. G. 1794a (cf. *l*) precedes an epigram. We find  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{o}\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  in an hexametrical inscription containing the signature of Alxenor (no. 26).

575.] The syllabic augment is omitted in the lyric poets as follows: A.  *Elegiac* (by imitation of epic models).

Kall. I<sub>15</sub>  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha \kappa\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\nu$ , Tyrt. 5<sub>8</sub>  $\phi\epsilon\delta\gamma\omicron\nu$  (in the first foot), Mimm.

Apollonios de Pronom. 113 C, Ptolemy cited by Hdn. II 28<sub>1</sub> = schol. Ven. A on A 464, II 34<sub>12</sub> = schol. Ven. A on B 427, Hdn. II 125<sub>13</sub> (from  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota \pi\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ ) where the omission of the augment is referred to the Ionians and not merely to the poets. That Herodian maintained the view (different from that of Apollonios) that the omission of the augment was poetic, not Ionic, cannot be proved. It is quite true however that he does not call the phenomenon in question either Ionic or poetic, and that most of the passages in Lentz' edition ascribing it to the Ionians do not mention Herodian's name outright. Joh. Gr. 241, 242, Greg. Kor. p. 404, Gram. Meerm. 654, Aug. 669, Vat. 699, Paris. 675 (An. Bachm. II 36<sub>59</sub>), An. Ox. I 310<sub>21</sub>, 334<sub>13</sub>, 374<sub>23</sub>, 433<sub>4</sub>, II 359<sub>13</sub>, 412<sub>24</sub>, IV 176<sub>10</sub>, 185<sub>28</sub>; An. Par. III 120<sub>5</sub>, 134<sub>16</sub>, 137<sub>19</sub>, 138<sub>2</sub>, 183<sub>34</sub>, 304<sub>21</sub>, 441<sub>7</sub>, IV 219<sub>28</sub>, 223<sub>1</sub>; Choitrob. 513<sub>10ff</sub>, 556<sub>26</sub>, 595<sub>33</sub>, 609<sub>32</sub>, 633<sub>33</sub> (= An. Ox. IV 418<sub>25</sub>), 637<sub>8</sub>, 701<sub>17</sub>, 909<sub>10</sub>; Et. M. 338<sub>47</sub>; in the scholiast Ven. A we find the remark  $\text{Ἀρίσταρχος Ἰακῶς}$  or its equivalent on A 160, 374, 464, B 35, 427 (cf. A 464), 682, 751, Γ 415, Δ 109, 517, Z 155, 157, I 86, K 546, Ξ 285, O 601, Π 120, 207, 290, 379, Σ 549, Υ 156, Φ 84, Ψ 455, Ω 648; in the following passages no mention is made of Aristarchos: H 428, Λ 28, M 420, Ξ 114, Ψ 440 = Hdn. II 122<sub>38</sub>, schol. P, Q on η 239 = Hdn. II 147<sub>2</sub>, &c. Cf. also Eust. 72<sub>45</sub>, 17597, and Tzetzes Ex. II. 73<sub>8</sub>, 74<sub>14</sub>, 88<sub>26</sub>, cf. 103<sub>19</sub>, Drakon 160<sub>23</sub>, cf. 155<sub>22</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ahrens *Kleine Schriften* I 24.

14<sub>11</sub> αὐγῆσιν φέρετ', Sol. 4<sub>29</sub> ὑπέρθορεν, Phok. 3<sub>1</sub> τῶνδε γένοντο (where Stobaios' *B* has ἐγένοντο), Theog. 5 θεὰ τέκε, 10 γήθησεν (first foot), 196 τλήμονα θῆκε, 123 ποίησε, 206 ὑπεκρέμασεν (so Bergk, ὑπεκρέμασεν *O*, ἐπεκρέμασεν other MSS.), 266 φθέγγετ', 463 θεοὶ δόσαν, 1101 ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν . . . καὶ σ' ἐκέλευσεν, 1108 γενόμην, 1319 τοι δῶκε; and in Archil. κάλλιπον 6<sub>2</sub>.

*B. Iambographic*<sup>1</sup> (including all of Archilochos).

κάλλιπον Archil. 6<sub>2</sub>. λίπε is not objectionable in Archil. epod.

114:

πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν λίπε Κοίρανον ἦπιος Ποσειδῶν since the verse is an ἐξάμετρον περιπτοσυλλαβές. Frag. 186 consists merely of the words ὀξύη ποτᾶτο, which may be written ὀξύη 'ποτᾶτο as ἄτη 'κιχήσατο (73<sub>1</sub> tetr.) for the unaugmented form<sup>2</sup>. Even in prose inscriptions we find 's, 'λάσσονες. Archilochos elsewhere retains the augment (29<sub>1</sub>, 29<sub>3</sub>, 33, 34, 35, 52). καὶ πονήσατο in Sim. Am. 7<sub>45</sub> was cured by Ahrens' κάπονήσατο. In a fragment ascribed by some to Xenophanes, Bergk (*F. L. G.* II, p. 116) writes βληστριζόμην contrary to the MSS. The word seems confined to Ionic (Hippokrates and Aretaios use it), but the verse is suspected; cf. § 565.

φύγον in Anacr. 29 is nothing but a conjecture for φεύγω in order to harmonize the metre of 29 with 28, i. e. choriambic dimeter + first pherecratic.

On iteratives in poetry, see § 576, 2.

576.] In prose the syllabic augment is omitted only in the case of pluperfects and iteratives<sup>3</sup>. As stated in § 574 χρῆν is not an exception. It is more frequent in literature from the time of Herodotos, and in that author occurs oftener than ἐχρῆν. The latter form should have been adopted by Stein in II 173, where it is supported by *ABR*. In III 52 ἐχρῆν is found in all MSS.

Lukian is the only pseudo-Ionist who might be thought to have attempted to omit the syllabic augment under other circumstances. In *Syria den* 19 and 2 Jacobitz adopts λίσσετο (in both cases after a vowel). In § 19 *E* has the correct form ἐλίσσετο. In § 25 we find φθέγξατο, in § 45 ἀνακέατο in *A E*, νακέετο in *Vatic*. 90, the reading adopted by Jacobitz, in the other MSS. the correct ἀνεκέατο. Even the pluperfects in Lukian retain the augment, and in no case may the augmentless forms be accepted as representing older Ionic prose usage, or in fact anything more than vicious theorizing on the part of a copyist.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hdn. II 497<sub>18</sub>: παρὰ τοῖς ἱαμβογράφοις . . . οὐ δεῖ διὰ τοῦ ι γράφειν αὐτό (εἶδον), ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθ. μόνον.

<sup>2</sup> The form ἄτη is here the shorter form of ἀάτη, which should not in § 261 have been mentioned as possible. Cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 106, *Agam.* 730. Hesychios as κατέβασκε· κατέβλαψεν. The initial α of ἀφάτη is prosthetic.

<sup>3</sup> Other cases of omitted syllabic augment are errors, even when supported by all the MSS., e. g. Hdt. I 208 ἐξαναχώρεε.



1. *Pluperfect*. In Herodotos according to Lhardy's count<sup>1</sup> there are 162 cases of the presence of the augment, 31 where it is omitted. From the latter number, Stein deducts all but the following seven, which are found in all MSS.: ἀναβεβήκεε I 84, ἀναβεβήκεσαν VII 6, τετελευτήκεε I 165, καταλελοίπεε III 61, καταλέλειπτο VII 170, δέδοκτο IX 74, παρατετάχατο VIII 95. Whether even these are correct may well be doubted. Other editors are not so rigorous as Stein in excluding the unaugmented forms.

The repugnance of the *Koinḗ* to augmented pluperfects may explain some of the omissions in the MSS. of Attic prose literature. There is not a single example of the loss of the syllabic augment in the pluperfect in any Attic inscription.

2. *Iteratives*<sup>2</sup>. In the case of iteratives no augment was necessary. They were preterites differing from other verbal forms in having no present with a distinct iterative force and no mood form other than the (past) indicative. In the post-Homeric poetry which was composed by Ionians we find two cases of the preservation of the iterative: ἔσκειν in Mimn. 14<sub>10</sub> (also Homeric) and θύεσκει in Hipponax 37<sub>2</sub>. The presence of the latter form in trimeter is proof that the Ionians did not cast aside this peculiar formation which all the other dialects found too cumbersome, and that the forms in Ionic prose are not mere reproductions of epic diction. Doubtless the fondness of the epic dialect for the iterative aided in part its revival in the fifth century, but the forms had not died out at that period. The post-Homeric prose iterative is a strongly marked Ionism. While New Ionic did not utterly abandon the iteratives formed from the second aorist active stem, it avoided those of the sigmatic aorist and second aorist passive. The iterative in post-Homeric Ionic is confined to Ω verbs.

Examples from Herodotos, &c. (1) Imperfects: ἔσκον, ἔχεσκει (so IV 200 for ἡχέσκει), and in about twenty other verbs. *χρηίσκοντο* (by conjecture in III 117 for -ται) and *ὀδυρέσκετο* III 119 are the only middle forms. Lukian *Syr. dea* 22 has *κλαίεσκει*. (2) Aorists: *λάβεσκον* IV 78 and 130. *καταλίπεσκει* is preferable to *καταλείπεσκει* in IV 78.

In some MSS. the augment occurs, e. g. I 100 (*CP εἰσεπέμπεσκον*), IV 78 (*R ἐποίησκει*), IV 78 (*R καταλείπεσκει, AB κατελείπεσκει*); in IV 130 all the MSS. have *ἐλάβεσκον*.

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestionum de dialecto Herod.*, chapter II.

<sup>2</sup> The grammarians regard the iterative forms as Ionic only. Cf. Hdn. I 535<sub>36</sub> = II 38<sub>12</sub> = II 792<sub>16</sub> (Schol. Ven. A on B 832), *εἶασκειν* II 493<sub>4</sub> = 210<sub>13</sub> (Schol. Ven. A on E 256), cf. 496<sub>28</sub>; Choirob. 632<sub>28</sub> (cf. An. Ox. IV 418<sub>22</sub>), An. Ox. I 309<sub>18</sub>, 376<sub>14</sub>, 385<sub>1</sub>, where it is stated that *ρίπτασκειν* and *ἔχεσκει* are not Ionic but poetic; An. Par. IV 219<sub>28</sub>, Et. M. 284<sub>25</sub>, 295<sub>12</sub>, 381<sub>36</sub>, 624<sub>31</sub>, Et. Gud. 428<sub>36</sub>, Drakon 433.



577.] The augment with  $\eta$ .

The forms  $\eta\beta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\eta\nu$ ,  $\eta\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$ ,  $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$  are called Ionic<sup>1</sup> in An. Ox. II 374<sub>32</sub>. Of these forms  $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$  occurs in Homer, where it is from  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ <sup>2</sup>,  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  being found in o 317, possibly in A 277, and occasionally in the hymns<sup>3</sup>. Hippokr. III 90 has  $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$ , cf. § 588. Homer has  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ . In M 34 Zenodotos wrote  $\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ . In an elegy attributed to Theognis we find (v. 906)  $\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda'$ , and in another probably not composed by the Megarian poet occurs (v. 259)  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha$  (so A,  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha$  O, and  $\delta\eta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha$  in most of the MSS., a form that may be adopted). Perhaps the  $\eta$ -forms are an echo of those appearing in Hesiod's Theogony, as Renner suggests, though it is doubtful whether they are a part of the older epic dialect. Fick (Hesiod's *Gedichte*, p. 21) endeavours to displace  $\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$  by transposition and other means<sup>4</sup>. In a very late hexametrical poem on the death of a child, found at Smyrna (C. I. G. 32727), we read  $\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\nu$ .  $\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$  is certainly fifth century Attic, as it appears twice in Aristophanes where the metre (anapaestic) calls for the  $\eta$ -form.  $\eta$ -Hippokr. In Herodotos we find  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\eta\nu$ . In the case of  $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$  there is some evidence for the  $\eta$ -forms. Stein and Holder adopt  $\eta\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\omicron$  IV 185, IX 70, but  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\omicron$  IV 110 (MSS.  $\eta$ -) and the  $\acute{\epsilon}$ -forms elsewhere. In at least thirteen passages there is no variant  $\eta$ -form, which is elsewhere supported by some MSS., e. g. in I 10 (*R b d*).  $\eta\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$  is however Hippocratic: II 686, 712, III 36, 38, 58, 120, IV 256, V 430, &c., and  $\eta\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\theta\eta\nu$  appears in *Prometh.* 206; Herodotos has  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta\nu$ , never  $\eta\delta$ -, despite *R* in VII 106. In Attic inscriptions  $\eta\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$  and  $\eta\beta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\eta\nu$  are posterior to 284 B.C.

In no Attic inscription do we find an example of  $\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ , and in Attic poetry there is no certain case of  $\eta\beta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\eta\nu$ .

On the augment of verbs which once had *F*, see § 582.

*The Temporal Augment.*

The omission of this augment is regarded as Ionic by the grammarians<sup>5</sup>, who cite only Homeric forms.

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Eust. 1523<sub>48</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> The  $\eta$  of  $\eta\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$ ,  $\eta\beta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\eta\nu$ ,  $\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$  is merely an analogue of that of  $\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$ . Of this verb there were three forms  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ ,  $\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ , in which the  $\eta$  is a preposition (cf.  $\theta\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ). The  $\eta$  form was cast off except in the imperfect.

<sup>3</sup> See Eberhard's *Die Sprache der homerischen Hymnen*, I 12.

<sup>4</sup> In 478 Fick reads  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\omega\nu\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$  for  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\omega\nu\ \eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ; 888  $\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\rho'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$  for  $\delta\acute{\eta}\ \rho'$   $\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ ; but 898, where the verse begins  $\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , is difficult to correct. The last verse is certainly later than the genuine Hesiod.

<sup>5</sup> Joh. Gr. 240 B, 242, Greg. Kor. § 23, Hdn. II 28<sub>2</sub>=345<sub>6</sub> (on A 464), 341<sub>3</sub> on B 427) in Schol. Ven. A; cf. also schol. on  $\Delta$  213 and N 383 ( $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\epsilon\nu$ ),

## 578.] Inscriptions.

In prose inscriptions the temporal augment is preserved except in ἐργάσατο Ephesos 146, an inscription of the fourth century, and ἐργάσαντο No. 263, an Ionic inscription found in Lykia<sup>1</sup>. In Rhegion 54, where we find ΕΥξάμην, which may be either ηὐ- or εὐ-, the Herodoteian form with εὐ- (I 48, IV 76) may be adopted. In Attic inscriptions ηὐ- is the preferable form before 300 B. C. In the same document from Rhegion, Ελθον is ἡλθον. In Teos 1594, an inscription that has lost almost all traces of Ionic, we find ἐπωκοδομήθη. Is this an error of the stone-cutter or are we to read ἐποικ- as in Hdt. and occasionally in Attic in the perfect participle (at least in Makedonian times)? An Ephesian inscription (*Brit. Mus.* III 2, 449) has συνδιοίκησεν.

In metrical inscriptions the augment is preserved (Amorg. 35).

ἐπηνορθώθη in an inscription from Mykonos of the Makedonian period (Ditt. *Syll.* 3734) is an interesting form since no certain example of the double augment in ἀνορθώω occurs on Attic inscriptions. Whether this form is Ionic or Attic must be left undecided. Latyschev, *B. C. H.* XII 460, calls for ἐπηνορθώθη.

ἀνάλωσα (Hellenistic) is found in Amorgos, *B. C. H.* VIII 450<sub>16</sub> (third century B. C.). Cf. ἀνάλωμα Thasos 72<sub>11</sub>.

Verbs that have lost an initial σ have εἰ—e. g. Εἶχον Halik. 238<sub>30</sub>, Εἶχε 240<sub>39</sub>.

## 579.] Lyric Poets.

The temporal augment is omitted in the lyric poets as follows

A. *Elegiac* (in imitation of Homer). Tyrt. 41 οἴκαδ' ἔνεια by conj. (Hdt. has ἦνεικαν &c.); Mimn. 94 ἐζόμεθ' as always in the form with no preposition, II<sub>4</sub> καλὸν ἵκοντο, I4<sub>2</sub> οἳ μιν ἴδον (εἶδον); Solon 429 εὖρε; Theog. 16 καλὸν αἰείσατ', 208 ἔξετο, 221 ἄδον, 542 ὄλεσεν, 831 ὄλεσσα (Ὁ ὦλεσ'), III15 μοι ὀνειδίσας Berg (vulgo μ' ὀνειδίσας with a double accus. after the verb or a elided μοι), 606 ἔθελον from ἐθέλω (see on ἐθέλω, § 588). In 95 ἀλάπαξα is the preferable form because of Λ 750, ρ 424, but ἐλάπαξα the reading of *O* is not impossible, as λαπάσσω was used by Aischylos and Hippokr. V 176, 628, Aret. 281.

Δ 329, 367, K 252, 359, Υ 259, Ψ 691, Aristarchos adopting the unaugmented forms; An. Ox. I 316<sub>10</sub>, 395<sub>4</sub> (Ἰωνικῶς ἢ ποιητικῶς), III 260<sub>19</sub> (Hdn.), 260 (Hdn.), IV 176<sub>10</sub>, 178<sub>20</sub>, 185<sub>28</sub>; An. Par. III 258<sub>5</sub>, IV 219<sub>33</sub>, 222<sub>6</sub>; Choirob. 513<sub>22</sub> Ἰων. ἢ ποιητικῶς as 519<sub>6</sub>, 591<sub>23</sub>, 593<sub>9</sub>, 556<sub>26</sub>, 633<sub>33</sub> = An. Ox. IV 418<sub>25</sub> (Choirob. 909<sub>10</sub>), 701<sub>17</sub>; Et. M. 12<sub>10</sub>, 23<sub>45</sub> (Ἰων. καὶ ποιητ.), 332<sub>34</sub> (ἐλκε), 617<sub>18</sub>; Eus. 42<sub>46</sub>, 72<sub>45</sub>, 380<sub>23</sub>, 646<sub>8</sub>, 922<sub>43</sub>, 1522<sub>43</sub>, 1759<sub>7</sub>; Tzetz. Ex. II. 73<sub>4</sub>, 83<sub>23</sub>, 105<sub>18</sub>, II and on Hsd. Theog. 555, W. D. 79; Max. Plan. in An. Bachm. II 56<sub>12</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> In Attic inscriptions of the classical period ἡργαζόμεν, ἡργασάμεν are the correct forms (κατεργάσθησαν C. I. A. II 809 b, 117 from 325 B. C. and ἐπεργάσαντο in Έφημ. ἀρχ. 1884, 169–170, l. 21 from the second century A. D. and the only exceptions). This shows that the augment was η not ε. The perfect εἰργασμαι is correct in the classical period of Attic. In Oropos Έφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 71 ff. l. 17 we find ἐξείργασμαι; Hdt. ἐργασμαι.



Elsewhere we find the augment retained: ᾠχετο Mimn. 117, Theog. 1137, 1292.

B. *Iambographic*. Though we find εὔρε in Hipponax 513, the support for Bergk's συνοίκησας in 12 and οἶκει in 47 is very weak. Codex Marc. has συνοικήσας (*sic*), the vulgate being συνώκησας, and there is no authority for οἶκει whatever. I should have no hesitation in adopting the augmented forms. In Herodas 42 we have ᾠκηκας, but εὔρε 685, οἴχωκεν 237. In Sim. Am. 24 for Bergk's ἀφενσα (in the text) read ἀφεῦσα.

Where two consonants follow: Archil. tetr. 67 . . . . σὺ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ φίλων ἀπάγχεο from Arist. Pol. VII 6, 3. Here  $P_4$  has ἀπάγχετο,  $P_5$  ἀπήγχεο,  $Sb Vb$  ἀπέγχεο, and  $P_1$  ἀπάγχεαι which we may adopt though the quotation is too fragmentary to permit a certain restoration<sup>1</sup>. In Sim. Am. 118 ᾤψαντο is Bergk's reading though Stobaios' B has ἤψαντο, cf. Hdt. I 19. Solon tetr. 352 has ἔρδον (ἔερδον in Arist. 'Ath. πολ. 11).

The augmented forms appear in Sim. Amorg. 17 ἡλσάμην, Archil. ep. 1041 ἡθροῖζετο, tetr. 73 ἡμβλακον, Hippon. 421 ἀπηναρίσθη, &c. Not even in Hdt. do all verbs with two consonants omit the temporal augment. The poets claim an equal licence. Renner thinks that Solon in his καθηψάμην tetr. 323 follows the lines of his native Attic. But it is not certain that Herodotos rejects the augment in ἄπτω (cf. I 176). Where a long syllable is necessary (παρήγαγεν Archil. tetr. 784, ἀφείλετο Sim. Amorg. 92, ἀνέιλον Solon tr. 364, εἶχον Hippon. tetr. 81, ᾤπασεν Sim. Amorg. 772) the temporal augment is not omitted. On κατηνλίσθη Hipponax tr. 632, Renner remarks that the augment ην is an indication of the Ionic fondness for η. But in Herodotos many opportunities for ην- from αὐ- verbs are neglected, and εὐ- is the almost universal form in the MSS. in the case of verbs beginning with εὔ.

### 580.] Herodotos.

In the majority of verbs the augment is preserved, but (1) in certain cases it is never found, (2) in certain others it is omitted in isolated forms only, and (3) in others it is at times present, at times omitted. The other dialects evidence the fact that the demonstrative particle utilized to give expression to past time was recognized more and more as an integral part of the verbal form. Even in the domain of the poetry which succeeded to the epos the licence to omit the augment was restricted, and only upon certain definite occasions was its absence permissible. The attitude to be discerned in the MSS. of Herodotos is quite exceptional. A minimum variation is no doubt supported by the

<sup>1</sup> Bergk himself suggests that the imperative ἀπάγχεο is correct.



analogy of other dialects, *e.g.* Attic in its treatment of verbs beginning with a diphthong, but such laxity as the presence or absence of the augment in such verbs as ἄγω is exceedingly strange.

Various causes may have contributed to this laxity: the view that Herodoteian Ionic was not radically dissimilar to Homeric Ionic, the growth of the historical present in the fifth century, which, by causing the imperfect to be assimilated in form to the present, may have fostered such forms as ἀμείβετο, and the objection to diphthongs whose first member was a long vowel. Thus *αι*, *αυ*, *ευ*, &c., in Hdt. may be normal developments of primitive *āi*, *āv*, *ηυ*, and not augmentless forms at all. But the repugnance to these initial diphthongs, it must be confessed, is more strongly marked in non-Ionic dialects, notably North-West Greek.

For the considerable diversity of opinion between scholars<sup>1</sup> as to the freedom in the treatment of the augment by Herodotos, the confusion of his MSS. is responsible. So great is this confusion, which must have existed in the archetypal MS., that the following summary can make no pretence to reproduce the usage of fifth century Ionic, or in fact claim to do more than record the testimony of the MSS.

All verbs except iteratives (ἄγεσκον) and those mentioned below accept the temporal augment, *e.g.* εἶχον, ἦσαν, ἤλασα, ἡρήμωτο. On the augment of verbs once beginning with *F*, see § 582.

Verbs beginning with **A**. (1) Unaugmented are ἀγινέω, ἀεθλέω, ἀλυκτάζω, ἀμανρώω, ἀμείβομαι (but ἡμείψατο in all MSS. IV 97, cf. *v.l.* VI 68, VII 109, &c.) ἀνώγω, (κατ)αργυρώω, ἀρωδέω. With but two exceptions these verbs have a liquid or a nasal after the initial vowel. (2) Variable are ἀγάλλομαι, ἀγγέλω, ἀλίζω, ἀλλάσσω, ἀνδροῦμαι, ἀντιάζω, ἀπειλέω, ἀπτω, ἀρμόζω, ἀρτέομαι, ἀσπάζομαι. (3) Unaugmented only in certain forms are ἀγορεύω (προαγόρευε), ἄγω (ἄχθη), ἀγωνίζω (ἀγωνίδαται), ἀνδραποδίζω (ἀνδραποδισμένους), ἀριθμέω (ἀριθμέοντο), ἀρτημαί (ἀρτέατα), ἄρχω (ἀργμένος, κατάρχοντο). **E**. (1) Unaugmented are ἐσσάω, ἐσθέω, ἔζομαι, ἐῶ, ἐθελοκακέω, ἔρδω, ἐτεροιάω, ἐτοιμάζω, ἐλινύω, ἐξεμπολέω and the pluperfect of ἵστημι. ἐργάζομαι may belong here though there is evidence in favour of the augmented form, see § 582. Hdt. has ἔωθα, not εἴωθα. (2) Variable are ἐλευθερώω, ἐπείγομαι, ἐπίσταμαι, ἔργω, ἀνέχομαι (ἤνεσχόμην and ἀνεσχομην). (3) Unaugmented only in certain forms are ἔλκω (ἀνελκυσμένας), ἔπ (περιέφθησαν), ἔψω (ἀπεψημένος)<sup>2</sup>. **O**. (1) Unaugmented are ὀδοιπορέω, ὀρμέω, ὀρμίζω, ὀρτάζω, and ὄφελον (but cf. the *v.l.* I 111, III 65). (2) Unaugmented only in certain forms is ὀρμάω (ὀρμημένος, ὀρμέαται, ὀρμέατο). **AI**. Unaug-

<sup>1</sup> Abicht in *Philologus* XI 275 ff. held that in verbs beginning with *αι*, *ει*, *αυ*, *οι* omission is the rule. With this Curtius (*Verbum* I 139 Germ. ed. agreed; while Dindorf combatted the neglect of the augment even before diphthongs.

<sup>2</sup> In Hippokrates II 254 *A* has ἡψῆσθαι; in VIII 192 ἐψημένος is correct.

mented are διαιτῶμαι, αἰνέω (but παρήναι IX 122), αἰρέω (but ἐξηρέθησαν in VII 106), αἰτέω, ἐναισιμόω, προαιδέομαι. The second aorist of αἰσθάνομαι appears once (VII 220), and with the augmented form which is not in harmony with the above. ἐπαῖω or rather ἐπάω, has ἐπήσεν IX 93. **AY.** (1) Unaugmented is ἐναύω. (2) Variable are ἐξαυαίνω<sup>1</sup>, αὐτομολέω (αὐδάω is augmented). (3) Without the augment only in certain forms are αὐξάνω (αὔξετο, αὔξεται). **EI.** Unaugmented are εἰκάζω, εἰρύω, εἰρωτάω, εἶρομαι. Only in the case of the genuine diphthong would ηῖ- have been possible. **EY.** Unaugmented all verbs except εὔδω which has ἠῦδον I 211 (*A B*, ἦν- *R* with εῦ written above, εὔδον *C*), ἠῦδε III 69 in all MSS. Homer uses only the unaugmented form. εὔ does not appear as in Attic as the augment of αὐ verbs. ην is rare in Attic, a fact that at least in part may be ascribed to the ever-growing objection to this diphthong. **OY.** οὐρίζω contains a spurious diphthong and οὐνομάζω is incorrect. **OI.** is always unaugmented.

### 581.] The temporal augment in other Ionic prose writers.

On verbs beginning with *F*, see § 582.

Hippokrates follows the Attic norm, *e.g.* ἤρξατο II 604, 684, 708, ἤρξαντο II 642, III 80, παρήναι II 226, ἡμορράγησε II 644 (ἡμ- in *AC*, αἰμ- *vulgo*), ἠνδρώθη V 356, ἤπτετο III 98, παρωξύνθη II 686 (*v.l.* -οξ-), III 24, 34, 62, ἤλγει (-εε) II 708, III 52, ὠνόμασεν III 232. On ἠδυνάμην, see § 577. For ἐλύτρωται IV 190 of many MSS., the vulgate is ἐλλ-, which we may correct to εἰλ-. The unaugmented form appears to be due to association with the following ἐλύτρωσι. Demokritos 12 has εὔρέθη. A noteworthy form is ἡκηκόει Hippokr. VII 490. From ἀναλώω we find in the same writer ἀνήλωμαι VII 514, 588, ἡναλώθη V 122, 126, but ἀνάλωμαι VII 574, ἀνάλωτο I 594.

Of the pseudo-Ionists Lukian alone (except Aretaios who has ἔλε 43, -αιωρηται III) neglects the temporal augment. In the *Syria dea* we find διαιτέοντο 26 (Dindorf -ητ-), ἀνλίζοντο, ἔλπετο, ἄπτετο, ἀναίνετο 22 (which contains ἡδέετο and ὠμολόγεεν), ἀμείβετο 18, οἰκοδόμεον 21, ἄρχετο 21, 24, ἄρξατο 17, ἔχε 17, 24 (εἶχε 45), ἔχετο 17, ὀρρώδεε 19, 21, συνενείχθη 27 (ἦναικε 22, 25), ἔσαν 3, αἶτεε 25.

Arrian 28<sub>2</sub> has εἶων.

### 582.] The Augment and Reduplication of verbs once beginning with Digamma.

Excluded from this list are verbs whose presents have beyond doubt accepted a fixed adulterine *ει*, *e.g.* εἰρύω, εἰρωτάω. In this section are included verbs from Herodotos, Hippokrates and other sources.

**ἄγνυμι.** κατῆξα in Hippokr. V 224 recalls ἦξε in Ψ 392, τ 539, for which ἔαξε<sup>2</sup> must be substituted; cf. ἀξαι with *ā* taken from the indicative ἔαξα.

<sup>1</sup> In Attic we find both ἀναίνετο and ἡναινόμην. Hdt. has ἐξαυάνθη IV 151 but ἐξηύνη IV 173. Abicht augments in each case.

<sup>2</sup> Zenodotos read ἐηξε, cf. ε 316.



Though  $\alpha\phi\alpha$  becomes  $\bar{\alpha}$  in Ionic, a form  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  was invented to give a supposed Ionic colouring to  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  which was regarded as Attic only. This  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  appears in  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  Hippokr. III 556,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$  III 506 (*v. l.*  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ , an unusual form for Hippokrates, who uses  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\gamma\gamma\acute{o}\tau\alpha$ ). Elsewhere Hippokr. adopts  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ , *e. g.* IV 278,  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  III 558, or  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  VII 530; though  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\gamma\gamma\mu\alpha$  III 498, 500, IV 154, 164, VI 118, 134, 150 and  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\gamma\gamma\iota\varsigma$  III 494, IV 118, 170, and not the  $\bar{\alpha}$  forms, are employed. The perfect is  $\xi\eta\gamma\alpha$  found in  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\eta\gamma\epsilon$  Hippokr. III 428, 492, 506, VI 150,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\gamma\omega\varsigma$  Hdt. VII 224, Hippokr. III 442, 500, IV 130, 200, 278, 282 where the MSS. often have the Attic  $\bar{\alpha}$ . The feminine must have had  $\eta$  not  $\alpha$ . In Phoinix of Kolophon *apud* Athen. XI 495 E = Schneidewin *Del.* 34,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\gamma\iota\eta\varsigma$  (Porson for  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\eta\gamma\gamma\iota\eta\varsigma$  *AB*) recalls forms that occur in the MSS. of Hippokrates. Littré edits  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\iota\alpha$  in III 426 where several MSS. have  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\iota\alpha\nu$ , *MN* - $\eta\gamma\gamma\iota\alpha\nu$ , IV 158 where *H* alone has  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\iota\eta\varsigma$ , *BCE* &c.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\gamma\iota\eta\varsigma$ , *O*  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\iota\eta\varsigma$  ( $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\gamma\gamma\alpha$  quoted by Veitch from Kühn 3, 75). Aor. pass.  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\nu$ . In Homer we find  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta$  except in  $\Lambda$  559, where the MSS. have  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta$ . The substitution by Bekker of  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta$ , perf. subj., (*cf.* Ahrens, *Formenlehre*, § 197, note 1) still leaves the text encumbered with an Attic (or Aiolic?)  $\bar{\alpha}$  that is found in Hesiod *W. D.* 534 ( $\nu\hat{\omega}\tau\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon$ , Bentley  $\nu\hat{\omega}\tau'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta$ , though he made no further conjecture to bring this into the verse). The Ionic form would be  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\eta}\gamma\eta$ . Confusion between perfect active and aorist passive led to the construction of such augmented forms as  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$  Hippokr. III 428,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$  IV 220 (- $\eta\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$  *MN*, - $\epsilon\eta\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$  *B*),  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$  IV 118 (- $\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$  *CO*),  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$  IV 132, 172 ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  *O*), 324, 346 (Littré).  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$  is well supported, IV 126, 168, 158 (*FEJ* - $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$ ),  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\alpha$  IV 164,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\eta\varsigma$  IV 148,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$  IV 154 in many MSS. but rejected by Littré,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\alpha$  IV 166 in *CKN* (Littré - $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\alpha$ ),  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\eta$  IV 128 *vulgo* (Littré - $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\eta$  with *H*),  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$  IV 120 many MSS. (Littré - $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$ ), III 442 *vulgo* (Littré - $\eta\gamma\gamma\acute{\eta}$ ).  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ .  $\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron$  Hdt. VII 181, and II 174 (MSS.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha$  and  $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\alpha$ );  $\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega$  I 78 (so always in Hdt.) and  $\chi$  230, the only indicative form in Homer ( $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ ?). In Hdt. IV 127  $\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$   $\mu\acute{\eta}$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\eta$  (in *ABP*)  $\acute{\eta}$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta$ , the adoption of the Homeric form was aided by the following  $\acute{\eta}$ . Read  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$  (I 84 *cf.* II 93). Bekker's  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\phi\eta$ , found in Aldus and perhaps in *C*, is not defensible. In Hippokr. VII 284 we find  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ , the Attic form  $<\acute{\eta}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ . Hipponax (frag 74) has an indisputable case of  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu\alpha\iota$ , the only occurrence of this form in literature. Its  $\bar{\alpha}$  might have been borrowed from the indicative  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu$  though that form is not attested in Ionic sources.  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu\alpha\iota$  recalls  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon$  in E 487:  $\mu\acute{\eta}$   $\pi\omega\varsigma$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\psi\iota\varsigma\iota$   $\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon$   $\pi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\omicron\upsilon$ . Here the *v. l.*  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron$  remove the difficulty as regards quantity, but creates the worst possible caesura<sup>1</sup>  $\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega\kappa\alpha$  is better supported in Hdt. than  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\kappa\alpha$ :  $\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega\kappa\omicron\iota$  I 83,  $\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega\kappa\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$  I 84 VIII 61,  $\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  I 78,  $\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$  I 70, but  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\kappa\epsilon$  I 209,  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\lambda\omega\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\nu$  and  $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha$  I 191 (read  $\acute{\eta}\lambda\alpha$ ). Arrian 13<sub>10</sub> has  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\lambda\omega\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ .  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\omega$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\omega$  Hippokr. II 5, where Galen has  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ , VII 588 with  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  twice on the same page). In VII 514, 588 we find  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ , in V 122  $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta$ , 126  $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  as IX 178, 180.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha$  Amorgos *B. C. H.* VIII 450<sub>16</sub> (third century B. C.) is an Hellenistic form often found in the MSS. of Attic writers. Attic inscriptions always have  $\eta$ .  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ . In Hdt. IX 5, 19 we find  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\alpha\nu\epsilon$ , the form to be substituted for  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\eta}\nu\delta\alpha\nu\epsilon$   $\Omega$  25,  $\gamma$  143; but in VII 172, VIII 28  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\eta}\nu\delta\alpha\iota$  in almost all MSS. As both forms cannot well coexist, I should adopt  $\acute{\eta}\nu\delta\alpha\iota$

<sup>1</sup> The attempts to cure this verse are enumerated by Schulze, *K. Z.* XXI 236.



(cf. O 674). The open form derived its existence from the belief that Herodotean Ionic was like Homeric Ionic in its preference for open  $\epsilon\eta$ , and perhaps also to the presence of  $\xi\alpha\delta\omicron\nu$ .  $\xi\alpha\delta\epsilon$  Hdt. I 151, IV 201, VI 106,  $\alpha\delta\eta$  I 133, &c. Hipponax 100 has  $\alpha\delta\eta\kappa\epsilon$  with the lenis, which is supported by  $\alpha\nu\delta\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota$  Hippokr. II 230,  $\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$  Hdt. III 45 in  $\alpha\zeta$ . In Homer we find the non-Ionic  $\epsilon\alpha\delta\omicron\tau\alpha$  in I 173 =  $\sigma$  422. With  $\alpha\delta\eta\kappa\epsilon$ , cf. Homeric  $\alpha\delta\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  from  $\alpha\delta\epsilon\omega$ .  $\epsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ .  $\epsilon\theta\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$  Hippokr. IV 254,  $\epsilon\theta\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$  II 294,  $\epsilon\theta\iota\delta\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$  twice in II 298 (in  $\Lambda$ ) for  $\epsilon\theta\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}$ .  $\epsilon\theta\omega$ .  $\epsilon\omega\theta\alpha$  Hdt. I 133, II 91, IV 134,  $\epsilon\omega\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  I 34, III, III 27, 31,  $\epsilon\acute{\omega}\theta\epsilon\alpha$  I 73, III 31, IV 127, 134, VI 107. Homer has  $\epsilon\acute{\omega}\theta\alpha$  and  $\epsilon\omega\theta\alpha$  each twice, but only  $\epsilon\iota\omega\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ . Hippokr. has  $\epsilon\acute{\omega}\theta\alpha$  V 610, 718, VI 242,  $\epsilon\iota\omega\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  II 300 as in Attic.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$  Hdt. I 68, II 148 ( $\chi\delta\omicron\nu$  in  $PR\zeta$ ),  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\sigma\alpha$  Hippokr. II 436, V 352, IX 230,  $\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$  Hdt. II 150,  $\eta\delta\epsilon\epsilon$  II 100, IX 94,  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\epsilon$  IX 58,  $\eta\delta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$  VII 175, VIII 78. In I 45  $\eta\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon$  is supported by  $\Lambda\epsilon$  Ps, but  $\eta\delta\epsilon\epsilon$ , the conjecture of H. Stephanus, is to be adopted. The pluperfect always has the augment:  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\epsilon$  VIII 113 in  $ABC$  is to be corrected (cf. VII 164). The epic  $\eta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$  X 280,  $\eta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\iota$  I 206 are certain cases of the augment  $\eta$ . Elsewhere Homer has  $\eta\delta$ - as in New Ionic.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ .  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\zeta\omicron\nu$  Hdt. III 133,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\sigma\alpha$  II 104,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$  II 182, III 28. Attic distinguished imperf. aor. ( $\eta$ -, i. e. with augment  $\eta$ <sup>1</sup>) from perf. ( $\epsilon\iota$ -). \* $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$ . A sharp dividing line separates Herodotos<sup>2</sup> from other Ionic writers in respect of the perfect of this verb.  $\xi\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha$  is found in Sim. Amorg. 741, Theog. 391, 525, Hippokr. II 24, 52, Anax. 11.  $\xi\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota$  Hippokr. II 12, 68, Herakl. 2, 3.  $\xi\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  Anax. 84, Hippokr. II 34, Diog. 6,  $\xi\omicron\iota\kappa\upsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$  Hippokr. II 58,  $\xi\omicron\iota\kappa\upsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  Aret. 169. In Hdt. on the other hand, though  $\xi\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha$  appears in the MSS. I 39, III 71, IV 31, 99, 132, VI 64, VII 18, the testimony in favour of the unreduplicated form is so strong as to justify the substitution of  $\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha$  which is read in IV 82, III 71 (in  $R$ ),  $\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon$  V 20, VII 162,  $\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota$  VII 106,  $\omicron\iota\kappa\omega$  IV 180,  $\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  VI 125, I 155, &c. Eberhard adopts  $\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in Arrian 1310, not  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , as in 66, where the MSS. have  $\xi\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . Hercher edited  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . For  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  it is fitting, found in Hippokr. II 50, Hdt. has  $\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  V 97.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$  yield.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu$  Hdt. VIII 3,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha$  IX 63, 106.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu$  and  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha$ .  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$  say <  $\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ .  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha$  Hdt. I 155,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\mu\alpha\iota$  II 24, VIII 93, Hippokr. VIII 20,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$  Hdt. VII 81,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\tau\omicron$  VIII 26,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Hippokr. VIII 20,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\nu$  Hdt. IV 77, 156, and so elsewhere though the MSS. often have  $\epsilon\acute{\rho}\rho\eta\theta\eta\nu$  or  $\epsilon\acute{\rho}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\nu$ , Hippokr. V 196  $\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\nu$ ; inf.  $\rho\eta\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$  Hdt. III 9,  $\rho\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$  I 91, &c. fut.  $\rho\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  Hippokr. II 362.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\acute{\sigma}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is confined in Attic to the form  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ , which occurs in Hdt. IV 16, Hippokr. I 596. The latter author has also the strange form  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\sigma\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  III 516 (where nine MSS. have  $\rho\eta\theta\eta$ -).  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$ . Traces of a form  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$  or rather  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$  appear in Hippokr.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  II 470. For  $\delta\iota\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$  Hdt. IV 67,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  II 95, the recent editors adopt the forms with  $\epsilon\iota$ . There is but little doubt that the Herodotean form was  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$ . Hippokr. has  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\iota$  VII 32, 42, 50, VIII 426,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\varsigma$  VIII 166 ( $\theta$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\sigma\alpha$  VIII 168 ( $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\varsigma$   $\theta$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\varsigma$  VIII 172, Littré  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\varsigma$   $\theta$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$  ( $-\epsilon\iota$ -  $\theta$ ) VIII 376,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\tau\omicron$  Hdt. VII 90;  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$  Hippokr. II 438. [ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\omega$  has lost  $\sigma$  not  $\phi$ , cf. *sulcus*.]  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ .  $\eta\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu$

<sup>1</sup> Other Attic verbs which have  $\epsilon\iota$  in imperfect and aorist according to tradition may in reality have had  $\eta$ ; cf. An. Ox. IV 1792, which says that some wrote  $\eta\theta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu$ ,  $\eta\sigma\acute{\tau}\iota\alpha\nu$ .  $\eta\theta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$  is actually attested.  $\epsilon\theta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  is the correct form in the perfect.

<sup>2</sup> Eust. 1714<sub>15</sub>: τὸ δὲ εἰκῦα οὐ κατὰ τὴν ὕστερον Ἰωνικὴν γλῶσσαν λέγεται. οἱ γὰρ μεθ' Ὀμηρον, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος, οἰκὸς γράφουσι, καὶ ἀκολουθῶς καὶ οἰκῦα, Ἀττικοὶ δὲ οἰκὸς καὶ οἰκῦα. Homer has  $\xi\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\upsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\kappa\upsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ .

Hdt. VII 168, ἡλπισα VIII 24, ἡλπίζετο Hippokr. IX 320. ἐμέω. ἤμεε Hdt. VII 88, ἤμεσα Hippokr. II 696, VII 194 (not ἤμησα), ἐμημέεε V 232. ἔννυμι. ἡμφίεσμαι Hippokr. VII 456, ἡμφιέσθαι VI 76. ἐργάζομαι. This verb is probably unaugmented in Hdt. and inscriptions, § 578. In Hdt. I 185 *A Bpr.* have ἡργάζετο, εἰργ- the other MSS., I 93 ἐξηργάσαντο *A*, -ειργ- the other MSS., except *Bpr.* which has -εργ-, II 15 περιεργάζοντο *d* (cf. *R*), -ηργ- *A Bt*, -ειργ- *Bm CP*. Hippokrates does not omit the augment in κατειργάσατο II 58, Lukian *Syr. dea* 25 εἰργάσαο, but ἐργάζοντο *Astr.* 23. εἰργασται Hdt. III 155 is better supported than ἐργασται which Stein and Holder adopt, but in II 121 (ε), IX 45 ἐργασμαι is certainly correct. ἐργαστο I 179, ἐργασμένος V 53, Lukian *Syr. dea* 24 (MSS. εἰργ-), ἐξεργάσθη IV 179. It may be noted that ἐφεργάσατο Hermione, C. D. I. 3383, does not impeach the contention that digammated verbs may have had *η* as their augment. This Argolic form is simply a new formation from the present. ἔργω (Attic εἰργω). The correction of a few passages, *e.g.* Hdt. IV 69, IX 68, where the Attic form has crept in, will reinstate ἔργω in complete possession. Homeric ἐέργω is never well supported in Hdt. ἔργω is augmented in ἐξείργον V 22, and receives no augment in ἔργετο IV 164 according to Stein (Cobet and Holder εἰργετο). In VII 197 Stein reads ἔργετο with *A B*, Holder εἰργετο with *PRs*, as I think correctly. In III 136 we read εἶρξε (*CPd* ἔρξε or ἔρξε), κατεῖρξαν V 63 (-ερξαν *CPd*). The perfect is ἀπεργμένος I 154, II 99, V 64, VI 79, the aor. pass. subj. is ἐρχθῇ in Hippokr. VIII 26, 36, according to Littré, where ἐρχθῇ is well supported (in 26 by *C θ*). ἔρδω. ἔρδον not ἔρδον Hdt. IX 103, ἔρξαν V 65, ἔοργε III 127, ἐόργεε I 127 not ἐώργεε with *Rd*. οἴγνυμι. Hdt. ἀνοῖξα IV 143, IX 118, and I 68, where all MSS. have ἀνῶξα, ὠῖξα in Hippokr. V 144, Littré with some MSS., *vulgo* ὠξε, cf. ὠῖξα Z 298, Ω 446. Hesychios cites a form ἔωξεν with which cf. -έωξε Hippokr. VI 568. With ἀνέωγες, quoted from an inscription by Hdt. I 187, cf. ἀνέωγεν Π 221. This is the imperfect. The second perfect is found in Hippokr. VII 558 ἀνέωγασι; ὠικται occurs in *Hrd.* 455. οἰκέω. ᾤκει Hippon. 47, see § 579 B, Hippokr. II 666, 684, III 24, 128, οἰκεον Hdt. I 57, οἰκησα II 154, IV 105; ᾤκηκας *Hrd.* 42; οἰκῃμαι Hdt. VII 22, 122; οἰκέαται Hdt. I 142, οἰκημένος I 27, V 73, οἰκητο Hdt. I 193. ἐώκειον appears in Littré's edition of the letters of Hippokrates, IX 406, where ᾤκειον is correct. Arrian has ᾤκει 18<sub>10</sub>. οἰκίζω. οἰκισα Hdt. III 91, V 42; οἰκισμαι IV 12, ἐνοικίσθην I 68, Arrian has συνᾤκισε 1<sub>5</sub>, ᾤκισμαι 1<sub>6</sub>, ᾤκισμένος 1<sub>2</sub>, 5<sub>13</sub>, 10<sub>4</sub>, 22<sub>10</sub>. οἰκοδομέω. οἰκοδόμειε Hdt. I 186, οἰκοδόμεον VIII 71, οἰκοδόμησε II 127, οἰκοδομῃται I 181, οἰκοδομήσατο III 10. οἰκοφθορέω. οἰκοφθόρησθε Hdt. VIII 142; cf. 14. V 29, I 196. οἰνοχοέω. ᾠνοχόει Anakr. 32. οἰνώω. οἰνωμένοι Hdt. V 11, ὀράω<sup>1</sup> (ὀρέω). See § 582 end. ὦρα III 72 and often in Hdt., κατώρα VII 208, ἐπώρα I 48. Sometimes there is a variation between ὦρα and ἐώρα, *e.g.* I 112, 123, III 53, where the former form is to be adopted. Hippokrates' use of ἐώρα is undisputed (cf. II 708); *Vita Hom.* ἐωρᾶτο 5. ὠρᾶμεν is read by Stein when the MSS. have ὠρέωμεν, ὀρᾶμεν, ὀρέομεν, ἐωρᾶμεν. For ἐωρᾶμεν I 12 (*v.l.* ἐορ- in *C*) Lhardy conjectured ἐνωρᾶμεν. ὠρᾶτε VII 8. In the third plural the form is ὠρ- not ἐωρ- (cf. *v.l.* V 91) whatever the termination (see under Contract verbs). In later Attic according to Photios ὦρων was used

<sup>1</sup> Homer has no trace of *φοράω*. *F* disappeared before an *o* sound at an earlier period than it did before other vowels. Ahrens *Philol.* XXXV 50, Meyer, *K. Z.* XXIII 49). Cf. the early loss of *f* in *-fws* of the perfect participle.



*Perfect.* ὤρηκα Hrd. 410 and ὀρώρηκα 619, ἑωράκη Hippokr. V 720. In Doric we find ὠρακύναν C. D. I. 3340<sub>6</sub> (Epidaurus). ὀρτάζω (ἐορτάζω). ὀρταζον Hdt. IX 7. οὐρέω. οὔρει Hippokr. II 686, οὔρεον II 692, οὔρησα II 686, 696, V 354, οὐρήκει V 354, οὐρήθην V 716. This verb is placed in this list because of προσεοὔρου Demosth. 54, 4, ἐνεοὔρησεν in Eupolis (Koch frag. 45), though the ου is probably not proethnic. ὠθέω<sup>1</sup>. ὠθέετο Hdt. VI 86, ὤσα III 78, VII 167, ὠσάμην IX 25, ἀπωσμένος V 69, ἀπεώθησαν, a singular form, occurs in the MSS. of Hippokr. IX 242 (Littre ἀπεωσ-). Hippokr. has the noteworthy form πρῶσας for προῶσας VII 314. ὠνέομαι. ὠνέομην Hdt. I 69, III 139. A singular form is ὠνησάμενος Hippokr. IX 362.

That η may be the augment of verbs whose initial sound was F may be inferred from Skt. *āvar*, *āvidhyat*, and Homeric *ἡείδης*<sup>2</sup> &c. *ἡείδης* is not the preterite of ἐφεῖδ-, *i. e.* *φεῖδ*- with a prosthetic vowel (ἐεισάμενος) which was lengthened as the ε of ἔρχομαι was lengthened to η in ἡρχόμεν. Other examples of η that are tolerably certain are ἡκείν, ἡκαζον, ἡκασα, less certain is ἡργαζόμεν which may have been formed from ἔργαζομαι, not from *φεργάζομαι*, *i. e.* it is only apparently identical with the old ἡργαζόμεν from ἡφεργ-. The imperfect and aorist were the tenses where η appeared, not the perfect.

It has been widely held, since Wackernagel's<sup>3</sup> discovery of the existence of η as an augment of F verbs, that the form ἐώρων was to be explained as resulting from ἡλόραον. From the point of view of Attic or Ionic, dialects which permit *metathesis quantitatis*, there is no difficulty in the way of such an explanation; the movement which in Ionic produced η from ā having ceased. In Doric however a shifting of ηο to εω (at least in verbal forms)<sup>4</sup> is unknown, and yet we have ἐώρη on Epidaurian inscriptions, C. D. I. 3339<sub>66</sub>, 3340<sub>28</sub>. ἐώρων will therefore have to be explained as Attic ἐώρταζον<sup>5</sup>: instead of ἐόραον, ἐώραον was constructed, since the former form did not seem augmented at all<sup>6</sup>. In the pluperfect we find ἐωράκη, -ειν, but in the perfect ἐόρακα (such is the better form) as ἐάλωκα. The Homeric ὠίγνυντο, ὠίξε, for which Wackernagel<sup>7</sup> proposed to substitute ἡοιγ-, ἡοίξε, are genuine forms from ὀφίγνυνμι (cf.

<sup>1</sup> ἐωθέουσι, quoted by Gram. Paris. 675 = An. Bachm. II 364<sub>29</sub> as the Herodotean form of ὠθοῦσιν, is due to the supposed fondness of Ionic for εω.

<sup>2</sup> An. Ox. II 374<sub>31</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> K. Z. XXVII 272. The idea was first suggested by Hartel *Hom. Stud.* I<sup>2</sup> 120, but later abandoned by its author. Wackernagel cites An. Ox. IV 179, where it is stated that some wrote ἡργαζόμεν, ἡθίζον.

<sup>4</sup> ἱερωσύναν Kos 40 A II (Paton and Hicks) from ἱερηφουσύνα; cf. ἱερῆι 3750, 42 B (Πολιῆι 381<sub>2</sub>, 13, Μαχανῆι 381<sub>14</sub>).

<sup>5</sup> It is not probable that ἐώρη is a new formation from ὤρη.

<sup>6</sup> The rough breathing is due to the influence of ὀράω rather than to the lost spirant.

<sup>7</sup> B. B. IV 304.



Aiolic *δείγην*). Hippokrates has *ῶιξα*. Attic *ἀνέωξα* looks as if it was assimilated to *ἀνέωγα* from *Φοίγνυμι* or it has a double augment.

### 582 A.] *Varia.*

1. *Augment before the Preposition* occurs in *μεμετιμένος* Hdt. V 108, VI 1, VII 229; elsewhere the augment of this verb keeps its usual place, notwithstanding *ἐμετίετο* I 12 in *A<sup>1</sup> C<sup>1</sup>* (*ἐμετείθη* I 114 in *d z*). See also below on 2. *κατέατο* is now written in III 144, VIII 73 against the augmented form of the MSS. *ἀμφιέννυμι* augments the preposition only: *ἡμφιεσμένη* Hipponax 3, *ἡμφιέσθαι* Hippokr. VI 76, VII 456. Hippokr. has *ἐκάθειδον* V 252. *ἐμπολημένος* Hdt. I 1 may be noted here.

2. *Double Augment.* Anakreon used the form *ἐξυνῆκεν* (146) according to the Et. M. 385<sub>9</sub>, which states that *ἐσυνῆκε* occurred in Alkaios. Hdt. has *ἠνέσχετο* V 48, VII 159, VIII 26, but *ἀνέσχοντο* V 89, VI 112, VII 139. Hippokr. III 94 has *ἠνώχλεον*, V 702 *ἠνωχλήθην*, *ἠνίει* V 414, *ἠφίει* V 228 (*ἐώκειν* IX 406 is incorrect). On *ἐπηνωρθώθη*, see § 578, note. On *ἐώρων*, see § 582 end.

3. *Augment of some compound verbs.* *ῶδοιπόρησε* Hippokr. VI 276, cf. Hdt. VIII 129 *διοδοιπορήκεσαν*. *οικοδομέω* and *οικοφθορέω* are unaugmented in Hdt. *ἐδυστύχεε* Hdt. VIII 105, *εὐδοκίμει* VII 227, *εὐδοκίμησα* III 131, *εὐνομήθην* I 66, *εὐτύχησα* VII 233. *ἐπαλλίλογητο* Hdt. I 118 in the perfect without reduplication. Hdt. has *παρενόμησα* VII 238 not *παρηνόμησα*.

### *Reduplication.*

583.] 1. **On the absence of reduplication** in *οἶκα*, *ἦλωκα*, cf. § 582, where the digammated verbs are enumerated. On *ῶρηκα* and *ὀρώρηκα* see the same section. On the syllabic augment of the reduplicated pluperfect in Herodotos, see § 576, 1. The temporal augment does not appear in 'Attic' reduplicated forms. *ἐπαλλιλόγητο* Hdt. I 118 is due to a desire to avoid a cumbersome form. Reduplication in the second aorist is chiefly Homeric<sup>1</sup>. In Herodotos we find *ἦγαγον*, *ἐσπόμεν*, *εἶπον*. Reduplication in the present presents no noteworthy features except in the case

<sup>1</sup> The grammarians often call Ionic such forms as *λελάχωσι*, *κέκλυθι*, *κεκάμω* (Aristarchos *κε κάμω*), *τετύκοντο*, *πεπαλὼν*. Cf. Joh. Gr. 240, Greg. Kor. 433 (also Doric), 461, Vat. 696, Paris. 676 = An. Bachm. II 365<sub>24</sub>, Et. M. 86<sub>17</sub>, Birnb. 677<sub>40</sub>, An. Ox. I 36<sub>33</sub>, An. Par. III. 183<sub>34</sub> (cf. 30<sub>29</sub>), 343<sub>28</sub>, Eust. 136<sub>21</sub>, 157<sub>12</sub>, 502<sub>21</sub>, 1225<sub>60</sub>, 1267<sub>38</sub>, 1629<sub>17</sub>, 1722<sub>50</sub>, 1774<sub>59</sub>, 1969<sub>41</sub>, Diakonos on Hesiod *Asp.* 245 (*ἐμέμαρπον*). By a reverse process the absence of reduplication is called Ionic in *βλήμενος* Greg. Kor. 461, Paris. 676 = An. Bachm. II 365<sub>35</sub> (also *δέχθαι*), *τύχθαι* Drakon 160<sub>24</sub>, cf. 156<sub>4</sub>.

of the pseudo-Hippokratic διδίσσομαι VIII 66 (Littre with *C D K*). Here, however, *θ* has δειδίσσεται (intransitive), whereas B 190 is transitive. Elsewhere both Hippokrates and Aretaios use δεδίσσομαι in the sense of 'feel afraid.'

From αἰρέω we find in Thasos 71<sub>5, 11</sub> ἀναιρερημένος, in l. 2, 3 - - ραιρημένος, which was read by Bergmann ἀναι-, by Blass ἀνε-. Neither of these forms occurs. The reading of Blass (*Ausspr.*<sup>3</sup> 62) rests upon the view that αἰ could become ε in the fourth century; a change unattested for this period of Greek<sup>1</sup>. Since Herodotos has ἀραίρηκα, ἀραιρήκεε, ἀραίρημαι, ἀραιρήμην, ἀναιρημένος has been read by Bechtel. If this restoration is correct, as seems probable, the perfect of αἰρέω was formed in Ionic in two different ways (1) ἀραίρημαι, a kind of perfect often used in Hdt. in other verbs, (2) αἰρέρημαι by inner reduplication, as in ἡνίπαπον, ἡρύκακον. In Samos 221<sub>35</sub> ἡρημένος shows that by about the year 322 B. C. in an official document the specifically Ionic reduplication had been abandoned.

## 2. So-called Attic reduplication<sup>1</sup>.

Epic are ἀλάλhamai, ἀγηγέρμην, ἀλαλύκthmai, ἀνήνοθεν, ἐδήδομαι, ἐρήρισται, ἐρήριπτο, ἐρήριπα, συνοκωχότε, ὀδῶδυσται, ὀδῶδα<sup>2</sup>, ὀρώρεγμαι (ῶρεγμαι Hippokr. I 520), ὄρωρα<sup>2</sup> (Theog. 909), and ὀρώρειν, ὀρώρομαι.

ἀκήκοα Hdt. I 37, VIII 109, ἀκηκόειν II 52, VII 208 while Hippokr. VII 490 has the Attic ἡκηκόειν. In Herodas 549 occurs the interesting form ἀκήκουκα<sup>3</sup>. ἀλήλεσμαι Hdt. VII 23, καταληλεσμένους (?) Hippokr. VIII 456, where the MSS. have -εληλα-, -εληλασ-, and -εληλεσ- (so Littre). Aretaios 195 has ἀληλεσμένη. From ἀραρίσκω Homer has ἀρήρη, ἀρηρώς, ἡρήρεα; in Archil. 94 the MSS. have ἡρήρεισθα which Bergk thought fit to change to ῆσθα. ἀρηρομένος Homer, Hdt. IV 97. ἐγήγερμαι Hippokr. IX 340 (ep.), cf. ἐγρήγορα, V 310, 694, Homer. ἐληλάκειν Hdt. V 90, ἐλήλαμαι Homer, Tyrt. 12<sub>26</sub>, Hdt. I. 180, IX 9, ἐλήλασμαι Hippokr. VIII 290, 426; ἡληλάμην Homer, ἐληλάμην Hdt. VII 205. ἐλήλυθα Hdt. VIII 68, Hippokr. II 266, ἐληλύθεε Hdt. V 98, VIII 114 (epic ἐλήλουθα, εἰλήλουθα, εἰληλούθει). ἐμημέκεε Hippokr. V 232. ἐξενήνιγμαι Hdt. VIII 37, IX 72. ἐρήρεισμαι Hdt. IX. 152, Hippokr. III 294, IV 220, 312, 152 (but συνήρεια VI 372). In VIII 272 for ξυνερήρεισται in *D*, *θ* has συνηρηρέδαται (cf. Ψ 284). In VIII 270 συνηρεισμένας is attested by *θ* and the other MSS. Homer has also ἡρήρειστο, ἐρηρέδατο. Hippokr. VIII 292 has ἐρηρείσεται in *θ*. ἐρήριγμαι Hippokr.

<sup>1</sup> In Attic the change occurred in the second century A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Ionic: Eust. 1523<sub>38</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> This form recalls in a measure the Syrakusan inflection of the perfect as present. Cf. also Knidian τετιμάκει.



VII 416 (ἔρειγμαι in *D*), VIII 506. οἷχωκε, not ὥχηκε, was called Ionic by Dorotheos *apud* Schol. Ven. A on O 252, and this spelling was adopted by Apollonios. Aristonikos and Trypho (frag. 99) probably received παρώχηκεν. Hdt. VIII 108 has οἷχωκνίας, οἷχωκότας IX 98, διοίχηνται IV 136 (διοίχονται?), οἷχώκεε IV 128. The vulgate παρωχημένος is rightly rejected by Littré for παροιχόμενος in Hippokr. VI 16. The form with the 'Attic' reduplication but with ω for φ also appears in οἷχωκεν Herodas 237 and this, and not the form from the stem οἷχε, must be regarded as Ionic. ἀπολώλεκα Hdt. I 45 ἀπόλωλα Hom., Hdt. II 181 ἀπολώλειν Hom., Hdt. III 119 ὄπωπα Homer, Hdt. III 37, 63, Hippokr. IV 78, VIII 606, pluperf. Homer, Hdt. V 92, Arrian 159. ὀρώρυγμα Hdt. III 60, IV 195, and so II 158 (not ὠρυγμα), ὀρωρύγμην Hdt. I 185 (not ὠρυκτο), 186 (not ὠρώρυκτο). ὀρώρηκα § 582.

### 3. Mute followed by a Liquid.

βέβλαμμαι Hippokr. VIII 418, 494, 498 but ἐβλαμμένοις Ephesos, Dittenberger Syll. 344<sub>st</sub> (first century B.C.), γέγλυμμαι Hdt. II 106 etc., Hippokr. IV 386.

### 4. Other verbs beginning with a double Consonant.

κτάομαι: In an inscription from Mylasa 248 B 11 (360–61 B.C.) we find ἐκτῆσθαι<sup>1</sup>, the form found Iliad I 402 and usually in the MSS. of Herodotus, whether a vowel or a consonant precedes. κέκτησο VII 29, ἐκτημένος II 173, 174, VII 27 (after a vowel) are to be rejected though occurring in all MSS<sup>2</sup>. κεκτημένος appears in Zeleia 113<sub>20-21</sub> (shortly after 334 B.C.) but κατέκτηται in the same inscription l. 6 makes for the conclusion that the former form is an Attic interloper. In Sim. Am. 132 Bekker read ἐκτῆται for κέκτηται of the Schol. Σ 407 who quotes the verse Aischylos has only one case of the Ionic form and that by metrical constraint (*Prometh.* 797). It was preferred by Plato when it followed upon a consonant (plup. ἐκεκτήμην). The pluperfect in Hdt. is ἐκτήμην II 108. κτίζω yields ἔκτισται Hippokr. IV 194.

ἐσμυρισμένος Archil. 30 (cf. Hesych. ἐσμυριγμένοι) from σμυρίζω whereas in Hdt. we have μεμυρισμένος from μυρίζω. The lyric poets have the ordinary forms in ἐσκιασμένος Sim. Am. 766, &c.

### 5. Verbs beginning with ρ.

There are in Ionic some noteworthy forms of these verbs which in Attic refuse to reduplicate. The reduplicated forms in Ionic

<sup>1</sup> An. Par. III 65<sub>30</sub> (Attic and Ionic), Gram. Paris. 676 = An. Bachm. I 365<sub>9</sub> καθαρῶς Ἴωνική.

<sup>2</sup> κεκτῆσθαι is however as old as Hesiod, *W. D.* 437.



represent a newer method of reduplication, since they have followed the analogy of verbs whose initial sound had not originally been preceded by a spirant.

ῥερυπωμένος in Hippokr. IV 374, VIII 140, 236, 368 is the same form that occurs in ζ 59; ῥεραπισμένος is quoted from Anakreon (166) by Choirob. II 555<sup>24</sup>, cf. Bekk. An. III 1287 (where the Pindaric ῥερίφθαι is compared), An. Ox. IV 185<sup>17</sup>, 415<sup>6</sup>, An. Par. IV 226<sup>17</sup>. ῥερυθμῶσθαι was used, according to some, by Demokritos. Cf. ῥυθμός Demokr. 205 according to Stobaios (§ 358). In Hdt. IV 71 for συνερραμμένην of the editors (*A* συνερα-), *B* and *C* have συρρερ-. The *spiritus asper* in the above forms should doubtless be changed to the *lenis*.

### 6. Verbs beginning with λ.

λαμβάνω: Archil. (143) is reported by Lukian (*Pseudolog.* 1) to have said τέττιγα τοῦ πτεροῦ συνείληφας, out of which Bergk made the dimeter τέττιγα δ' εἶληφας πτεροῦ. The form is interesting because Hdt. has λελάβηκα III 42<sup>1</sup>, IV 79, VIII 122 (and in the mouth of an Ionian in Eupolis<sup>2</sup> according to Meineke II 570), λέλαμμαι III 117, IX 51. Hippokrates however has εἶληφε VIII 584, εἶλημμέναι VII 490, ἀπειλημμένος V 616 but on the same page ἀπολεαμμένος, and ἀναλελάφθαι<sup>3</sup> III 308 (*vulgo* -λελάμ-φθαι). λελήφαται is called Ionic by An. Ox. I 268<sup>26</sup>. εἶληφα Ionic-Attic, Et. M. 298<sup>52</sup>.

λαγχάνω yields λελόγχασι Hdt. VII 53 (not εἶληχα<sup>4</sup>) as in Homer. λέγω *collect* has -λέλεγμαι in Hdt. VII 26; cf. Arrian I 511. λέγω *say* has λέλεγμαι in Hdt. II 21, &c.

### *Personal Endings.*

The following is a summary of the specially noteworthy endings of the Later Ionic. See also under the various tenses where fuller reference is made to the thematic and modal vowels.

### 584.] Endings of the Active.

#### 1. *First Person.*

μ: Analogues of the Homeric ἐθέλωμι, ἴδωμι, ἀγάγωμι, &c. do not appear in the New Ionic.

<sup>1</sup> According to PRz and Bekk. Anecd.; other MSS. have the pluperfect, which Veitch adopts. λελάβηκα in Doric (Archimedes II 290 Heiberg) as well as εἶλαφα.

<sup>2</sup> Eupolis' (II 533) ὠνήσατο may occur in an Ionic proverb; cf. Hippokr. IX 362.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Archimedes' λελάφθω.

<sup>4</sup> Ionic-Attic, Et. M. 298<sup>52</sup>.

α : The imperfect of εἰμί is ἔα < ῆα in Homer and Herodotos ; of εἶμι, ῆα, of τίθημι, ἐτίθεα in Hdt. In the aorist we find, besides εἶπον, also εἶπα which is rare in Attic. The pluperfect has ε-α, an ending which shows the aoristic connexion of this tense.

### 2. Second Person.

-θα : This original perfect ending occurs in οἶσθα < οἶδ + θα and in ῆρήρεισθα (§ 619). ῆσθα in Theog. 1314 = ἔας in Hdt. is strictly a perfect, ῆς an imperfect. The abandonment of the perfect of εἰμί brought with it the confusion between -s and -σθα ; whence followed the creation of such forms as ἔχρισθα in Theog. 1316 (MSS. ἔχοισθα) and Sappho, εἰσθα Theog. 715. Cf. Homeric τίθησθα from τίθης, εἰσθα, ἐθέλησθα, βάλουισθα.

ς has been added in εἷς *thou art* (Hdt. and Archilochos) to εἶ for primitive ἔσι. In Syrakusan ἐσσί was the regular form, which indeed may be read in all passages in Homer except ρ 388. On εἶ in Hdt. see § 705. To οἶσθα, -s was also added, thus producing οἶσθας found in Herodas 2<sub>55</sub> and adopted by Zenodotos in his recension of the Homeric text (cf. Eust. 1773<sub>27</sub>). οἶσθας also appears in comedy, and was 'Hellenic' as well as οἶσθα according to Ailius Dionysios. εα-s in the pluperfect happens not to occur in Hdt.<sup>1</sup>, but in the plural we find συνηδέατε. In the optative aorist Hdt. has -ε-ια-s (never -αις)<sup>2</sup>. In the plural of the second aorist we find ο-ιη-τε not ο-ι-τε, e.g. δοίητε in Hdt. VII 135 ; so -αιητε not -αιτε. -οιης except in Hom. σχοίης (?), and in Aiolic, occurs only in εὐροίης, Hippokr. I 590, where εὐροίς is a *v. l.* The pluperfect has -εας, not -εες, as the Et. M. 386<sub>23</sub> states.

### 3. Third Person.

σι < -τι in the singular, Ionic being an assibilating dialect. -ουσι < -οντι, -ωσι < -ωντι. The sporadic cases of -οισι and -ωισι in Chios are due to Aiolic influence. The instances of -ησι in the subjunctive are rare in the elegy (Theog. 139). -ησι never occurs in iambic poetry or in prose, though *ABC* have ἐλαύνησι Hdt. I 188. Theognis has elsewhere -η. On primitive -ει in the subjunctive, and on -ει < -ηι in Euboian Ionic, see § 239. In the perfect we find -ᾱσι, except in a few instances where the poetical -ᾶσι comes to light (§ 595) by imitation of Homer. In the pluperfect we find -εε in Hdt. with no case of -ει or -ειν as in Homer and in Attic. The inscriptions have -ει. In the plural -εσαν in Hdt. with no case of -εισαν. The imperative has -τω, -των,

<sup>1</sup> ἐτεθήπεις ω 90 is an unmetrical variant for θηήσας.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ποιήσεις Hippokr. VII 260 in θ against other MSS.

and *-ντων*. *ἔστων* occurs on inscriptions, *ἔστωσαν* is found in Hdt. I 147, and *-τωσαν* in Teos 158<sup>11, 25, 26</sup>, a late document composed under Attic influence. In Attika by 300 B.C. *-τωσαν* had almost entirely displaced the older form.

In the present optative of *-εω* verbs we find *-εοιη* in Teos 156 A 10 and *-οιη* in line 4, elsewhere *-οι*, as in Hdt., with but few, if any, exceptions. Hippokrates has however many well-attested instances of *-οιη*. In *-αω* verbs Hdt. prefers the ending *-ωη* (and *-ωεν*). Both *ἔησαν* and *ἔειν* occur, and *παρεξίοιεν* is found in IV 120, VII 103.

In the aorist Herodotos adopts *-ειε* (*-αι* twice only: II 100, III 156, and these are doubtful), and *-ειαν* (*-αιεν* only VI 101, VII 152 (?), VIII 35). In inscriptions we find *-ειαν*. In the second aorist we find *δοίεν* in Hdt. The perfect optative has *-οι* not *-οιη*. In the aorist passive optative we find both *-ειησαν* and *-ειεν*.

### 585.] Endings of the Middle.

#### 1. First Person.

*-μεσθα*, in Homer, appears once in Theog. 671 (cf. 183, 888, 983, 1047, 1056, &c. *-μεθα*), Hrd. 321, never in Ionic prose.

#### 2. Second Person.

*-σαι* preceded by the thematic *ε*, becomes either *-εαι* or *-η* in Ionic.

*-η-σαι* yields *-ηαι* and *-η* in the subjunctive, which also admits of *-εαι* for *-ηαι*, by retention of the short thematic vowel.

*-α-σο* becomes *-αο*; *-ε-σο* becomes *εο* or *ευ*.

In the imperative we have *-σο*, *-σθω*.

3. Third Person. The perfect and pluperfect endings are *-νται*, *-ντο*, and *-αται*, *-ατο*. The terminations *-αται*, *-ατο*<sup>1</sup> are not the exclusive property of the Ionic race, though retained by Ionic and Attic with greater tenacity than by other dialects. Two examples of the ancient form in *-αται* < *νται* occur in Doric: Kretan *κιάται* and Herakleian *γεγραψάται*.

*-ατο* in the optative for *-ντο* is one of the best attested forms of Herodoteian Ionic. This ending is here more ancient than *-ντο*, since it is derived from *νητο*.

The terminations *-αται*, *-ατο* have in Herodotos been transferred from their home in the indicative perfect and pluperfect, after stems ending in a consonant, to the present and imperfect of *μι* verbs. On *δύνα-μαι*, *ἐπίστα-μαι*, whose *a* apparently passes into *ε* before the endings *-αται*, *-ατο*, see § 688, 1, note 2.

(a) Present. *προτιθέεται* Hdt. I 133 (IV 26 in C), *ἀπιστεύεται* II 113, *ὑπανιστεύεται* II 80, *ἐξανιστεύεται* V 61, *δυνέεται* II 142,

<sup>1</sup> See Abicht, *Philologus* XI 275 ff., and § 612.



IV 30, ἐπιστέαται<sup>1</sup> III 2, 103, IV 174. (For ἐκδιδύαται of *C* in II 47 read -ονται.) These forms do not occur in Homer. In Ω verbs these forms are incorrect, *e.g.* ἀγέαται II 47, κηδέαται I 209 (both in *C*). -νται<sup>2</sup> is preserved in the following forms: ἐπίστανται Solon 49, δύνανται Hippokr. II 290, cf. ἀπόλλυνται III 254, V 624 *bis*, 680 *bis*, ῥήγνυνται III 200.

(*b*) *Imperfect.* -ατο, introduced from the pluperfect (cf. -αται in the present) in ἐπανιστέατο Hdt. IV 80, ἐδυνέατο VII 211, ἡπιστέατο II 53, where *a* apparently changes to *ε*; and also in παρετιθέατο I 119, ἐναπεδεικνύατο IX 58. The -ντο form may also occur in the imperfect, as witness ἀπεδείκνυντο VII 223, IX 40.

Improper are all such forms in Ω verbs (1) in imperfects: προαιδέατο I 61 with -εατο in all MSS. is nevertheless to be rejected<sup>3</sup>, as are all other such forms no matter how well they are supported by MS. evidence: as ἐβουλέατο I 4 (ἐβούλοντο Plutarch), ἐναπενιζέατο II 172 (in all MSS.), ἐγινέατο I 67 (*b d z*), ἀπεγραφέατο V 29 (in all MSS.), ὑπεδεκέατο IV 167 (*P R z*), ἐσινέατο VII 147 (in all MSS.), ἐμηχανέατο V 63 (in all MSS.). ὀρμέατο I 83 is regarded by Stein as pluperfect<sup>4</sup>. Bredow's (p. 330) ὠρμέατο is incorrect. (2) Second aorists: ἐγενέατο II 66 where Stein suggests ἐγεγενέατο, περιεγενέατο I 214 (*R* -εγενοντο) ἀπικέατο often, ἐπυθέατο VII 172 (*P R z*). The inscriptions have -ντο invariably.

The imperfect of μι verbs, where -ατο was in place, was the source of this error, which seems to have been inserted by copyists into no other text than that of Herodotos. The forms in -εαται and -εατο in the imperfect and aorist of Ω verbs do not occur in the MSS. of the logographers or of Hippokrates<sup>5</sup>. The latter does not adopt, even in μι verbs, the ending -ατο; ἀπόλλυντο III 88, ἀνίσταντο II 608. The presence of the above mentioned misshapen formations in the MSS. cannot be laid to

<sup>1</sup> ἐπίστηται II 243 (subj.) was read by Zenod. ἐπιστέαται. ἐπίσταται is the reading of *A L*. G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 485, holds it to be indicative. Zenodotos' reading indicates the prevailing uncertainty as to the place of -εαται. Zenodotos is also reported to have read πεποιέαται (sing.) in Homer.

<sup>2</sup> Homer has -νται after *a* and *o* invariably.

<sup>3</sup> No verb which has the short vowel in the future before *sigma*, and *sigma* in the perfect middle, has either -αται in the perfect or -ατο in the pluperfect. We must read προαιδέοντο. προαιδέατο would be a strange pluperfect (as Abicht takes it to be).

<sup>4</sup> Stein reads ὀρμέατο here, and in every other passage with MS. authority.

<sup>5</sup> The pseudo-Ionic movement did not affect in an equal degree all Ionic literature. While such forms as masc., neutr. τουτέων, αὐτέων were inserted into the texts of Hippokrates and Aretaios, these writers were spared from the irregular -εαται and -εατο. It is also noteworthy that Arrian's *Indikè* was spared the intrusion of such forms as ἐγενέατο.

the charge of the teachings of the grammarians, who make absolutely no mention of their occurrence.

1. -ανται for -νται after vowels is supported only by the statement of Hera-  
kleides Milesios (Cohn, p. 77), who cites as used by some Ionians the forms  
πεποιέανται, γεγενέανται.

2. -αται is not used in the singular despite the statement to the contrary of  
the Et. M. 367<sub>40</sub>, οικέαται, a poor variant in Hdt. I 151, &c., κέαται often in  
Lukian's *Syria dea*, πεποιέαται Zenodotos in Homer (above p. 480, footnote 1).

3. -ατο in the singular is also incorrect: παρείατο κούρη in Kallimachos  
cited by An. Ox. I 373<sub>30</sub>, Et. M. 653<sub>20</sub>. In Hdt. IX 100: ὥς δ' ἄρα παρσκευάδατο  
τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, Reiske proposed to insert πάντα or to read -αστο.

4. -δαται for -αται and -δατο for -ατο are indefensible in κατακεχύδαται Hdt.  
II 75 (*Ppr. Rd*) and ἔστελα- or ἔσταλά-δατο VII 90 in all MSS. (Dobree  
ἔστάλατο).

-σθων. In the imperative -σθων is often preceded by ε (present  
and 2nd aor.), never by ο. ο-σθων in early Attic inscriptional  
documents is even more frequent than ε-σθων (*e. g.* εὕρισκόσθων).  
-σθωσαν in χρήσθωσαν Hippokr. VI 82 is suspicious.

#### 586.] Endings of the Passive.

-θησαν, not -θεν, is the form adopted in iambic poetry and  
prose. The 3rd pl. μίανθην in Δ 146 is not to be rejected; cf.  
Kretan διελέγην, Delphic ἀπελύθην.

## CONJUGATION.

### *Introductory Remarks.*

587.] Many peculiarities of usage of the Ionic verb do not  
affect our estimate of the position of the dialect in respect of  
its interrelation with other idioms. Many details of verbal usage  
and even of formation belong more properly to a history of the  
Greek verb or to treatises dealing specifically with the diction of  
individual authors. Not wishing to trench upon the domain of  
the lexicographer, we have therefore in general excluded from  
the present discussion verbs of regular formation which occur in  
Ionic alone, though many points of interest are thus passed by,  
such as the appearance in Ionic prose of a large number of  
so-called epic and poetic verbs, the affinities of the dialect for  
the active in place of the middle and *vice versa*. Ionic forms  
not dissimilar to those in vogue in Attic have as a rule not  
been incorporated, chiefly because it may be assumed that the  
Ionic verb is inflected on the same general lines as the Attic  
verb. Sometimes, however, where Ionic and Attic are alike,



the forms in question are adduced provided their Aiolic or Doric equivalents are differently constructed. Forms of this character are treated under the special tenses in which they occur.

On *δύνω*, *δυνέω* and similar examples of the co-existence in later Ionic of such parallel forms, see under Contract Verbs. On *μι* verbs inflected as *ω* verbs, see § 691 ff. *ω* verbs inflected like *μι* verbs, and tenses of *ἵστημι*, *τίθημι* etc. other than present, imperfect, and second aorist, are mentioned under *μι* verbs.

### 588.] Variation between *θέλω* and *ἐθέλω*.

*θέλω* was regarded as Ionic by the grammarians<sup>1</sup>, and it is the only form which appears in the inscriptional monuments of the dialect<sup>2</sup>: Thasos 72<sub>16</sub>, Halikarn. 238<sub>16, 33</sub>, Miletos 100<sub>7</sub>. *θέλω* occurs in the iambographs in only two passages (Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>13</sub>, Hipponax 22 B), and Anakreon employs it in catalectic iambic dimeter (92). Solon 37<sub>1</sub> (trim.) has *ἤθελον*. In the elegists we find *θέλω* in Phokyl. 12, Solon 27<sub>12</sub>. Homer adopts the fuller form with only one or two possible exceptions<sup>3</sup>, and this, too, is preferred by the elegy: Archil. 6<sub>2</sub>, Tyrt. 12<sub>40</sub>, Solon 42<sub>8</sub>, 33<sub>5</sub> (imperfect; trochaics), in Theogni over twenty times, Bergk changing 139 (*Α Ο θέλησιν*) and 919 (neither *Α* nor *Ο* has *ἐθέλη*). In 606 we find an imperfect *ἔθελον* (Stob. *ἐθέλουσι*). Anakreon uses *ἐθέλω* in choriambics (21<sub>7</sub>, 24<sub>2</sub>). In Pindar, Mommsen (on Ol. II 97) can count a few instances of *θέλω* which he regards, in opposition to Boeckh, as certain: Ol. II 97, VIII 85, P. II 69, X 5, Isthm. VI 43, Nem. X 84. It is therefore improbable that tragedy, which uses only *θέλω* in dialogue, should have derived this form from Pindar. That its very rarity gave it a certain element of distinction adapted for the purpose of the tragic poets, is confirmed by the attitude of comedy towards the word. Here it is only in paratragedic passages and in the formulae *ἦν θεὸς θέλη*, *εἰ θεὸς θέλοι* that the shorter form finds a place. So in early Attic prose, which follows tragic usage to a certain extent. May we see the influence of Gorgias' theories upon Antiphon in his use of *θέλω*? When *θέλω* became the common form, *ἐθέλω* carried with it the distinction that *θέλω* had once enjoyed<sup>4</sup>. It is to be noted that *θέλω* is not, like *κεῖνος*, made by Aristophanes the mark of the 'Ἰωνικὴ ἀνῆρ'.

Out of the confusion in the MSS. of Herodotos, Stein thinks to establish the principle that, while in the present both forms were employed, *ἐθέλω* was more common, but that *θέλω* was regularly used in such collocation as *μαθοῦσι* - - - *τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας* (I 78, cf. III 65, IV 131, V 131, VI 3 VII 8, 37, 101)<sup>5</sup>. In the imperfect and future *ἐθέλω* is certainly preferred.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 240, Gram. Aug. 668, Birnb. 678<sub>15</sub> citing *τὸν θέλω* = *ὃν θέλω*. *θέλω* was also thought to be Alexandrian. See on *κεῖνος*, § 564.

<sup>2</sup> On Attic inscriptions *ἐθέλω* is found until 300 B. C. The shorter form appears after 250 B. C. The *Κοινή* adopted *θέλω* except in augmented forms.

<sup>3</sup> Aristarchos could save *ἐθέλω* and his theory as to its universal adoption by Homer, only by having recourse to an outrageous synizesis A 277. Cf. also ο 317, and A 554.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *Herakles* II 57. Contemporary preferences from the same point of view are discernible in the history of *βούλομαι* and *ἐθέλω* (in Pindar).

<sup>5</sup> VII 162 *τὸ ἐθέλειν λέγειν*, Stein must brand as a spurious addition. It has no objection to *τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν* II 13.



out in the aorist this is not so certain. At all events it will not do to follow Bredow in rooting  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  out completely. Herakleitos adopts  $\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  in 65, 86, 91,  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  in 104. Demokritos has only the former form: 53, 54, 109, Demokrates), 144, 188 ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$  in *A*), 236.  $\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  appears in Littré's Hippokrates I 570 ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  *A*), II 228 ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  *C*), 244, 424 (*A*), III 234, 242, VI 46 ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  1), 50 ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  *A C*), VI 252 twice ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  in  $\theta$  once), VII 530, 542, 562, but in 198 Littré reads  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$  ( $\epsilon\theta-$  in *C*),  $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu$  III 90 ( $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$  *D*). This looks as if  $\epsilon\lambda\omega$  had a better claim to a place in the text than that assigned it by Littré, and that it was forced out in *malice prepense*.  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  is certain in VII 198, VIII 16. In Aretaios we find  $\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  26 ( $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$  *G H*), 107, 255, 256 twice.

### 589.] Variation between $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ and $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ .

To § 196 may be added the fact that  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  occurs as early as Pindar.  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  of the Common dialect is the prevailing form in Arrian, while Hippokrates<sup>1</sup>, Aretaios, Lukian's *Syria dea* and *Astrologia*, the *Vita Homeri* and the pseudo-Hippokratic letters have  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ . Eusebios Myndios accepts now  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , now  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ . The latter form should be banished from all classic Attic writers.

$\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  *beget* was used in Ionic prose only in  $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$  (Hdt.); cf.  $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron$  im. Am. 757.

### 590.] Varia.

References may here be made to the variation between  $\tau\acute{\rho}\epsilon\pi\omega$  and  $\tau\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega$  (128),  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\upsilon\omega$  and  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\upsilon\omega$  (§ 129),  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\delta\omega$ , and  $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\iota\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  (§ 132; Hippokrates has  $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega$ , as well as  $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\iota\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , Aretaios 302  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  (§ 224, 3),  $\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$   $\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  (§ 154, where Hippokr. II 306, 456, VII 60 might have been induced in support of the former, V 370, 374 of the latter form).  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$  is Hippokratic II 426, but for  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\eta}\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon$  Ψ 191,  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon$  should probably be read.  $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\omega$  in Hdt. and Hippokr. is from a different root from  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\mu\iota$  (Hdt., Hippokr., Herakleitos, Aretaios). The latter is connected with the root of  $\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ <sup>2</sup>.  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  occurs frequently in Hippokr. (VI 276, 330, VIII 88, 108, 12), who also uses  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  (VII 110, VIII 42, 274). The latter is chiefly Attic.  $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\eta\eta\omega$  in  $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$  Hippokr. VII 498 is a doubtful form alongside  $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  (Hdt., Hipponax, Aretaios). *C* and  $\xi$  have  $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ .  $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\eta\mu\alpha\iota$ , but the poetic  $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , is the correct form in Hdt., Demokritos and Lukian, *Syria dea*, § 22.

## ACTIVE VOICE.

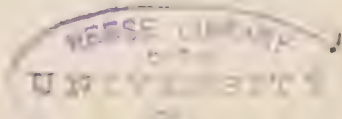
### 591.]

#### *Indicative Present.*

1. **Verbs in - $\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ .** It is well-known that the Dorians, notably those of Sicily, evinced a fondness for verbs in - $\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  parallel to those in - $\acute{\alpha}\omega$ , e.g.  $\sigma\iota\gamma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ . Analogous cases from Ionic are rare:  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  Hippokr. VII 70 (Littré);  $\tau\upsilon\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$  ψ 114,  $\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha\zeta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , the vulgate reading Hippokr. VII 16 (Littré  $\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\upsilon$ ).  $\pi\epsilon\iota\eta\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  is also epic M 257, O 615.

In the treatises of the younger school of Hippokrates,  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is frequent, e.g. IV 120, VII 198, 332, 478, 542, VIII 94, 98, 408; also in I 574.

<sup>1</sup> See Moulton in *Class. Rev.* III 45.



Verbs in -ζω are frequent in Ionic. The following are examples of such as do not occur in classic Attic prose: ἀγλαίζω Hippokr. VIII 368, ἀκονάζω VII 94, ἀλυκτάζω Hdt. IX 70, ἀληθίζομαι III 72, ἀρμόζω Hippokr. I 580, II 368, but ἀρμόσσω III 558<sup>1</sup>, ἀρμόζομαι Aretaios 214, ἀτρεμίζω Hdt., Hippokr. (rare in Attic) by the side of ἀτρεμέω, ἱακχάζω Hdt. VIII 65, μινυθίζω Hippokr. VI 118 (*A* -εω) transitive, συρίζω Hippokr. V 378, VII 190, φώζω VI 566, χατίζω VII 558.

Herodotos uses σφάζω. σφάττω did not come into use in Attic until ττ had supplanted σσ.

2. The presence of ἴκω in Ionic prose is open to suspicion. It is retained by Littré in Hippokrates III 238 (ἦκω *MN*), 242 (*sic MN*), V 224, but in VI 32, where the vulgate has ἀφίκει *A* has ἀφήκει, *H* ἐφήκοι. Here Littré reads ἐφήκει. Herodotos uses ἦκω only, with which ἴκω is connected in meaning but not in etymology<sup>2</sup>. As regards the objection to ἴκω in Hippokrates based upon his adoption of a verb (not employed by Herodotos which is poetical, it may be said that in Korinthian we find ἴρομες, C. D. I. 3119<sup>1</sup>, in the Xuthias inscription (Lakonian? ποθίκες, Cauer 10, B 9, and in Delian ἴκον (*B. C. H.* II 579 ff. ἀφικόμεν occurs in many dialects.

3. χύω for χέω is doubtful in Aretaios 299, where *Par.* has χέον. ἀποχύσαντα from χύνω Hippokr. VIII 200 is not found in *θ* or in *C*, which have ἀποχέαι.

For some reason Eust. 154<sup>15</sup> (cf. 621<sup>48</sup>, 718<sup>60</sup>) regards a Doric δύνω for δύω, and θύνω for θύω. That the Dorians use δύνω for δύω not for δύομαι is, we believe, unvouched. So far as the form δύνω is concerned, it is frequent in Ionic, rare in Attic prose; and Homer as well as Pindar has θύνω.

4. Examples of -ισκ added to roots ending in a vowel are χρήσκομαι Hdt., κνίσκομαι Hdt. (κνίσκω Hippokr.), ῥνίσκομαι perhaps, Archil. 142. Hdt. was probably the first to use ἀρέσκει the only old verb in -εσκω.

## 592.]

### Future.

1. **Liquid Verbs** were probably inflected in the dialect of the fifth century as follows:—

μενέω (-έω)	μενέομεν (-εὔμεν)
μενείῃς	μενείτε
μενείῃ	μενέουσιν (-εὔσιν)

<sup>1</sup> Hippokr. has λαπάσσω.

<sup>2</sup> The most recent discussion of the relation of the two verbs will be found in Johansson's *Beiträge zur gr. Sprachkunde*, p. 62 ff.

The adoption of the liquid future form in the active does not of course necessitate the appearance of the liquid stem in the middle forms. Thus Herodotos has *κερδανέω*, but *κερδήσομαι* (the only future middle form of this verb, and that not found in Attic).

The following examples may serve to illustrate the paradigms given above:—

A. *ἐρέω*<sup>1</sup> Hdt. II 38, IV 129, VI 43, IX 42, Hippokr. II 52, 58, VII 490, VII 550 (but *ἐρῶ* VII 530)<sup>2</sup>, Lukian *Syr. dea* 27, 36, cf. *ἐρέω* Archil. 79<sub>2</sub>, 89<sub>1</sub>, Hipponax 21 A, *ἐρῶ* Theog. 1236; *ὀνομανέω* Hdt. IV 47, *σημανέω* I 75, 209, IV 127, VI 39, *περανέω* Hippokr. VII 496, *ἀποφανέω* VII 542, 548, VIII 408, *τεμέω* IV 530 (the future of *τέμνω* is unusual).

B. In Hdt. we usually find *-έεις*, e.g. *ἀπολέεις* VIII 60 (*ἀπολείς* Theog. 36, 245), *κερδανέεις* I 35, *ἀποβαλέεις* I 71, *διατετρανέεις* III 12. *ἐρείς* occurs in all the MSS. VIII 100.

C. *ἐρεῖ* Mimm. 7<sub>4</sub>, Theog. 22, 492, *ὀλεῖ* Tyrt. 3, *ἀπολεῖ* Theog. 1104, *πιαλεῖ* is a conjecture of Bergk, Hipponax 21 B, *κατανεῖ* Archil. 61 (or *-έει*?)<sup>3</sup>. In the MSS. of Herodotos the open forms prevail, e.g. *ἀπολέει* I 34, *διαφθερέει* V 51. Hippokrates has *ἐρέει* VII 478, but *ὕγιανεῖ* VI 662 (θ), *πταρεῖ* VIII 484. In Herakl. 26 Hippolytos has *κρινεῖ* (Bywater *κρινέει*), in Melissos 10 Simplicius has *περανεῖ* (Mullach *-έει*). From the pseudo-Ionists we note *ἐκφανέει* Lukian, *Syr. dea* 32, *εὐφρανέει* Astr. 29, *προφανέει*, *ἐρέει* Euseb. Mynd. 63. Compare *-ιέι* in *-ίζω* verbs with *-έει* in liquid verbs.

D. *ἐρέομεν* Hdt. IV 118, *μενέομεν* IV 119, VII 141, *κερδανέομεν* VIII 60.

E. *ὑπομενέουσι* Hdt. IV 4 (Attic *-οῦσι* Cd), VII 101, *ἐρέουσι* Hippokr. VII 440; *ἀμυνεῖσι* Hdt. IX 6.

2. Verbs in *-ίζω*. From verbs in *-ίζω* of more than two syllables we find numerous instances of the forms devoid of the *sigma*, e.g. in Hdt. *κατακοντιεῖ* IX 17, *κομιεῖ* II 121 (γ), *νομιεῖμεν* I 17 (not *-οῦμεν*, the Attic form which Stein has adopted from the MSS.); in Hippokr. *ἀφανιεῖ* VI 360, *ἐρεθιεῖ* IV 346, *παρθαθιεῖ* VII 608 (cf. Hdt. IV 190 *κατίσουσι*), *φροντιεῖς* Epist. IX 134 (*φροντίζης vulgo*). *ἐμφανίσει*, on an inscription from Priene Brit. Mus. III 1, no. 421<sub>19</sub>), is Hellenistic.

The future in *-ιέω* has driven out the older form in *-ίω* (cf. *δικάω*). *-έω*, which was extremely common in liquid verbs, was substituted for the *-ίω*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tzetzes Ex. II. 118<sub>9</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> The unique *εἰρήσω* may be correct VII 448.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hephaist. p. 88. The active form of this verb does not occur in the best Attic prose; in fact the verb is poetic and Ionic.



3. 'Attic Futures.' διασκεδᾶς Hdt. VIII 68 (β), cf. σκεδάσεις Theog. 883; ἀποδοκιμᾶ I 199 may possibly be present, but is probably future; δικᾶν I 97 but δικασόμενοι I 96, as always in Attic. δοκιμᾶ, δικᾶν are analogues of ὀλέσ(σ)ω: ὀλέω, &c. On ἐλᾶς, ἐλῶσι, see under the next section.

4. Short stem vowels in the Future. In the first of the following lists are given only those cases (active and middle) from post-Homeric Ionic in which *sigma* was the final consonant of the stem. No verb with a dental stem is here included. In the second list are enumerated the analogues of the first class. See under the Aorist.

*Sigmatic Stems.* ἀρκέω Hippokr. IV 282; θλάω Hippokr. VII 276 (ἐνθλάσσει in θ); κορέσω Hdt. I 212, 214 (epic κορέω); πτύω Hippokr. IX 70, πτύσομαι II 396, VI 198, VIII 98, 100; σπάω Hdt. VII 236, Hippokr. VI 534 (σπάσομαι).

For φλάσει the reading adopted in Hippokrates by Kühn (III 358), we read with Littré the present φλαῖ (III 218 L).

From analogy with the above verbs we find the following with short vowel before *sigma*, where the stem ending was originally vocalic.

*Non-Sigmatic Stems.* ἐπαινέω Sim. Am. 7<sub>112</sub>, -ήσω Theog. 93, v. l. -εσσ-; बुνημαι Hippokr. II 334; ἐλαύνω: ἐλάσει Hippokr. VI 342, VII 348, 428, Hdt. I 207 (ἐλαῖς, ἐλῶσι), V 52 (διεξελαῖς); ἐμέω Hippokr. VII 28, VIII 16 (ἐμέσω) II 184, VI 42 (ἐμέομαι, cf. ὀμέομαι &c.); [εἰρύσει adopted by Ermerins in Hippokr. VI 198 (Littré) is not supported by θ]. καλέω Hdt. III 74 has καλέσειν, Bredow, Veitch, with R, other MSS. -λέειν, which is adopted by Stein and Holder. Where the participle occurs after πέμπω it may be present (cf. VII 15 and 152). καλῶ in Attic is better than καλέσω, which in inscriptions does not appear till the second century. Cf. καλέων δ 53: [μάχομαι yields μαχήσομαι Hdt. IV 125, 127 bis, VII 102 (R v, -εσσ- A B s z), 10 (A B P C R, -εσσ- d z), 209 bis (-εσσ- z), VIII 26; epic μαχέομαι, and μαχήσομαι a Solon 25, Attic μαχοῦμαι. See on the aorist]; ὄλλυμι Hdt. I 34, VI 91 bis VIII 60, IX 18 (ὀλέω), VII 209, VIII 57, 69, IX 42 (ὀλέομαι). ὀλῶ is called Ionic in Anecd. Par. IV 67<sub>11</sub>; ὄζω Hippokr. VIII 424, 488 (Attic -ήσω); πονέω Hippokr. IV 512 (?); but πονήσω is certain in I 598, VIII 16, 30, without regard to the grammatical distinction that πονέσω expresses bodily pain. φθάνω Hippokr. VII 134 (φθαῖσω) may be mentioned on account of epic φθαίσομαι; χαλάω Hippokr. II 36, V 436.

5. *Varia.* Hdt. and Hippokr. have both σχήσω and ἔξω. The former has not yet appeared on any Ionic or Attic inscription. Cf. § 607, 6. ἀνέξω in Archil. 82 may be noted as being the only case of this form of ἀνέχω in early Greek. For τίσοντες Hdt. III 14 we should write τείσοντες, cf. § 214. Hdt. has δόξω, e. g. VIII 80, and the poetical δοκήσω only once (IV 74). On δέξω see § 142. Rare forms are ἀδήσω Hdt. V 39; ἐξαμαρτήσω Hippokr. II 420, IX 264 (late); ἀποπατήσω Hippokr. VII 100; Foes and Ermerins read ἀπαντήσσει for ἀπαντήσῃ of the MSS. IV 264, though usually Hippokr. uses the future after ὅπως (ἀπαντήσω is otherwise late); κνήσει V 686 is doubtful, but εἰρήσω VII 448, probably correct. A future γνώσω may not be defended

the score of the vulgate VIII 416 (read γνώση). θαυμάσω, VII 530, is unusual in Attic; so too the uncompounded χωρήσω in Hdt. and Hippokr. (χωρήσομαι is not found in Homer or Ionic prose). On ἐσάσει in Hippokr., see § 593, 2.

## 593.]

*First Aorist.*

## 1. Verbs in -αινω, -αιρω.

Verbs in -αινω form their aorists in -ηνα.

Examples are ἴσχυηνα Hdt. III 24, Hippokr. III 316 (-άναι Galen), ἐκέρδηνα Hdt. VIII 5 (ἐκέρδανεν in *R*), ἐκοίληνα II 73, to mention only those in which Attic regularly adopts -āna from the analogy of the -ραίνω class. σημαίνω yields ἐσήμηνα<sup>1</sup> in Ionic, and this is the proper form in Attic, though ἐσήμανα appears several times in Xenophon. ὑφαίνω yields ὕφηνα, not ὕφανα, which is the reading of *R d* in Hdt. II 122.

From -αίνω we have ἐχλίηνα Hippokr. VII 388, but Attic χλιάνας VII 150, ἐμίηνα VI 112. From λε(ι)αίνω, ἐλείηνα Hippokr. VIII 360, ἐλέηνα Hdt. I 200, VIII 142. Verbs in -ραίνω. From ξηραίνω we have ἐξήρηνα in Hdt. VII 109 (-ανε *R d*), Hippokr. V 476. The -āna forms are, however, more usual: ἀνξηράνη<sup>2</sup> Φ 347 (thus Aristarchos, ἐξαυαλίη Aristoph.), ἐξήρανα Hdt. II 99 (in all MSS.), Hippokr. V 104, τετραρίνω yields τετρήρας in Hipponax 56, Aretaios 131; παρίνω, ἔρηρα in Hippokrates VI 128, III 486. The -āna forms above mentioned, so far from representing (as J. Schmidt *K. Z.* XXVII 322 thinks) an original ἄνσα (in contradistinction to -ηνα from -ἄνσα), are merely Atticisms. -ηνα is original in Ionic and the direct descendant of -ἄνσα in all cases. In later times in Attic -āna forced an entrance into verbs which did not have ε, ι, or ρ in the stem. This extension of -āna is not so much a Dorism (as Curtius suggested), as due to the operations of analogy in Attic itself. The proper Ionic form is ἐκάθηρα, which is found in Hdt. I 41, 44, Hippokr. II 644, VI 112, VII 24, 242, VIII 304. The Attic by-form ἐκάθαρα appears in *AB* in Hdt. IV 26, where *R* is correct, in *R b d z* in I 45, and in Hippokr. II 418 (in all MSS.). The only example on inscriptions of ā for η in these aorists is ἐκάθαρα C. I. A. II 1054, 8 (347 B. C.), Delos *B. C. H.* V 468 (third century), *ibid.* VI 23, line 185, 24, l. 194 (second century). Attic inscriptions of 329 B. C. have ἐκάθηρα.

## 2. Apparent variation between dental and guttural stems.

As early as Homer<sup>3</sup> we encounter a confusion in -ζω verbs between these two classes of stems, which led to the adoption of ζ in the future and aorist of such verbs as ἀρπάζω (by analogy

<sup>1</sup> ἐσήμανα, Aldus in Hdt. III 106, *R* in IV 179. σημήν[αντι] C. I. A. III 10, 4 (first century B. C.) is the only occurrence in Attic inscriptions of the aorist.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only case of an aorist in -āna in Homer. There are 69 cases of -ηνα. The Townley scholiast on Φ 347 says: θερμήνη μὲν φησιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κρήνη διὰ τὸ κακόφωνον. See Lobeck, *Phrynichus*, p. 24 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Causer in *Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen hervorgegangen aus G. Curtius' Grammatischer Gesellschaft*, p. 129 ff.



with δικάζω or the like). In the Doric dialects the formations from guttural stems (*e.g.* καθιξεῖ, συμπαιξοῦνται, ἥρμοξα) gained the upper hand and almost entirely displaced those in σ. In post-Homeric Ionic there are a few examples of the displacement of the dental stems.

ἀρπάζω yields ἥρπαξα (*cf.* ἀρπαγή, ἀρπακτήρ) and ἥρπασα in Homer. In Hdt. VIII 28, IX 60, we find ἀρπάσομαι, in II 156 *etc.*, ἥρπασα (in all fourteen times), I 1, 4, VII 191 ἥρπασθην, but ἥρπάχθην in II 90 (ἀρπασθείς *Ril*), VII 169 (ἀρπασθείσαν *R*), VIII 115 (ἀρπαχθῆναι all MSS.) There can be no doubt that the forms with σ are to be everywhere adopted. Attic, too, uniformly accepted ἀρπάσω, -ομαι, ἥρπασα, ἥρπασθην.

In the fourth book of the pseudo-Hippocratic tractate περὶ νοῦσων, and not elsewhere, we meet with the aorist forms ἐσάσειεν VII 550, 552, 554, 556, ἐσάσαι 558, and the futures ἐσάσει and ἐσάσειν 568. These, the vulgate, forms were generally adopted by Kühn, and derived by him and Foes from σάσσω. See Veitch, p. 582. For the single σ an analogy was, or might be, sought in πλάσω IV 346, ἐπλασα Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>21</sub>, Hdt. II 70; ἐσάσειεν cannot, however, come from σάσσω because of the augment; and if from ἐσάσσω (which does not occur elsewhere), we encounter the difficulty of an ἐσ- put for ἐσσ- in literary monuments, examples of which abbreviation we desiderate. The forms above mentioned must be separated from σάσσω:—(1) because that verb yields ἔσαξα in VIII 440, Hdt. I 194, III 7, &c. (2) because the meaning is inappropriate. Kühn, to be sure, translates ἐσάσειεν by *gravarit*, Littré, who displaces the vulgate for the strange form ἐσάσσειεν, &c., translates by *senti* in all passages but one (VII 558 *réplétion*).

ἀάσειεν, first suggested (but rejected) by Bredow, was adopted by Ermerins. The occurrence of Homeric words in the tractate περὶ νοῦσων is common enough (*cf.* χατίζω 558, ἐπαυρίσκω 558, ἄκις 564), but it is difficult to see how ἀάσειεν could have been so corrupted. It is better to read ἐσάσειεν from ἀῖω *cf.* ἐσάϊουσι 552 where *EK* have ἐσαῖσσοσι. In 568 we must accept ἐσαῖει for ἐσάσει, ἐσαῖειν for ἐσάσειν. The original present is αἰώ, and αῖον is an aorist (Schulze *K. Z.* XXIX 250). Hdt. IX 93 has ἐπῆσε (ἐπῆσε *ABC*).

ἐξωνείρωσε the vulgate in Hippokr. V 196, where *CDHIK* have -ασε, should be derived from ἐξονειρόω. Littré reads -ωξε. A guttural stem in the verb in -ωσσω denoting a disease is rare; but Plato has ὀνείρωξις, Aristotle ὀνειρωγμός. *Cf.* ἀμβλυώσσω and ἀμβλυωγμός.

μύζω has in Homer the aorist ἐπέμυζαν Δ 20 = Θ 457. In Hippokr. V 200 the vulgate ἔμυσεν (ἔμυσσεν *HIK*) has been regarded as a case of the confusion of a δ with a guttural stem. But after ὁκότε εἶη, ἔμυξε is clearly right. On the same page, further down, *J* has ἔμυσσε, *DG* ἔμυξε, where only the imperfect is correct.

For ἐπύρεσε from πυρέσσω have a fever, which Kühn adopts, Littré accepts ἐπυρέτηνεν V 150, and the imperf. ἐπύρεσσε V 216, 230. σ forms in aorist active and passive of εἰλίσσω have been discarded by Littré.

There are not a few cases where later Ionic refuses to permit the substitution of σ, which was adopted by the post-classical (not Doric) language, *e.g.* στηρίζω, ἐστήριξα, -άμην in Hippokr.

ἀρμόζω has a dental stem, despite ἀρμογή.



Conversely we have the guttural where -σ- was in place. ἐπέεσα occurs in Hdt. IX 63, Hippokr. III 436, IV 386 etc., but in III 434 πείξῃς is the vulgate reading (here *C* and other MSS. have πείξῃς, whence Littré πείξῃς); πεπίεσμαι Hippokr. II 270, V 196, VII 520, but πεπίεγμαι III 432 *bis*, 436, 450, 560; ἐπέεσθην VI 368, Hdt. IV 11 (not πιασθέντας), but ἐπιέχθην Hippokr. III 324, 434, &c. Hippokr. used πείξις for πείσις III 434, 560, IV 272.

Ktesias, *Pers.* 29, 59 has a form not Ionic in παίξασα. Hdt. has πέπαισται (cf. Eust. 1594<sub>46</sub>). παίζουνται Xenoph. *Symp.* 9, 2 is well put into the mouth of a Syrakusan.

ἐναρίζω forms its future and aorist in Homer in ξ; and in *O. K.* 1733 (ch.) we find ἐπενάριξον. ἡνάρισεν in Anakreon's (?) eleg. 100<sub>4</sub> as well as Hipponax' (42) ἀπηναρίσθη and κατηναρισμένος in *Aias* 26 point to a dental stem. ἐναρίζω, like πολεμίζω, is made from an o stem, and both have adopted ξ by analogy to στίζω, &c.

αὐδάζω would seem to have a dental stem properly (cf. αὐδάω); yet we find ἡὐδαξάμην Hdt. II 57, V 51, and similar forms elsewhere. The verb seems to fall into the class of those in -ζω which express sustained sounds. βάζω *speak*, certainly is derived from the stem βακ-, whence ἐμβιβάζαντες Hipponax 53 (ἐμβιβάζω). ἀλθέζονται (*sic*) Aret. 157 is from ἀλθέσσω, ἀλθεσθῆναι Hippokr. IV 126 from ἄλθομαι.

νέναγμαι, Hippokr. VII 520, is probably derived from a guttural stem; cf. ἐναξα φ 122, Hdt. VII 36. νένασμαι (MSS. *Ekkles.* 840), if correct, has -σμαι by analogy. Dindorf has νεναγμένοι. σπαδίζας in Hdt. V 25 has the stem σπαδικ-.

**3. Short stem vowels before the sigma of the aorist.** The short vowel is properly in place only in those primitive or denominative verbs whose stem ended originally in σ, and whose aorist (and future) σσ has, partly even in Homer, suffered a reduction to a single σ. Thus ἔξεσα represents ἔξεσ-σα, ἡκεσάμην, ἡκεσ-σάμην. This aorist is an inheritance from proethnic times<sup>1</sup>, and thus the property of all the dialects. The later Ionic like Attic uniformly adopted the forms with a single σ, which in Homer coexist with those in σσ.

It is a matter of extreme difficulty to decide in all cases

<sup>1</sup> The σσ aorist has been compared by Bezenberger in *B. B.* III 159 with the Skt. aorist in -sisham. The original inflection was in the singular -sesm, in the plural -ssgt. Sanskrit (cf. *ayāsisham*) extended the singular forms into the plural, while in Greek the plural gained the upper hand over the singular forms. See also Fick in *G. G. A.*, 1881, p. 1429, Mahlow *K. Z.* XXVI 584, Schulze *K. Z.* XXIX 266, and in opposition Brugmann *M. U.* III 83, who assents to the view of Leskien in Curtius' *Studien* II 67. Another view is brought forward by Fröhde, *B. B.* IX 115. See also Curtius' *Verbum* II 394, Johansson *D. V. G.* 207, Solmsen *K. Z.* XXIX 105.

whether or not a stem ended in *sigma*<sup>1</sup>. Some of the verbs arranged below as non-sigmatic stems are classed by Brugmann, *Grundr.* II § 842, with those whose sigmatic ending is beyond doubt. Thus ἀλέω, ἐμέω and καλέω are referred (though doubtfully) by Brugmann to the first class; so too σtorέω and εἰρύω.

By analogy with the verbs with stems in *sigma* (or in a dental mute), σσ(σ) effected an entrance into verbs with vocalic stems<sup>2</sup>. Thus we have ἐκάλε-σσα by analogy with ἐτέλεσ-σα, and ἐκάλεσσα = ἐτέλεσσα, as we have ἐπέεσσι, φερόντεσσι with -εσσι borrowed from στήθεσ-σι, ἔπεισ-σι. Such forms as καλέ-σσαι, ὁμό-σσα appear, so far as the literary monuments are concerned, chiefly in the Homeric poems and in the literature dependent upon Homeric diction. In the dialects they are confined entirely to that branch of the Aiolians which settled in Lesbos and the adjacent mainland; though no reason may readily be discovered for any such restriction. If it was possible for Aiolic, it was possible for all the dialects in a primitive period to have conformed the inflection of καλέω to that of τελέω.

It has been held by some scholars<sup>3</sup> that originally all verbs with vocalic stems had -σσ, whether the vowel was long or short. This hypothesis would lead to the assumption that λῦσαι was formed from \*λῦσσαι by a law operative in all the dialects in the earliest period of their existence, and that καλέσσαι became καλέσαι in earlier or later periods of the dialect life of the language. That is, that Aiolic and Homeric Greek still represent the primitive, the other dialects a later stage of development. Of these contentions the latter at least may be demonstrated to be erroneous. Dialect other than Aiolic, which uniformly retain σσ after a short vowel in verbs in dental or sigmatic stems, show no trace of σσ in vocalic stems, either in their earliest or their latest monuments. Where the preceding vowel was long as in λῦσαι, the non-expulsion of σ is due to the analogy of \*ἐλυσ-σ, \*ἐλυστ, &c.

As in the case of sigmatic, so in that of vocalic stems, the later Ionic refuses to adopt the σσ of the Homeric dialect.

In the development of the inflection of vocalic stems on the lines of those ending in σ, we may observe that the -σσ (σ readily found a place in such verbs as had a root or stem of two syllables, such as ὦλε-σα. Much more noteworthy are those cases in which -εσ-, not -ησ-, appears in verbs derived from nouns with o stems and those that form some of their tenses by the addition of ε to the stem. Many of the latter verbs present considerable difficulty, unless we throw them all into the class

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 90 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The cause of this transference by analogy has not as yet been satisfactorily explained. Between ἐτέλεσ-σα and ἐκάλε-σσα there is not absolute equality, and ἐκάλεσσα, as is shown in the note, is not original. The analogy assumed cannot have been effective until ἐτέλεσσα was reduced to ἐτέλεσα.

<sup>3</sup> Mahlow, *K. Z.* XXVI 585, Hoffmann, *G. G. A.*, 1889, p. 880.



represented by ὄλεσα; but in some cases it may easily be shown that the -εσ- forms are late, that is, formed on the lines of ἐτέλεσα (or in some cases on the analogy of verbs of like function) in the post-Homeric, but pre-Herodoteian period. Such occurrences as show earlier -ησ- for later -εσ- are noted in the two lists which are given below. Conversely we sometimes find in the later dialect the original, in the earlier the later form, *e.g.* Herodoteian ἐστέρησα, Homeric ἐστέρεσα. Herodotos does not always show short vowel + σ where Homer has short vowel + σ or σσ.

The two lists contain only such examples of aorists (active and middle) with a short vowel before σ, as we have observed in post-Homeric Ionic literature. As far as was possible, there has been included no aorist which may be ascribed to a present, actually existing or supposed, in -ζω<sup>1</sup> or -θω. A δ stem, too, has σ, not the epic σσ, in the later dialect, *e.g.* ἐκόμισαν Hdt. V 98, ἐκομίσαντο Iasos 1057.

*Sigmatic Stems.* ἀκέομαι Hdt. IV 90, Hippokr. IV 368, VI 588; ἀρέσκω Hdt. III 63 (Homer -σ- and -σσ-, Theog. 762 ἀρεσσάμενοι); ἀρκέω Hdt. II 115; γελάω Hdt. VIII 114 (ἐγέλασσε Theog. 9); (ἀμφι)έννυμι Hippokr. VII 194; ἔραμαι: Archil. 30 ἡράσσατο (cf. ἡρήσατο Lukian, *Syria dea* 17, from ἔράω). Cf. § 372. In Homer we find ἡρασάμην and ἡρᾶσάμην. ζέω Hdt. I 59, VII 13, Hippokr. VII 158, 354, VIII 434; ζώννυμι Hippokr. IV 122; κορέννυμι Theog. 1158, Solon 1373; κεράννυμι Hdt. V 124, VII 151, Hippokr. I 578, VII 348, 422 (cf. κρήσας VII 254, κέκρημαι I 600, II 270, Hdt. III 106, ἐκρήθην Hippokr. I 616, Hdt. IV 152); [το μαίομαι has been referred by some ἐσμασάμενος in Hippokr. IV 198; this would if correct be the only occurrence in prose (cf. Hom. ἐσεμάσσατο). Since Erotian glossed the word with ἐμβαλῶν, and Galen has ἐμβαλόμενος, it is much more probable that it is derived from ἐσμάσσω. Cf. VIII 148 where the participle occurs a second time]; μύω Hippokr. V 234 (ἐμύσα); ξέω Hippokr. VII 276; [ποθέω: Hdt. IX 22 ἐπόθεσαν as in Homer O 219, β 375, δ 748, but III 36 ἐπόθησε and ἐπιποθήσειν V 93, with which cf. ἐπόθησα, ποθήσω in Xenophon, &c.; ποθέσομαι, ἐπόθεσα are also Attic. ποθεινός is probably not an analogical formation. ἀπόθεστος ρ 296 is ἀπό-θεστος not ἀ-πόθεστος]; πτύω Hippokr. IV 218, V 406, VI 184, VII 82 (ϋ); σπάω Hdt. III 29, Hippokr. VI 210, 212. Aretaios 103 has the strange form σπῆσαι; τελέω Hippokr. III 420 (the rare middle); τρέω Tyrt. 1114, Hdt. VII 231, a verb not often found in early prose; φλάω Hippokr. III 218, VII 158.

*Non-Sigmatic Stems.* αινέω Hdt. I 80, 90, V 113, Thasos 726. The form with η is morphologically and chronologically older. ῥνησα Homer, Theog. 969; ἄλλέω Hippokr. VI 454, VII 170, 266 (Homer ἄλεσσα); ἀνύω: Hdt. I 91 ῥνυσε;

<sup>1</sup> Curtius was prone to the method of defending the aorists with short vowel which referred the forms in question to supposed presents in -ζω. Thus, because it was derived from \*προκαλέζω, he regarded προκαλέσσατο, H 218, as a more archaic form than προκαλίζετο Γ 19. So γελάσω he derived from \*γελάζω, ἐλκυσθῆναι from \*ἐλκύζω. Apart from these errors, it is, in fact, oftentimes difficult to set aside with certainty the reference to a δ or γ stem.



ἡνύσατο, Hippokr. IX 420, is now abandoned in Hdt. I 91; δαίρομαι Hdt. VIII 121, II 4, VII 121; ἐλαύνω Hdt. I 59, I 77. Sim. Am. 17 has ἡλσάμην which Veitch (p. 240, cf. p. 224) puts under the head of ἐλαύνω regarding it as a syncopated form. It rather belongs to ἔλσα Λ 413; cf. Ibykos 55; ἐλκύω Hdt. I 179, II 65, VII 167 (not ἐλκῦσαι), Hippokr. VI 46, IV 106; ἐμέω Hdt. I 133, Hippokr. II 696, VII 12, 28, 60, 86, 100, 110, 112, 194, 288, &c. (many cases); ἐμέσθεται II 494, a rare form (ἐμέεται fut., Ermerins with A C; ὑπερήμησα occurs in VII 10, 30, 32 (rejected by Veitch); εἰρύω Hdt. I 141, II 38, 136, III 30, IV 10, VII 24, VIII 96, IX 96, Hippokr. VI 166, 172, 194, 198, VII 16 (εἰρύσωσι and ἐρύσωσι on the same page are read by Littré. For the latter II has εἰρύσωσι), VII 552, VIII 108. Hdt. IV 8 and Arrian, *Ind.* 38, have εἰρυσάμενος. [Leskien, Curtius, and Brugmann regard the stem of ἐρύω as ἐρυσ-]; ἰλάσκομαι Hdt. I 67, VIII 112; καλέω Hdt. II 107, VI 67; κρεμάννυμι (late) Hdt. V 77, IX 120, Hippokr. IV 86 (IV 290 not κρεμάσθεται with Galen, but κρέμῃται). This may be from the stem κρεμασ-. μάχομαι in the future has μαχήσομαι in Hdt. The aorist form is, however, ἐμαχεσάμην, e. g. I 18, 82 and in about ten other passages. διαμαχεσώμεθα IX 48 is the only example of the aor. subj.; μεθύσκω Hdt. I 106; ὄζω Hippokr. VIII 488 (Attic ὤξισα represents the original form); ὄλλυμι, Hdt. II 121 (β) where προσαπολέση, not -έσει, is correct, III 36; ὄμνυμι Hdt. I 165, Zeleia 113<sub>10</sub>; πετάννυμι Hdt. III 146; πονέω Hippokr. V 696 (A D), VI 146 (-η- in θ), 164 (-η- in E other hand), 176 (-η- in θ), 184 (-η- vulgo), but ἐπόνῃσα II 322 (-ε- vulgo), VI 290; πονήσατο Sim. Am. 7<sub>15</sub>; ἐπόνῃσα is morphologically and chronologically (Homer) older than ἐπόνεσα; στορέννυμι (late) Hdt. VIII 99, IX 69; τανύω Hdt. V 25, Hippokr. VIII 458 (rare in prose). The present ταννύω cannot be defended (see Veitch). φθάνω, cf. § 592, 4; χαλάω Hippokr. V 258, 390.

4. *Varia.* On ἔδεξα, see § 142, on ἔτεισα, § 214, where it might have been noted that the present in the inscription from Zeleia is ἐκτίνω (113<sub>14</sub>, 21). With this variation between present and aorist, we may compare that in Kretan: τίνω, τίνομαι, but τεισεῖ, &c. τεινύτω occurs in B. C. H. IX 11. The Hippocratic διέρσαι is difficult of defence; see §§ 224, 6, and 382.

Aorists in -α. From καίω we have ἔκαυσα Hdt. VIII 33 (ἐκαυσάμην I 202, VIII 19, a form found here only; cf. epic ἐκηάμην), Hippokr. VII 242, 424. The epic ἔκηεν in Hippokr. V 216 (vulgo ἔκκυεν) is noteworthy, both on account of its appearance in prose (in the sense of κατακαίει III 258), and because of the retention of the η. ἔκεα < ἔκηα occurs in an Attic prose inscription (C. I. A. I 324, A I 43, C II 13) of the year 408 B. C.<sup>1</sup>; and is the Old Attic literary form (tragedy and in a chorus in Aristoph.) ἔκαυσα appears in a later Attic inscription, and in Thukydides, Plato, &c. In connexion with the use of the first aorist in Ionic literary prose, it may be noted that ἐκάην was adopted by Ionic (Hdt. II 107, 180, IV 79, Hippokr. V 214, VI 330, VIII 200), but not by Attic.

χέω yields ἔχεα Hdt. VIII 57, Hippokr. VII 422. The epic ἔχευεν appears in Archil. 103<sub>2</sub> (epod.), which Fick wrongly attempted to displace by ἔχευσεν, a form that does not occur till the Anthology. ἔχευσα in Homer has long been abandoned (cf. v. l. H 86, Ψ 45): so too ἀποχύσας Hippokr. VIII 200. Hdt. and Hippokr. have ἐχεάμην, which is a rare form in early prose. Other -α aorists are ἡνεικα, on which see § 608, and εἴπα.

ā should be noted in the following: Attic ἐξεράσῃς Hippokr. VII 96, from

<sup>1</sup> ἐγκέ[αντι], not ἐγκή[αντι], as G. Meyer, *Gram.* § 527, writes.

ἐξερᾶω *pour out*. In ἐγῆρᾶσα Hdt. II 146, VII 114, γεγῆρακε Hrd. 6<sub>51</sub> we observe an *ā* which recurs in γηρᾶσέμεν Sim. Keos 85<sub>9</sub> (eleg.), for which Bergk regarded γηρησέμεν as the proper Ionic form. But ρη never appears in this verb. May we assume that the Ionic ρᾶ is due to the influence of ἐγῆρᾶ in Hom. and Hdt. VI 72 and the ρᾶ of γῆρας, γηρᾶσσω? ἐγῆρα is an imperfect in form rather than an aorist (=Skt. *ajārit*), though γηράω in the present is not attested before Xenophon. If an aorist we should expect \*ἐγῆρη (cf. ἔδρη). We may assume as the present γῆρᾶμι (γηράς P 197) which in the imperfect (ἐγῆρα) was inflected as a contract-verb. ἐγῆρα became an aorist because of the disappearance of γῆρᾶμι, and the general use of γηράσσω (Hom., Sim. Am. 7<sub>86</sub>, Hdt.). In H 148, P 197, ξ 67, Hdt. II 146 ἐγῆρα has the aoristic function. We are unable to observe the shade of difference in use between γηράω (γῆρας) and γηράσσω (γῆρασις) noted by Ammonios. On γηρεῖς, see § 636, 2.

It is generally believed that in παλήσειε VIII 21, Herodotos has preserved the only<sup>1</sup> occurrence of a verb παλέω = παλαίω. ἐκπαλήσασιν Hippokr. III 552, ἐκπαλήσῃ IV 240, which were formerly referred to this present, are, we believe, now regarded by most scholars as derived from an ἐκπαλέω < ἐκπαλής, which is to be connected with πάλ-λω. If παλήσειε is from παλέω, the latter must be held to be an 'Ionic' form, and placed in the same category as ὀρέω, πολμέω, &c. But nothing prevents us from deriving παλήσειε from παλάω and regarding the latter as the denominative of πάλῃ. παλαίω is not a denominative from πάλῃ, as Curtius, *Verbum* I 340, held, because of the retention of *ι* as *ι* before *ω*. Whether Aiolie πάλαιμι (Hdn. II 930<sub>5</sub>) is anything more than the equivalent of παλάω may well be doubted. That this Aiolie form is the πάλαιμι which is set up by some as the original form, which was changed to παλαίω from the analogy of \*κναῖμι, κναίω, is out of the question. The source of verbs in -αίω, some of which have parallels in -άω, *e. g.* χαλαίω, σταλαίω, is still under dispute. Cf. Johansson, *D. V. G.* 176, who maintains that παλαίω has followed the lines of development of such primitives as κναίω, ψαίω; and latterly, Solmsen in *K. Z.* XXIX 98, who thinks παλαίω is from \*παλαίσ-ω, παλήσειε from παλήω. These two forms are, Solmsen contends, amplifications of the root παλ by -αις and -η.

The first aorist ἀνέγνωσα is found only in Ionic prose, and only in the sense *persuaded*<sup>2</sup>, *e. g.* Hdt. I 68, &c., Hippokr. IV 80. The present ἀναγινώσκω is also employed as the present of ἀνέγνωσα (cf. Hdt. VII 10 (θ)), but is not, like that aorist, confined to Ionic. ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, Hdt. VIII 110, occurs in the meaning *had been persuaded*, ἀναγνωσθεῖς = ἀναπεισθεῖς, IV 154.

συνάξαντες Hdt. VII 60, if from ἄγω, is the only example in the Ionic of Hdt. of the first aorist. The preferable reading is συννάξαντες from συννάσσω.

<sup>1</sup> Hesychios has, looking to the passage in Hdt., παλήσειε· διαφθαρείη; and also ἐπάλλησεν· ἐφθάρη (where ἐπάλλησεν is to be read), πεπαληκέναι· ἐκπεσεῖν (in Photios = ἐκπίπτειν τὰ πλοῖα), πεπαλημέναι· βεβλαμμέναι.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Greg. Kor. § 95. The schol. on Dionys. Thrax in Villoison's *Anecd. Graec.* II 179 erroneously states that ἀνέγνων means *persuaded*, in Hdt. I 87, where ἀνέγνω is wrongly cited for ἀνέγνωσε. Bast quotes from the Et. Leidens. ἀνάγνωσις . . . παρὰ δὲ Θουκυδίδῃ ἡ ἀνάπεισις, καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν τὸ ἀναπεῖθειν (!). Suidas' remark (s. v. ἀνάγνωσις): ἀναγινώσκειν παρὰ ῥήτορσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναπεῖθειν refers to Andokides. M. Schmidt refers the Hesychian gloss ἀναγνῶναι· ἀναπεῖσαι to Hippokrates IV 80, where we read ἀναγνῶσαι. Erotian and Galen have ἀναγνῶναι· μεταπεῖσαι, μεταδιδάξαι. Hesychios has also ἀναγινώσκειν· τείθειν.



Instances of aorists formed from a stem with the increment  $\epsilon$  or otherwise noteworthy are:— $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\sigma\alpha$  Hippokr. V 468,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta\eta\sigma\alpha$  Hdt. IV 152,  $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$  Hippokr. VII 198, a verb rarely employed in prose. An unusual form in early Greek is  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\sigma\alpha$  Hippokr. II 112;  $\tilde{\eta}\sigma\alpha$ , Anakr. 148, is rare (Pollux III 98:  $\tilde{\eta}\delta\omega$  Ἴωνικὸν καὶ τὸ  $\tilde{\eta}\sigma\epsilon$  (*vulgo*  $\tilde{\eta}\delta\epsilon$ ) σπάνιον μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν, Ἀνακρέων δ' αὐτὸ εἶρηκεν, Ἴων καὶ ποιητῆς ἀνήρ). From  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$  we have  $\tilde{\eta}\phi\alpha\sigma\alpha$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\sigma\omega$  Hdt. III 69). Littré's emendation  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$ , Hippokr. VII 326, would imply a confusion with  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\alpha}\omega$  (or a verb  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ).  $\theta$  has  $\sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\eta$ , Vat.  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$ , whence Ermerins  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma$ .

### 594.] Second Aorist.

$\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega$  (§ 129) yields  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\mu\omega$  in inscriptions, but Herodotos has  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\mu\omega$  II 162, IV 201, VII 132, &c. In III 69 the inscriptional form is well supported. Hippokrates has  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\mu\omega$ , *e.g.* VII 70, 152.  $\omega\phi\lambda\epsilon\epsilon$ , Hdt. VIII 26 (in *Rz*), is a false form, apparently due to a confusion between  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  and  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  which was a late present. Cf. Cobet, *Var. Lect.*, 129.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\chi\epsilon\epsilon$ , Hdt. I 118, it is vain to attempt to defend, though found in all MSS. Archil. 73 has  $\tilde{\eta}\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa\omega$ . In Ibykos, Pindar, Simonides of Keos, and the tragic poets the form is  $\tilde{\eta}\mu\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\omega$ . No present  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omega$  is found, but in Doric we have  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omega$ . From the aorist form as a point of departure, it was sought to extend the verb into other tenses, but the attempt was not successful. Bloomfield (*A. J. P.* VI 46) connects  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon$  with Skt. *mlecchati*, and suggests that the  $\pi$  of  $\tilde{\eta}\mu\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\omega$  is due to association of the word by popular etymology with  $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega$  or  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ .

$\acute{\epsilon}\chi\alpha\delta\omega$ , poetic like  $\chi\alpha\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ , occasionally appears in Ionic prose. Hdt. has  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\omega$ . On  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\sigma\omega$ , see § 607.

### 595.] Perfect.

On augment and reduplication, see §§ 578 ff., 583 ff.

1. Endings.  $\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  is the regular termination of the third person plural in prose (*e.g.* Iasos 1055), and poetry, except Xenophanes'  $\pi\epsilon\phi\acute{\eta}\nu\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota\upsilon$  and  $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ <sup>1</sup>, formations similar to Homeric  $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\chi\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  λ 324,  $\pi\epsilon\phi\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  η 114, and like forms in Empedokles, Antimachos, and in the dialect of Phokis. This  $\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  is equivalent to Skt.  $\tilde{\alpha}ti$  of reduplicating verbs, and has been forced into the perfect from its old and proper home in the present<sup>2</sup>.

Assimilation of the perfect to the aorist ending ( $\sigma$ )- $\alpha\nu$  occurs in  $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\phi\alpha\nu$ . Smyrna, Ditt. *Syll.* 17138 (246–222 B. C.). The form is late, not specially Ionic. In late Lakonian we find  $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\kappa\alpha\nu$  (Ditt. *Syll.* 2553).

2. The 'second' perfect, the older formation which preserves unaspirated a final  $\kappa$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\beta$  of the stem, appears in later Ionic as in other dialects.

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Hdn. II 169; not in Bergk.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVII 394, cf. Osthoff, *M. U.* I 100, Monro, *H. G.* § 7.



Examples of the unaspirated forms are *ἔηγα* (see § 582), *ἔοργα*, *ἔρρωγα*<sup>1</sup> (not in Homer, but in Archil. and Hippokr.), *κέκραγα* (with non-Ionic *ā* in Hippokr. VIII 66), *λέληκα* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>15</sub>, *πέπρηγα* have fared (*πέπρηχα* have done is also Ionic), *οἶκα* (see § 582), *πέφευγα*, *τέθηπα*, *τέτηκα*, *τέτριγα*. *ἀνέφγα* is found only in a letter of Hippokr. (IX 394), where it has the rare active sense.

Other examples of the second perfect worthy of note for various reasons are *διέφθορα* = *am ruined* Hippokr. VIII 246, as in Homer, *δέδρομα* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>89</sub>, whereas both Hdt. and Hippokr. have the later *κ* form *δεδρόμηκα*, *λέληθα* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>9</sub> and Hdt., but not in Homer, *ἐλήλυθα* = epic *ἐλ-* and *εἰλήλουθα*, *πέφηνα* (not *πέφαγκα*) rare in prose, *ἄρηρα* Hippokr. IX 366; *δέδιε* Hippokr. VIII 36, *δεδιέναι* V 414, *δεδιώς* VI 210 (rejected by Littré). *τέτροφα* is the perfect of *τρέφω* Hippokr. VI 380. *γέγονα*, not *γεγέννημαι* (Hippokr. IX 382), is Herodoteian. On *ἔωθα*, *εἴωθα*, see § 582. The absence of *γέγηθα* from Ionic prose is noteworthy, as this form occurs in the epic, in Attic prose and poetry, and in Doric. *γέγραπφα*, in a late inscription from Priene (*British Museum Inscriptions*, III, 1, no. 4127) might have been mentioned under § 362.

3. The 'first,' or aspirated, perfect is foreign to the epic dialect, but appears in the later Ionic.

Forms worth special notice are *δια-* and *ἐμπέπλοχε* Hippokr. IX 190, and *ἐμπέπλεχε* 192 (*ἐμπέπλεκε* three MSS.). In the case of the forms with ablaut there are variants *-πλεχε*. Hdn. II 356<sub>21</sub> = Choirob. 548<sub>13</sub>, calls *πέπλοχα*, &c. Attic, while *πέπλεχα* (-εξα Lentz), *πέπεμφα*, *βέβρεχα* are referred to the Κοινή. The scholiast on H 346 (*τετρηχυῖα*) says that *τέτρηχα* is the result of 'Ionic syncope' for *τετάραχα*. The later Ionic used *τετάραγμα* (Hdt., Hippokr.).

4. Whatever the origin of the *κ* perfect<sup>2</sup>, the forms that served as models for the ever increasing spread of this formation must be sought in those perfects which are derived from stems in long vowels. Even in the case of vocalic stems, the only stems which in Homer have *κ* in this tense, the epic dialect does not invariably adopt the *κ* form. The following were inherited by the later dialect from Homer.

*βέβηκα*, *βέβληκα*, *βέβρωκα*, *δεδάηκα*, *δεδείπνηκα*, *δέδυκα*, *ἔστηκα*, *μέμυκα*, *πέφυκα*, *ῥχωκα* or *οἴχωκα*, *τέθνηκα*, *τετύχηκα* (certain only in *κ* 88; in P 748 -*χηώς* Herakl. Miles.). In Homer the *κ* forms are used in the singular number with but rare exceptions.

The perfect without *κ*, which in the participle of vocalic stems is more frequent in Homer than that with *κ*, was regarded by the ancient grammarians as a specific mark of the Ionic dialect. Homeric forms are noticed by Theognostos in An. Ox. II 151<sub>32</sub>; Choirob. 829<sub>11</sub> (cf. Hdn. II 296<sub>21</sub> ff.); An. Ox. I 99<sub>33</sub>, II 355<sub>7</sub>, Schol. L on E 698, Et. M. 193<sub>25</sub>, 501<sub>1</sub>; Et. Gud. 106<sub>43</sub>, 121<sub>7</sub>, 318<sub>19</sub>; Eust. 282<sub>38</sub>, 443<sub>29</sub> (cf. 561<sub>11</sub>, 595<sub>21</sub>), 1700<sub>48</sub> (cf. 1714<sub>49</sub>). The *ω* of *τε-  
θνεῖωτος* was held to be Ionic, Eust. 1336<sub>62</sub>. On *πεφυζώς*, see § 377, 4, note.

<sup>1</sup> Bekker's *ἔρρηγμα* Hdt. II 12, which suggests the Herakleian *ἔρρηγα*, is not to be defended.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Johansson, *Beiträge zur gr. Sprachkunde*, for the fullest discussion of the subject.

From the analogy of the perfects with  $\kappa$  preceded by a long vowel, were formed those with  $\kappa$  after a short vowel, *e.g.* ἀπολώλεκα, ἐλήλακα, ἐμήμεκα, verbs whose future and aorist had  $\sigma$  preceded by a short vowel. In such forms as πέπλυκα, the point of departure was the perfect middle. Finally stems ending in a dental explosive (κεκόμικα) fell into line.

In the following note are given forms noteworthy for various reasons.

Hdt. uses a late formation λελάβηκε III 42, 65, &c., = Attic εἴληφα and εἴληφα < \*σέσληφα. With λελάβηκε, cf. λελάβηκας Euseb. Mynd. 51, λάψετα Miletos 100<sub>1</sub>, κατελάβθη Zeleia 1137. Hippokrates III 308 has ἀναλελάβθη according to the MSS. In the middle Hdt. has ἀπολελαμμένοι IX 51. Οὐ νένωκα Hdt. III 6, from νενόηκα, see § 296. ἄδηκα, Hippon. 100, is the only occurrence of this tense-form in literature. δεδοίκωσι is found in Hippokr. IV 166, δεδοικώς Hdt. I 107. On πεπλώκαμεν, see § 78, on εἰσχηκα, § 216. In Ionic prose we find ἀπείρηκα, -εῖρημαι, not ἀπηγόρευκα, -ευναι. τέθνηκα appears in composition with a preposition (Hippokrates). γεγήρακα is used by Hrd 6<sub>31</sub> (see § 593, 4). On ὀρώρηκα and ἀκήκουκα in Hrd., see §§ 582, 583, 2.

### 596.] Pluperfect.

The first person ends in -εα<sup>1</sup> (ἑώθεα, ἦδεα Hdt.), the second would end in -εας<sup>2</sup> in the dialect of the fifth century, we venture to believe. κατειλήφεις<sup>3</sup> Hippokr. IX 382 contains the later -εις. In the third person -εε<sup>4</sup> makes its appearance in about twenty five verbs in Hdt., whose MSS. reject the form in -ει. Examples are ὀπώπεε, ἐτετεύχεε (cf. τετυχῆκης Hippokr. III 434, ἀκηκόεε, ἐστήκεε (-ει Hippokr. V 150).

In Hdt. VIII 79 for προακήκοε of all MSS. we read -όει (cf. VII 208). Occasionally the close association in form between imperfect and pluperfect (cf. ἐπενήνοθε, ἐγέγωνε in Homer) caused such readings as ἐλήλυθε VIII 5 (all MSS.).

The termination -εε reappears in Lukian's *Syr. dea* ἐγεγόνε 4, 25, ἐπεπόνθεε 25, ἑώθεε 35, ἀπολελοίπεεν 26, Euseb. ἀπεστήκε 9. Hippokrates differs from Herodotos in that he adopts -ε *e.g.* ἐμπεφύκει II 246, ἀφωρμήκει V 122, ἐκεκράγει V 396 (with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Apollon. *Adv.* 1917 (Schneider), Hdn. II 326<sub>20</sub> = Choirob. 600<sub>34</sub> (cf. 564<sub>26</sub>, 860<sub>23</sub>), Hdn. II 835<sub>23</sub> = Choirob. 866<sub>24</sub>; An. Ox. IV 211<sub>30</sub>, An. Par. I 320<sub>23</sub>, IV 232<sub>30</sub>, Et. Mag. 386<sub>15</sub>, Et. Gud. 236<sub>21</sub>, Eust. 50<sub>27</sub>, 718<sub>18</sub>, 1589<sub>11</sub>, 1946<sub>20</sub>; but in 881<sub>66</sub> εἰρήκη and εἰστήκη are put down as Ionic. εἰστήκη Hippokr. IX 352, is late.

<sup>2</sup> -εεσ is fabricated from the later -εις by Choirob. 601<sub>27</sub> (cf. Et. Mag. 386<sub>21</sub>), who was misled by -εε for -ει.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Littré and Ermerins. καταλελαβήκεις, which occurs in four MSS. recalls Hdt. λελαβήκεε III 42.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hdn. II 193<sub>23</sub> = Choirob. 560<sub>7</sub> (cf. 601<sub>11</sub>); Et. Mag. 386<sub>21</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> Homeric -ει (ὀδῶδει, ὀρώρει) Eust. 1523<sub>13</sub>, who is there treating of the reduplication. Asios 4 has εἰστήκει. Homeric -ειν (ἐστήκειν, βεβλήκειν) referred to by Choirob. 560<sub>4</sub>.



Attic *ā*), ἐγεγόνει IX 382<sup>1</sup>. The single example from the inscriptions<sup>2</sup> is of too late a date to render certain, what on the whole seems probable enough, that in the ordinary, inartistic speech of the fifth century -εε had yielded to -ει.

Plural forms are not at hand in the case of the first person<sup>3</sup>. συνηδέατε occurs in Hdt. IX 58. -εσαν<sup>4</sup>, not -εισαν, is Ionic. Thus Hdt. has ἐώθεσαν, ἐγεγόνεσαν, ἠλώκεσαν, Hippokr. μεμαθήκεσαν I 592, προηριστήκεσαν II 290, ἐξεπεφύκεσαν V 124 (Littre -εισαν).

### 597.] Subjunctive.

*Present.* -ησι appears in Theog. 139, ἐθέλῃσι (Bergk with most MSS. -η-, but *A* has -η-), and in ἐλαύνησι Hdt. I 188, in such excellent MSS. as *A B C*. The form has no justification in prose.

*Aorist.* Traces in later Ionic of the original identity of the aorist subjunctive and the future indicative are given in § 239. The proper form of the aorist of τίνω is ἔτεια, as is evident from ἐκτείωσι Zeleia II 335 (cf. § 214), dating shortly after 334 B.C. An earlier and Attic example of ἐκτείωσι is found in C. I. A. II 14, A 8, 13 (before 378 B.C.). Hdt. has ἐπιβέωμεν VII 50.

*Perfect.* Hippocrates, IV 166, makes use of the rare form δεδοίκωσι. δεδοίκως is rare in prose (Hdt. I 107, Hippokr. II 16). Other examples of the simple (not periphrastic) form are τευχήκης Hippokr. III 434, βεβρώκη VIII 350, τεθήλη VI 654 conj.), ἐξεληλύθη VII 24, ἐκπεπτώκη IV 240, VIII 148.

ἀνώγωμεν Hrd. 331 may be noted because this verb is used in Ionic prose (Hdt. VIII 104 ἀνώγη). Hrd. 7101 has a present ἀνώγουσα; cf. ἀνώγει Hdt. VII 104 (ἀνωγε?). In Hdt. III 81 the imperfect ἀνωγε is probably perfect. On ἀνωγε see Mekler *Beitr. z. Bild. d. gr. Verb.* p. 48. Danielsson *Nord. tidskr. f. filol.* VII 138, refers ἀνώγω to ἀνάγω.

### 598.] Optative.

1. An occurrence of the rare future optative is ἤξοι Hdt. I 27 (ἤξει *Rd*).

2. The endings of the first aorist optative are -εας, -ειε (-αι?)<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> These forms show that ἐλελήθη, the vulgate reading in III 418, is an error for -ει; cf. V 208. ἐγεγόνει appears in Menekrates, ἐδεδίδει Aretaios 81.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπηγοράκει Erythr. 206 A 17.

<sup>3</sup> -ειμεν Choirob. 564<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Hdn. II 279, = Choirob. 606<sup>14</sup>; An. Ox. IV 193<sup>16</sup>, An. Par. IV 19<sup>11</sup>, Et. Mag. 386<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> ῥίψαι II 100 may be read as an infinitive, συμβουλεύσαι III 156 is due to Stephanus. Both are adopted by Dindorf. ῥίψαι is generally accepted by recent editors (Baehr ῥίψαι).



-ειαν, and -αιεν. Hdt. has ποιήσειαν (cf. Teos 156 B 30), δομήσειαν, etc., with -ειαν as in Homer. This ending is therefore not specifically Aiolie (cf. Hdn. II 823<sub>16</sub>, &c.). διαφυλάξαιεν Hdt. VI 101, ἀποδέξαιεν VIII 35, συνενέγκαιεν VII 152 (the only cases of -αιεν) contain an ending constructed from the model -οιεν.

3. In the second aorist we may note εἵροις, adopted by Littré in Hippokr. I 590. Here there is the *v. l.* εὔροις which is adopted VIII 326; cf. Hrd. 6<sub>2</sub>. Hdt. uses εἵποι not εἵπαι.

4. Herodotos does not use the perfect active optative form in -οιην. Cf. περιεληλύθαι, βεβρώκοι, πεποιήκοι, ἡλώκοι; in the plural -οιεν in πεποιήκοιεν. τεθναίην occurs in Mimn. 1, καθεστήκοι in Hippokr. IX 380. Hdt. has both εἰδείσαν and εἰδέειν, § 702.

### 599.] Imperative.

In Anakr. 75 we find κλῖθι, a form occurring in Homer and tragedy: πῶθι Hrd. 1<sub>82</sub>. From εἵπου we have the second aorist form εἰπέ Hdt. V 111, προειπέτω Hippokr. IV 376, but κατεἰπάτω B. P. W. 1889, 1194, l. 7. Hrd. 3<sub>26</sub> has εἵπα. A pure perfect optative is συμμεμυκέτω Hippokr. IX 54.

### Infinitive.

Some of the ancients held that the occurrence of -εμεν in Homer was warrant of its Ionic character. Cf. An. Ox. I 131<sub>32</sub> ἐλκέμεν, 132<sub>7</sub> εὔρεμεν. So too the Aiolie -μεναι is called Ionic (and Doric) in An. Par. III 145. On the occurrences of these two forms in elegiac, not in iambic poetry see § 700.

### 600.] Future.

1. Liquid Verbs. -έειν is the usual traditional reading in Herodotos and Hippokrates, though contraction had ensued in the fifth century. Hdt. has ἀμνρέειν VII 168, αἰσχυνρέειν IX 5 (the active is rare in prose), Hippokr. ἀποφανρέειν VII 530, ἐπικννρέειν IV 630.

2. Verbs in -ίζω. After the close vowel ι, εε are merged into ει. καταγιεῖν Hdt. I 86, καταπλουτιεῖν VI 132, ἀτρεμιεῖν VII 68 (β)<sup>1</sup>, θεσπιεῖν VIII 135<sup>2</sup>, μακαριεῖν IX 93.

3. Verbs in -άζω. From δικάζω we have the noteworthy ἀποδικᾶν Hdt. I 97. In Attic the σ was never dropped in the verb, and Hdt. has δικασόμενοι I 96. The Ionians seem to have pursued a different course from the Attics in differentiating the

<sup>1</sup> Here PR have ἀτρεμιέειν.

<sup>2</sup> Stein adopts θεσπιέειν, the reading of R, by a strange inconsequence.

active and middle forms. Late writers contract the future middle. *κατασκευᾶν* appears in a late document from Olbia, I. I. G. 2058 B 29, 53. Hdt. has *διασκεδᾶν* I 79 (*σκεδάζω* is late).

### 601.] First Aorist.

Hdt. has *εἶπαι* and *εἶπεῖν*, the very rare *οἶσαι* in *ἀνοῖσαι* I 157, correction of *ἀνῶσαι* of the MSS. Cf. *ἄνοιστος* VI 66. In Homer we have *οἶσον*, in Arkadian *ἐποίησῃ* (subj.).

### 602.] Second Aorist.

The infinitive in *-έειν*<sup>1</sup>, while not unknown to the MSS. of the early Ionic prosaists and the pseudo-Ionists, occurs nowhere else in the monuments of Greek prose literature. It is certain that this form did not first appear in a prose text. Whether it came into existence in a pre-Herodoteian period of the history of the Homeric text (as seems probable), or whether it must be ascribed to a later date, cannot be definitely determined. At all events the *-έειν* forms in Homer represent a misunderstanding of the old *-έεν*. They were foisted upon the epic language by false transcription of EEN through the analogy of *φιλέειν* and congeners<sup>2</sup>. That *-έειν* was substituted for EMEN, as has often been maintained, is not probable.

No Ionic inscription has any other form than *-έιν*. In Theognis 26 one MS. has *ιδέειν*, and in 1190 one (K) has *προφυγέειν*. The genuine forms are amply attested. In the elegiac poets we find everywhere else *-έιν*, and no iambographic poet has *-έειν*. This holds good of some sixteen verbs occurring fifty-one times (elegy 43, iambics 8).

In Herodotos by far the greater number of second aorists end in *-έιν*. In some cases, however, all the MSS. agree in the longer form<sup>3</sup>.

That these forms are due to the activity of pseudo-Ionizing grammarians and scribes, who held that the language of Hdt. was the language of Homer, is clear from the fact that Hdt. is never made guilty of an attempt to create an *ἐλθέειν*, an *εἰπέειν*,

<sup>1</sup> Et. M. 465<sub>49</sub> (cf. 224<sub>51</sub>), Et. Gud. 270<sub>32</sub>, An. Ox. I 216, refer *ιδέειν*, *θανέειν* to the Ionians.

<sup>2</sup> It is but seldom that any aorist in *-έειν* is followed in Homer by a word beginning with a vowel. This makes against our assuming that *-έειν* is a genuine contamination of an aorist *-εεν* (*ε-φεν* or *ε-σεν*) and the present *-έειν* Rhodian *θέμειν* by contamination of *-μεν* and *-ειν*.

<sup>3</sup> The following are only those verbs in which there is absolute consensus. *λέειν* II 111, III 12, 35 [bis], *συμ-* II 10, III 32, 160 (cf. IV 42), *ἀπο-* III 41 (VIII 65), *ὑπερ-* VII 168; *ἐλέειν* I 36; *ἀποθανέειν* I 85, VII 229; *ιδέειν* V 2; *παθέειν* II 141, VII 11 (cf. VI 12, VII 17); *πесέειν* II 141, III 53, 81, V 8 *συμ-* III 120, *μετα-* V 61; *φαγέειν* II 141; *ἀποφυγέειν* I 91, *δια-* I 10, 204, VII 88. In other passages the correct forms of each of these verbs occur, though not without the v. l. *-έειν*. All of these *-έειν* forms are Homeric, though the prepositions do not always agree.



or an ἀγαγέειν, forms which could not find admission into the hexameter save by a synzesis which had equalized them with the ordinary -εῖν. The occurrence of these (false) Homerisms in Hdt. is a signal instance of the effort to render poetical the diction of the historian. The 'sweetness' of the Ionic dialect was due, according to the rhetoricians, to its poetical nature (ἡ γὰρ ῥῖα οὖσα ποιητικὴ φύσει ἐστὶν ἡδεῖα). Herodotos' ποικιλία became his perversion.

In the editions of other Ionic prosaists there are to be found many occurrences of -έειν. The MSS., however, often pronounce against their correctness.

Herakleitos 6 has εἰπεῖν, 114 καταλιπεῖν; Demokr. 188 λαβεῖν (Stob.), 70 τυχεῖν (Stob.), but 135 ἀμαρτέειν, 20<sub>14</sub> κακοπαθέειν (both in Stob.); Diogen. 2 εἰπεῖν. In Hippokrates' Κωακαὶ προγνώσεις, ἐπιδ. τρίτον there are no traces of -έειν. In περὶ διαίτης δξέων, II 224 (cf. I 620), προκαταμαθεῖν occurs, but in II 290 ἀφελέειν is adopted by Littré, and I 624 κακοπαθέειν (-εῖν is however found in A in both places); in περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων, III 258, 260, ἀφελέειν is found without a variant. Elsewhere -εῖν is, we believe, in the genuine works the only form. In the supposititious treatises, as well as in those that are genuine, we have often observed -έειν in Littré's text, e.g. IV 184. ἀγαγέειν was not foisted upon Hippokrates in IV 142, where χανέειν occurs. Aretaios has παθέειν 12, θιγέειν 126, ἰδέειν and ἰδεῖν 126, ξυμβαλέειν 241, Lukian's *Syr dea* παθέειν 25, Euseb. Mynd. ἀπελθεῖν 1, εὐρεῖν 13, 61, λαβεῖν 51, κατασχεῖν 53.

603.] Perfect. On the ending -ναι in the perfect of θνήσκω see § 700. τεθηλέναι occurs in Arrian, *Ind.* 40<sub>4</sub>.

#### 604.] Participle.

1. *Future.* In verbs derived from liquid stems, -εω-, -εο- are uncontracted, e.g. ἐρέων Hdt. VII 49, ἀγγελέοντα IV 14, ἀμνέοντες IX 60. From -ίζω verbs we have ὀπωριεύοντες IV 172 182. οἶσων is found in II 91.

2. *First Aorist.* Greg. K. § 72 says that εἶπας, not εἰπών, is the Ionic form. In Hdt. I 27 εἰπόντα is, however, correct (εἶπαντα A<sup>2</sup>). εἶπας is very common (also in Euseb. Mynd. 1) νήσας, not νηήσας, Hdt. I 50, II 107 (νηέω is not later Ionic). On πρῶσας, see § 267, 4. Hippokr. VII 254 has κρήσας (κινράς) as η 164 κρήσαι. Cf. ἐκρήθην.

3. *Second Aorist.* ἀποκλᾶς Anakr. 17 recalls Homeric οὐτάμενος, γηράς, and is formed as if the present were ἀπόκλημι.

4. *Perfect.* The grammarians<sup>1</sup> state that the Ionians had ο not υι, in the feminine of the perfect participle. The only support for this view to be found in the monuments is the reading of θ in the following participles in Hippokrates: ἐωθοίη

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 368<sub>21</sub> = Choirob. 832<sub>25</sub> (and = Bekk. An. III 1292<sub>15</sub>).



I 200, ἐωθοῖαν 204 (-υι- *vulgo*, -ει- *K*)<sup>1</sup>, τετοκοῖη and τετοκοῖαν III 10, προσπεπτωκοῖαι VIII 312, with which cf. ἐκπεπτωκυῖα V 80. Elsewhere we find only the -υι- forms, with perhaps variant -ει-, e.g. ἀρηρυῖαι IX 394, ἀρηρυῖη IX 366 (-ει- *v.l.*), ἐφθορυῖη VIII 246.

Lobeck<sup>2</sup> held that the -οι- forms represent merely the confusion between υι, οι, and υ that prevailed in later times. This is not probable. Perhaps -υια was changed to -οια under the influence of -ως of the masculine. G. Meyer (*Gram.* p. 308) cites φιάλαι πεπονηκόται from a Delian inscription (*B. C. H.* VI 1, 207), where a much more audacious assault has been made on the masculine. In Lakonian we find βίδεοι (*i.e.* *Φίδεοι*) and ἰδυοι, ἰδυῖοι and ἰδῦοι *overseer* (mentioned by Brugmann *Grundr.* p. 412, 4).

On a late Oropian inscription ('Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1889, 3 ff.) we meet with διερρωῖα, ἀποκαταγεῖαι. The -εια forms occur in inscriptions from Thera (ἐπιτετελεκεῖα, τακεῖα, συναγαγοχεῖα), from Herakleia (ἐρρηγεῖα), and from Attika (γεγονεῖα). The Oropian forms may therefore be Attic. ἐρρωγεῖα as well as Herakleian ρηγεῖα retain the long vowel which is unoriginal in the feminine. We expect ἐρρᾶγεῖα; cf. Homeric ἀρρηῶς, ἀραρυῖα. In Hippocratic ἀρηρυῖα the masculine form prevailed. The relation of the fem. -εῖα to the ordinary -υῖα is to be explained thus: the fem. nom. was -εῖα, the gen. -υῖās, whence -εῖα, -εῖας and -υῖα, -υῖας. Cf. J. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVI 329 ff.

Later Ionic generally adopts the forms of the first in preference to those of the second perfect.

βεβρωκώς is the only κ participial form in Homer which reappears in later Ionic (Hippokr. VI 268). The perfect and pluperfect active and middle of βρώσκω are well represented in Ionic. The following cases of the κ form in the post-Homeric dialect may be noticed. Homer has τεθνηῶς, -ηῶτος and ἔσθας (and Theog. 1205), -ηῶτι and -εῶτι, -ηῶτα and -ῆῶτα, -ηῶτων, -ηῶτας and ἔστας; -ηυῖης, -ηυῖαν (not -κυῖαν δ 734). In post-Homeric Ionic we find the κ form in τεθνηκυῖαν Hippon. 29, cf. τεθνηκώς Theog. 1230. The prose forms in Ionic are τεθνεῶς Hdt. IX 120 (τεθνεῶς Theog. 1192), τεθνεῶτος V 68, τεθνεῶτα Hippokr. VIII 146, τεθνεός Hdt. I 112 (-εῶς in *B*), Hippokr. V 212, VII 350, VIII 220 (-ίος in *θ*). Cf. ἐστηκυῖα and ἐστεῶς, § 701. Homer has βεβᾶς, ἔσθας, βεβῶσα, and -βεβαυῖα. Hippokr. III 282 has ἐπιβεβῶτα (cf. Attic βεβῶς), ἐπιβεβῶτας IV 184. The κ form appears in βεβηκώς Archil. 58<sub>1</sub> (tetr.), βεβηκῶτας 56<sub>3</sub> (tetr.). πεφυῶτας, -υῖα in Hom., πεφυκυῖη Hdt. II 56, -κυῖας Hippokr. dist. 16<sub>6</sub>. Homer has πεπτεῶτας and -εῶτ' from πίπτω. Hekat. 360, Hippokr. I 434 have πεπτωκώς; but in Hippokr. VIII 146 we find in *θ* and four other MSS. πεπτηῶτα (Littré -ῆῶτα) which recalls πεπτηῶτας in Apoll. Rhod. I 321. Is the form with -ῆω- due to confusion with πτήσσω? Attic has both πεπτωκώς and πεπτῶς < ᾠ-φῶς, as it has τεθνηκώς and τεθνεῶς.

<sup>1</sup> In VI 228 *θ* has ἐωθυῖη = υῖη.

<sup>2</sup> *Pathol.* II 25, note 5. Lobeck compares ψοῖαι ψυῖαι and τρίττοια = τριττύα. *δοιοῖν Choeph.* 944 (*M*).

*Middle Voice.***605.] Indicative Present.**

-*εαι*<sup>1</sup> < -*ε-σαι* remains uncontracted in *φαίνεαι* Archil. epod. 94<sub>1</sub> *χαρίζεαι* 75<sub>2</sub> troch., *ἔρχεαι* Theog. 1374. In Anakr. 12 B, *δινέαι* or *δίνεαι*, has been formed from *δινέεαι*. Contraction has set in in *προεκπόνη* (or -*έαι*) Sim. Amorg. 22 and in several forms in Anakreon:—*ἐπιστρέφεαι* 2<sub>4</sub>, *πέτεαι* 9, *βόσκεαι* 75<sub>5</sub>, *τантаλίξ* 78 (if Love is addressed). *ἐπίστη* Theog. 1085 (cf. below) occurs at the end of the hexameter. Cf. *ἄρχη* I 102, *ἔλκη* σ 10, &c *ἐνεύχη* 6<sub>47</sub> and *βούλει* (?) 5<sub>6</sub> appear in the Herodas papyrus.

In Homer, whenever -*η* occurs it is almost always followed by a vowel hence we may read *ε'(αι)*. Most of the instances of *εαι* before a consonant occur in *Ω* and the *Odyssey*.

In the Ionic prose of Hdt. -*εαι* is preserved after a consonant and after diphthongs (*e.g.* *διακελεύεαι* I 42, VIII 80, *βούλειαι* I 206 *βουλεύεαι* VII 12, *συμ-* VII 235). After a vowel we find an unwarranted -*εαι*, as in *φοβέεαι* I 39 even in good MSS., *δέεαι* VII 161. *P* sometimes prefers the longer form, where the other MSS. adopt the form shortened by hyphaeresis, *e.g.* *προθιμέαι* I 206, *ἐπαινέαι* III 34, *εὐφρανέαι* IV 9, *φοβέαι* VII 52, &c. *R* has *διαιρέαι* VII 50 where Stein reads -*έεαι*, as elsewhere Lukian, *Syr. dea* 18, has *λίσσεαι*. -*ει* is not Herodoteian, at least in the present (see § 607); but *βούλει* appears in Hippokr. II 30 in Herodas 5<sub>6</sub>, and Ion *ἐπιδ.* 1. In Hippokrates at least we doubt its correctness. In pseudo-Ionic literature this ending is more frequent. Cf. Hippokr. epist. 17<sub>20</sub>. The grammarians of the Roman period regarded -*ει* as specifically Attic.

In verbs whose themes end in -*ᾶ*, Ionic has -*ε(σ)αι* for -*α(σ)αι* (§ 688, 1, note 2). Thus Hdt. has *ἐπίστεαι* VII 104, 135. The -*εαι* is contracted in *ἐπίστη* Theog. 1085. In the Doric of Pindar we have *ἐπίστα* from -*ασαι*, *e.g.* *Pyth.* III 80, but *ἐπίστασι* VIII 7 as usually in Attic. Aischylos however has *ἐπίστα* as well as *ἐπίστασαι*. *δύναμαι* yields *δύνασαι* in Homer, Pindar and classic Attic prose, but *δύνα* in Attic poetry (see Porson c *Hek.* 253). The Doric form is also *δύνα*. Ionic would be *δύνεαι*

<sup>1</sup> -*εαι* is called Ionic in Hom. *κέλεαι*:—An. Ox. I 215<sub>16</sub>, 242<sub>23</sub>, An. Par. I 326<sub>33</sub>, Tzetz. Ex. II. 117<sub>8</sub>, Et. M. 502<sub>8</sub>, Et. Gud. 270<sub>39</sub>, 313<sub>38</sub>; *μέμφεαι* Et. Gu 387<sub>21</sub>, An. Ox. I 270<sub>5</sub>. The ancients thought *κέλε(τ)αι* yielded *κέλεαι*.

<sup>2</sup> -*εαι* from -*αι* is Ionic according to Hdn. II 840<sub>3</sub> = Choib. 879<sub>5</sub> if we accept Lentz' reading. *Ἰωνικῶς* is wrongly said of *δύνααι*, *ἐπίστααι* in Choib. (cf. Hdn. II 298<sub>17</sub> = Choib. 673<sub>12</sub> for the Ionic loss of the *σ*). Cf. also An. C IV 186<sub>11</sub>, Eust. 969<sub>21</sub>. The scholium Hesiod *W. D.* quoted by Gaisford p. 2 is corrupt.



form that has been contracted in δύνῃ, Anakreonteia 29<sub>11</sub>.  
 ὕνασαι Hippokr. IX 342 is Attic.

*Varia.* It may be noted, in view of the objections raised to the occurrence of καθέζομαι in early authors, that Hippokr. VIII 392, which is cited by Veitch in support of its early existence, is not supported by θ; and in VII 348 for καθεξέσθω, θ has καθίσθω.

On -αται, -εαται, see § 585.

### 606.] Imperfect.

Hdt. has εο < εσο, *e.g.* ἐνετέλλεο I 117, ἐπηγγέλεο VII 39; Lukian *V. A.* 5 ἐφαντάζεο. On ἡπιστέατο Hdt. II 53, &c., and ατο, -εατο generally, see § 585. Whether ἀπάγχεο, Archil. 67, is an imperfect is uncertain. -εν seems not to occur in Hdt. (ἤέξεν Kallimachos' Hymn to Zeus 55).

We do not recall a case of -ω in the second person in the later dialect. ἐκρέμω<sup>1</sup> occurs O 21. In Attic we find ἡπίστασο and ω (the latter in prose). ἡδύνασο occurs Hippokr. IX 344 = Attic ἐδύνω.

The non-Attic ἡρχόμεν appears in Hippokr. V 426, IX 328 (uncompounded). ἡνερχόμεν is found V 402, ὑπεξ- V 414. Hippokr. also used the subjunctive VII 598, ξί- VIII 508, the infinitive VIII 546, IX 418, ἀπ- VIII 42, the participle διεξ- II 138 (in a genuine treatise). Cf. Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 103 ff.

### 607.] Future.

1. First Person Singular. -εῦμαι is the ending in -ίζω verbs: ναγωνιεῦμαι Hdt. III 83, ὀριεῦμαι Hippokr. VI 4, IX 264.

2. The termination of the second person singular.

(a) -εαι<sup>2</sup>. The lyric poets generally preserve the form -εαι. Thus in Archil. 79<sub>2</sub> τέρψεαι, Ananios 1<sub>3</sub> ἀφίξεαι, Theog. 35 μαθήσεαι and in several other forms (100, 884, 991, 1161 cf. Stobaios, 1285, 1299, 1333). Of the prose writers Herodotos has ὄψεαι I 155 (and so MSS. *Androm.* 1225), ἀπαιρήσεαι I 71 (see § 633), ἀπίξεαι II 29 (a rare future in prose: for Aldus' ἴξεαι in the same chapter, ἥξεις is read), πλεύσεαι II 29, παραμείψεαι V 52, λάμψεαι I 199, and in all other forms. Demokritos 20<sub>25</sub> has διώσεαι.

Lukian has ἀπίξεαι *Syr. dea* 25, μεμνήσεαι 30, ἐνασκήσεαι *V. A.* 3, εἴσεαι 4, 5, γνώσεαι 4, ματαβήσεαι 5, ὄψεαι 6; Euseb. *Mynd.* has ἔσεαι 63, καταθήσεαι 51, cf. νομισθήσεαι 52, *Aret.* 30 ὄψεαι.

In liquid verbs, -έαι not -έεαι is correct, *e.g.* εὐφρανέαι Hdt.

<sup>1</sup> Hdn. II 317<sub>21</sub> = Choroib. 88<sub>31</sub> (cf. Et. Mag. 324<sub>11</sub>) calls ἐκρέμω Attic, ἐκρέμαο Ionic because of the loss of σ; cf. An. Ox. I 171<sub>5</sub>, IV 213<sub>22</sub>, 379<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> -εαι is called Ionic Et. Mag. 237<sub>15</sub>, Et. Gud. 128<sub>13</sub> (γνώσεαι), Et. Mag. 381<sub>21</sub> (ἔσεαι), An. Par. III 335<sub>34</sub> (ιλάσσεαι).



IV 9 (-εσαι *Pz* only), ἀποθανέαι IV 163 (-εσαι *Pz* only), ἀπολαμπρυνέαι I 41 (-εσαι no authority).

(β). -η. Theognis has γνώση 65 and πωτήση 238, in each case followed by a consonant. With γνώση, cf. B 367 γνώσεαι δ'¹ and 365 γνώσῃ ἔπειθ'. Hrd. 259 has πλώση, 61 γνώση, 81 κείση.

χαριῇ should be read in Hdt. I 90, κομιῇ in II 121 (γ); cf. VII 49. Dindorf's -ιέαι, Bredow's and Stein's -ιεῖ are impossible: the former because of the mass of vowels (cf. -έαι from -έαι in liquid verbs), the latter because -ηι does not become -ει in Eastern Ionic. Hippokr. has γνώση VII 340.

(γ) When contracted -εαι becomes -η in Ionic. -ει is possible in Euboian Ionic, but not elsewhere. We have therefore no hesitation in branding as spurious ἐξευρήσει Herakl. 7. In Hippokr. VIII 342 θ has ὄψη: hence we read ὄψη, not ὄψει with Littré, as there is no need of assuming a retention of the later Attic ὄψει. ὄψει Ὀδυσσεῦ μ 101 is an error, as it is in Ψ 620, where *AD* have ὄψη ἐν; in both passages ὄψε' may be read. -ει in Hrd. 11, 523, 791 is an Atticism.

3. -εῖται is the correct termination of the third person of liquid verbs and those derived from a present in -ίζω. This ending is not generally preserved in the MSS., where it has been supplanted by -έται.

(α) -εῖται occurs as follows: ἀνανεμεῖται Hdt. I 173 (*AB*) μαnevεῖται I 109 (all MSS., the fut. middle is very rare); σημανεῖται Hippokr. II 228, θανεῖται (not ἀπο-) VIII 70 (*Cθ*), 98, ἀμβλυνεῖται IV 464, ἀναχανεῖται VIII 498 (for ἀναχάνηται), τεκμαρεῖται VI 24; φανεῖται Demokr. 135 (*sic* Stob.; cf. 6). Solon 41 Theog. 867 have ὀλεῖται. ἀνδραποδιεῖται Hdt. VI 17, καθαρεῖται Hippokr. VII 24, 330, 338, 508, διορεῖται IV 102. Ὀν πεσεῖται Hdt. VII 163 (*R*; -έται all MSS. in VII 168), V 92 (β, oracle) and on προσπεσεῖται Hippokr. VIII 34, see below.

(β) -έται is found in ἀποθανέται Hdt. IV 190, διαφθερέται VIII 108 (note that -φθερήσεται is not used); σημανέται Hippokr. VII 276.

4. Plural. -εῖμεθα in κομיעῖμεθα Hdt. VIII 62 (hence νομιοῦμεν II 17 is wrong), ἀμυνεῖμεθα VIII 143 (-εο- *Abicht*), φανεῖμεθα Hippokr. IX 424. χαριεῖσθε Hdt. IV 98. φανέοντα Hdt. III 35, διαφθερέονται IX 42, ἐξανδραποδιεύνται VI 9.

5. *Doric Future*. Ionic, like Attic of the best period (cf. Rutherford *Phrynichus*, p. 91), usually rejects the 'Doric' forms. Thus Hdt. has πλεῖσομαι II 29, III 135, φεύξομαι I 207, πεύσομαι IX 58, Hippokr. παραπνεύσομαι

¹ Barnes read γνώσεαι εἰ with asyndeton. In N 818 we find ἀρήση Διί, I 102 ἄρχη (subj.) at the verse end. These two cases of -η and γνώσεαι above are the only occurrences in the Iliad of the closed forms. -η in the future always occurs before vowels, so that we may read -ε'.

VIII 284, *ρεύσομαι* VI 440, 442, VII 224, 556, VIII 100, a form found in Theog. 448. (In VIII 596 the active *ρεύσει* is probably corrupt). In Homer we find *έσσειται* and *πασέονται*, *πασέεσθαι*. *πασείται* occurs in Attic and in Hdt. VII 168, Hippokr. VIII 34; but *έσσειται* is rejected by both Attic and Ionic. Wackernagel (*K. Z.* XXX 313) in setting up a new theory of the genesis of these two forms, regards the 'Doric' future as alien from Ionic speech. It is, however, improbable that *έσσειται* should be a contamination of *έσσειται* and *\*είται*, and that *πετέομαι* should have passed into *πασέομαι* by assibilation of *τ* before a vowel not *iota*. *στερησείται* in Olbia, Dittenberger *Syll.* 354<sub>11</sub>, 17, is no doubt a contamination of *στερήσεται* and *στερεΐται*, but is a poor support for the above explanation of *έσσειται*.

The derivation of *πασούμαι* from *\*πετσέομαι* does not carry with it that of *πασον* from *\*έπεσον*. An *\*έπεσον* would have yielded an *\*έπεσσον*, which would have been preserved in Homer: but of such a form there is no trace. From *\*πετσέομαι* the epic forms with *σσ* were necessarily limited; in fact Homer has only *πασέονται* and *πασέεσθαι* where the single *σ* was inevitable. We must assume that *έπεσον* was substituted for *έπετον*, which is attested as Doric and Aiolic, at a time when *\*πασσέομαι* had given way to *πασέομαι*. As in Sappho 42 *έμπεσών* has been installed in the place of the earlier and genuine *τ* form, so in Homer *έπεσον* has usurped the place of the regular *πέτον*. Cf. Brugmann, *Gram.* p. 170.

The appearance of *πιούμαι* in Hippokr. VII 196 is not more surprising than its occurrence in Aristotle. It is a form used by late writers that has crept into Xenoph. *Symp.* 4, 7, but disapproved by Athen. X 446 E, Phryn. p. 91 (R.). Homer N 493 and Theognis 962 have *πίομαι*, Ion 210 *πίομαι*. On *έμπίομαι* Theog. 1129 (present), see M. Schmidt, *R. M.* XXII 186. Pindar, *Ol.* VI 86 has the present *πίομαι* < *\*πίομαι*. Cf. *τίω*, *τίω*. *πίομαι* is a subjunctive used as a future.

6. *Varia*. In Miletos 100<sub>1-2</sub> we find *λάψεται*, whereas Hdt. has *λάμψομαι* I 99, IX 108. The former of these forms is built on the model of *έλαβον* (cf. *ορέομαι έθορον*, *καμέομαι έκαμον*), the latter on that of *λαμβάνω*. With *λάμψομαι*, cf. *συμπεριενεγχεΐς* C. I. G. 2058 A 32, 79 B 70 (Olbia), and see § 130. A contamination of the Attic *λήψομαι* (which appears in Hippokr. VII 490, VIII 6, 34) and *λάμψομαι* is *λήμψομαι* C. I. G. 42446, 4247<sub>20</sub>, 42499, 4253<sub>15</sub> (Lykia), and in the N. T. See §§ 619, 634, 4. Hdt. has *λάξομαι* VII 144 with the *α* of the present: *\*λάγξομαι* would have been parallel to *λάμψομαι*.

*έξάξονται* Samos 221<sub>19-20</sub> recalls *έξεσθαι* Hdt. VII 8. The inscriptions have brought us as yet no example of *ήξα* or of *ήξάμην*. Hippokr. VI 504 has *αρασχήσονται*. *έξομαι* is Homeric but not later Ionic; cf. § 592, 5. On *αχήσομαι*, see § 592, 4.

## 608.] First Aorist.

1. *-ao* remains open in the MSS. of Hdt. in *έξεργάσao* (16 times), *κατεχρήσao*, *έμιμήσao*, and in numerous other forms; in only one instance does contraction appear: *έποιήσω* VIII 102. The open *-ao* < *-ασfo* is noteworthy because medial *af*o became *o* as early as the sixth century<sup>1</sup> (§ 277). Xenoph. 5<sub>1</sub> has *ήραo*,

<sup>1</sup> Homeric *-ao* is called Ionic in An. Ox. I 211<sub>11</sub>, An. Par. III 30<sub>45</sub>, 35<sub>627</sub> (*ήσao*); An. Par. III 138<sub>27</sub>, 248<sub>8</sub> (*έλύσao*); cf. An. Par. III 85<sub>16</sub>.



but Archil. epod. 94<sub>1</sub> has ἐφράσω (in the seventh century it was not permitted to resolve the arsis), and ἐδέξω 101 at the end of an *Archilochium iambicon curtum*. Lukian *Syr. dea* 25 has εἰργάσας, Hippokr. IX 365 ἐμέμψω (epist.).

2. Relation between the stems ἐνεικ- and ἐνεγκ- of the first and second aorist. These stems are not etymologically akin, that of the former being derived from the preposition ἐν + εἰκ which is connected with ἱκο or with Lith. *sėkiu*, reach with the hand. See § 214, 2. ἐν-εγκ is reduplicated (cf. Skt. *āndāṇa*). ἐνεικ- was soon regarded as uncompounded, conjoined with ἐνεγκ- as an aorist of φέρω, and in modern times explained as a development of ἐνεγκ- (Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, I 122). In Ionic poetry and prose (with the exception of the medical writers) ἐνεικ- gained the upper hand. It appears as early as Homer and is found in Pindar, but in the former author the second aorist is exceedingly rare, and its forms referred to a present ἐνείκω. In Ionic inscriptions we find ἐν]ΕΙΚάντων Chios 174 B 4. ἐνεικ- also appears in the Attic stone records after 370 B. C., but disappears after 322 B. C. A peculiar form from the weak stem ικ (cf. ἵκταρ) is the aorist passive ἐ]ξενιχθῆι Keos 42<sub>24</sub>, for which ἐξενεχθῆι has been substituted by Bechtel on the ground that the stone is not perfectly intact. With the Keian form we may compare Boiotian ἐνενιχθεῖαι C. D. I. 488<sub>150</sub>, Aiolic ἐσένικαι 304 B 39, ἥνικαν Mytilene, *Arch. Zeit.* 1885, p. 41, and other forms in Kalymna, *B. C. H.* X 242 (cf. p. 143), Troizen, C. D. I. 3364, Epidauros 3339<sub>110</sub>. συμπεριενεγχθεῖς Olbia, C. I. G. 2058, A 32, 79, B 70 recalls Delphic -ενεγχθῆι (see Curtius in *Berichte der sächs. Gesell.* 1864, 228), and the presence of the nasal in such forms as λάμψομαι. The inscriptional Attic ἥνεργα, -ον are mixtures of the two forms. Cf. ἡνείκαντα in Hesychios and Boiot. ἥνεργα Hdn. II 374<sub>21</sub> (and εἰνίξαν). In the post-Homeric Ionic poetry we observe ἐνεικον Anakr. 62, ἐνεικαν Tyrt. 41, ἐνεγκε Herodas 7<sub>17</sub>, 54, ἐνεγκεῖν I<sub>33</sub> as usually in Attic, where the first aorist ἐνέγκα<sup>1</sup> is rarely employed. Herodotos has ἥνεικε II 146, III 155, -αν II 30, IX 70, ἐνέκικε VI 61, συνενέκαιεν VII 152, ἐνέκαι I 32, ἐνέκας II 23, IV 64, ἡνέκατο V 47, ἡνέκαντο I 57, II 180, VII 152, ἐνέκωνται IV 67, ἀνενεκάμενο I 86, ἐνέκασθαι II 23, VI 103; ἐξενηνειγμένος VIII 37, IX 72, as if from ἐνέκεται *Scutum Herc.* 440. In the aorist passive Hdt. has ἡνείχθην, a form which is not confined to Ionic (Epidaurian ἐξενειχθεῖς C. D. I. 3339<sub>115</sub>). In two cases all the MSS. of Hdt. unite in presenting the form in -εχθεῖς (VI 220, 232). Hippokrates has only ἐνεγκ-, e. g. ἥνεγκεν III 88, V 426 ἥνεγκαν II 606, V 388 (-ον Erm.), ἐνέγκοι II 294, ἐνέγκοιεν II 296, -ενέγκα<sup>1</sup> V 210, VII 340, -ενεγκεῖν V 214, VIII 68, ἐπανενέγκαντες V 588, ἐσενεγκών II 36 ἐνέγκηται I 592, IV 640, ἐνέγκωνται I 582, προσενέγκασθαι IV 640, ἐσενεγκάμενο IV 640; -ενέχθην V 516, 602, 652, 722, IX 186, 356 epist. Lukian has ἐνεικ. *Syr. dea* 16, 22, 25, 27, 48, 49, 58 (*A V* -εχθέντα), κατηνέχθη *Astr.* 15, Eusebio § 5 ἐνεχθείη; Euseb. Mynd. κατενεχθέντας 63, διενεχθεῖς 1; Abydenos 5 ἐνέγκασθαι, *Vita Hom.* ἐνεγκ- 12, 13, 15, ἀπηνέχθη 34; Aretaios 108, 112 ἡνέχθη, 17 ξυνήνεγκε. The usage of the medical writers is sharply differentiated from that of Hdt. and his imitators.

3. *Varia*. ἀγορεύσασθαι Hdt. IX 26 may be noticed because of Cobet's onslaught on this tense in classic authors (*Var. Lect.* 36 ff.). ἐπαύρασθαι Hippokr. IV 632, ἐπαυράμεθα IX 424 (epist.) are occurrences of the unusu-

<sup>1</sup> Attic inscriptions have only ἐνεγκεῖν.



first aorist; ἀπειπάμην Hdt. I 59, V 56, is not classic Attic. ἐμνησάμην Lukian *Astr.* 6, 21 is the only occurrence of this tense in prose, ἐμνησάμην Hdt. VII 39, *Syr. dea* 39 is rare in prose. ὑπονησαμένη Hippokr. IX 192 (ὑπονεμ- MSS.) is to be referred to νέομαι (though this verb occurs only once in Attic prose) rather than to νέω *swim* or νέω *heap up*. νέμω would scarcely yield (the non-Attic) ἐνεμνησάμην in Ionic. ὥσφραντο Hdt. I 80 (Stein) where ὥσφροντο might be expected. Other forms, such as εἴλατο, διείλαντο are certainly to be rejected, and we incline to the view that ὥσφραντο is not genuine, though the Ionians not infrequently adopt aorists that were not in good odour in Attika. ῥυφήσασθαι Hippokr. V 386 occurs here only (see § 154). Of the recent German editors of Herodotos, Abicht alone does not challenge the correctness of the derivation from ἄγω of the forms ἐσάξαντο V 34, προσάξαντο I 190, VIII 20. They are to be referred to σάσσω. διαφεύξασθαι appears only in Hippokr. IX 400; ἐφρασάμην and φράζομαι are often found in Ionic, though not in Attic, prose. ἐχεάμην Hdt. VII 43 is rare in prose. ὠνησάμενος Hippokr. IX 362 recalls the fact that Meineke regarded ὠνήσατο in Eupolis II 533, the only occurrence in classic Attic, as savouring of Ionic origin. In Attic inscriptions of the Roman period ὠνησάμην is used for ἐπριάμην.

### 609.] Second Aorist.

In the second person we find -εο<sup>1</sup> and -ευ. (1) -εο in Hdt. εἶρεο I 32, ἐγένεο I 35, ἡγάγεο IX 111, ἐπῖκεο VII 9, &c. (2) -ευ in ἀπῖκευ I 124, εἴλευ III 52, 119, ἐτράπευ VII 39. The presence of the latter form makes up for the non-diphthongal character of -εο. Attic -ου appears in ἐγένου Theog. 454, 1273, ἐντελέβου 1362. In the later parts of Theognis -ου is doubtless original.

On -εατο incorrectly transferred to the aorist, see § 585.

Ionic does not support a second aorist, active or middle, of ἀγγέλλω; cf. Hdt. IV 153, III 142, VII 37. Noteworthy forms in prose are ἄρμενος Hippokr. II 420, ὀνήσθαι IX 392 (ὠνήσθαι C and Ermerins, the only example of the perfect).

### 610.] Perfect.

After stems ending in a vowel the original ending -νται may remain in Ionic; after stems ending in a consonant -νται becomes -αται, with or without aspiration of a preceding tenuis. In Homeric and later Ionic the latter ending has been transferred in the perfect to stems ending in vowels. -αται has even found lodgment in the present of -μι verbs (§ 585, 3) in the later dialect; a noteworthy mark of difference between the older and the later language.

In only one inscription do we find the third plural in a form not Attic: εἴρηται (εἰρήται?) in Oropos 18<sub>17</sub> (between 411-402 or 387-377 B.C.), a form contracted from εἶρε(<εἶρη) + αται. Compare the form in Hippokrates adduced below. γεγέγηνται

<sup>1</sup> ἔπλεο is called Ionic in An. Par. III 354<sub>31</sub>.

occurs twice: Samos 221<sub>5</sub> (shortly after 322 B.C., an inscription strongly marked by Ionic spellings) and Iasos 105<sub>2</sub> (end of the fourth century, with some traces of Attic).

611.] The Lyric Poets like Homer have *-νται* and *-αται*, which they have transferred to stems ending in a vowel. (1) *-νται* in the elegy occurs in *πάρκεινται* Xenoph. 1<sub>9</sub>, *ἐπείκεινται* Theog. 421. (2) *-αται* in elegiac and iambic poems is found in *τετράφαται* Theog. 42, *κείαται* Mimn. 11<sub>6</sub>, *κέαται* Archil. 169. (3) *-εαται*. In Anakreon 81 *ἐκκεκωφέαται* and in Hipponax 62 *κεκινέαται*, the long vowel of the perfect stem has been shortened before *-αται* to *ε*, and this *ε*, together with *α*, forms a single syllable. This shortening of the long stem vowel in the lyric poets and in prose constitutes a mark of division between the older Ionic of Homer and the later language. Homer has *βεβλήαται*<sup>1</sup>, *-ατο*, *κεκλήαται*<sup>1</sup>, *πεποτήαται*. The beginnings of the later usage appear in Homeric *ἔαται*, *ἔατο*.

Now if by the time of Anakreon and Hipponax *-η-αται* had not only become *-ε-αται* but even *-εαται* (to say nothing of Homer's *ἔαται*), it is impossible to regard as correct the form *πεπλήαται* which is reported as having been used by Sim. Amorg. (31 A). The Et. M. 367<sub>40</sub>, which quotes the word, takes it to be singular number, not only on account of the subject (*ξύλα*), but also because of the confusion in the minds of the grammarians between the singular and plural forms in the perfect. See § 613, note at end. *πεπλήαται* has long ago been corrected to *πεπλέαται*, the *η* of the Et. M. being due to recollection of like Homeric forms. Cf. § 281, 3, note.

612.] In Ionic prose we find *-νται* and *-αται*, not merely after consonantal, but also after vocalic stems.

Herodotos has *-αται*, e.g. in the following cases:—

(1) After consonants (usually with aspiration of gutturals and labials, but not of dentals): *ἀναμεμίχαται*, *ἀποδεδέχαται*, *τετράφαται*, *κεχωρίδαται*, *ἀγωνίδαται*, *ἐσκευάδαται*, *ἐφθάραται*. (2) After *υ*: *κατακεχύαται* (p. 481), *ἐνιδρύαται*; cf. *εἰρύαται* § 265. (3) After *ε < η* in *verba pura*, and, by analogy, in the perfect of *κείμαι*: *ἡγέαται*, *οἰκέαται*, *ἐκτέαται*, *ὀρμέαται*, *εἰρέαται*, *κεκλέαται*, *ἐπικέαται*, *κατέαται*, &c. (cf. *ἔαται* Γ 134). The latter form is in reality derived from a consonant stem (*ἦσ-νται*). In *ἀναπεπτέαται* *α* has apparently been dissimilated to *ε*.

Herodotos has also *-νται*, e.g. *δέδονται* VII 134, *ἐκδεδωρίεννται* VIII 73 in (adopted by Stein; Dindorf *ἐκδεδωρίδαται*).

<sup>1</sup> These forms, and *ῆαται*, are adduced by the Gram. Vat. 694, who does not mention the *-εαται* formation.

<sup>2</sup> Except *ἀπικάται* (*ἀπικάτο*); see below.



In other Ionic prosaists we find *-νται* very frequently. The following cases of *-αται* occur. Hekataios *μεμετρέαται* (§ 613, 2, footnote). Demokr. 204 *μεμνέαται*. Hippokr. *διακεκόφαται* III 212 (*v. l.* *-μέντοι εἰσί*), *περιβεβλέαται* IX 80 (by anacoluthon; Littré would adopt the singular, with which *-εαται* was sometimes confounded by the grammarians), *κεκρύφαται* VII 382, VIII 342, *τετεχνέαται* I 628 (not in *A*), *γεγράφαται* VII 178, *εἰθίδαται* II 298 *bis*, each time supported by *A*, but ill-advisedly rejected by Littré who adopted *εἰθισμένοι εἰσίν*, *εἰρέαται* II 226 (*εἰρηται A*), but *εἴρηνται* 278 (*εἴρηται* in *H*), IX 170. *κέονται* is frequent, *e.g.*, II 18, 22, 24, 48; *ἐστεφάνωνται* II 72. Lukian has *περικέαται* *Astr.* 3 and *κέαται* often for *κεῖται*, the subject being singular, *μεμιμέαται* *Astr.* 6, *ἀποδεδάχαται* *Syr. dea* 10, 42, Aretaios *γεγράφαται* 331, &c., Euseb. Mynd. *ἐκτέαται* 2, 34, *προκέαται* 63, *τετιμέαται* 59 (rejected by Mullach), *ἀπεστερέαται* *onj.* 23.

The only verb in Hdt., compounded of a preposition ending in a vowel and verbal theme beginning in a vowel and ending in a guttural, that admitted *f* *-αται* in the perfect, is *ἀπικνέομαι*. The isolated absence of aspiration in *πικάται* and *ἀπικάτο* is to be explained as due to the desire to avoid *ἀπίχαται*, *πίχατο*, which had been too different from the aspirated *ἀφ-*. In compounds the Ionians did not always adopt *psilosis*. Cf. p. 326 and §§ 406, 407.

In Thukydides especially (but only in the verbs *τάσσω*, *τρέφω*, *φθείρω*) and also in Plato (*Rep.* VII 533 B) and Xenophon (*Anab.* IV 8, 5) we find these so-called Ionic forms. That they were not confined to the literary dialect is evident from *ἀναγεγράφαται* (and *ἐτετάχατο*) upon Attic inscriptions prior to 100 B.C., after which date the periphrastic form obtains sole mastery. Thukydides indeed has both forms, sometimes in close conjunction (*διετετάχατο* and *εταγμένοι ἦσαν* in IV 31). In Aiolic and Boiotian also *-αται* occurs in the perfect. In late non-Ionic authors it appears very rarely, *e.g.* *νενομίδαται* Dio Cass. 51, 23.

### 613.] Testimony of the Grammarians.

The grammarians quote as Ionic the following forms in (1) *-αται*, (2) *-εαται*, (3) *-ηαται*, and even (4) *-εανται*. Most are taken from Homer, others do not usually rest upon actual observation. Some are figments:—

(1) *-αται*: *ἀγγεράται* Hdn. II 224<sub>8</sub> (An. Ox. I 396<sub>10</sub>, cf. Et. M. 9<sub>15</sub>); *ἀκηχέ-αται* Hdn. II 384<sub>21</sub> (Et. M. 48<sub>5</sub>), An. Ox. I 74<sub>4</sub>, Eust. 1570<sub>1</sub>; *γεγράφαται* Greg. Cor. § 74; *δεδέαται* Eust. 1837<sub>15</sub>; *δε-* and *δειδέχαται* Eust. 1568<sub>33</sub>, Et. M. 52<sub>47</sub>, 599<sub>27</sub>, An. Ox. I 108<sub>5</sub> (cf. I 300<sub>12</sub>), An. Par. III 162<sub>1</sub>, Hdn. II 225<sub>7</sub> = An. Ox. I 300<sub>12</sub>; *εαται* Hdn. II 497<sub>1</sub>, Et. M. 295<sub>1</sub>, 308<sub>4</sub>, Et. Gud. 155<sub>51</sub>, Eust. 34<sub>16</sub>, 188<sub>518</sub>, An. Ox. I 126<sub>34</sub>, I 142<sub>26</sub>, I 255<sub>30</sub>, An. Par. IV 19<sub>15</sub> (*εαται*); *εδή-αται* Hdn. II 299<sub>15</sub> = Et. M. 316<sub>25</sub>; *εἶαται* Hdn. II 497<sub>1</sub>, Et. Gud. 156<sub>13</sub>, Eust. 88<sub>549</sub>, 189<sub>546</sub>, An. Ox. I 127<sub>2</sub>, An. Par. IV 19<sub>15</sub>; *εἰρύαται* Hdn. II 224<sub>18</sub>, 503<sub>7</sub>, Et. M. 378<sub>13</sub>, An. Ox. I 152<sub>13</sub>, 396<sub>25</sub>, An. Par. III 342<sub>29</sub>; *ἐρειρέδαται* An. Ox. II 98<sub>33</sub> (Choirob.); *ἐρηρέδαται* Eust. 1301<sub>1</sub>, 189<sub>544-51</sub> (An. Ox. I 396<sub>5</sub> Ἀττικῶς because of the augment), Choirob. 698<sub>1</sub>; *ἐρράδαται* Hdn. II 224<sub>3</sub> (An. Ox. I



396<sub>3</sub>), Et. M. 377<sub>11</sub>, An. Ox. IV 197<sub>28</sub>, Choirob. 698<sub>3</sub>, Eust. 1895<sub>43</sub>; ἐρρύαται An. Ox. I 396<sub>25</sub>; ἐρύαται Et. M. 378<sub>11</sub>, An. Par. IV 70<sub>9</sub>; ἔρχαται Eust. 1301<sub>9</sub>, 1071<sub>63</sub>; ἐσπάραται Et. M. 91<sub>5</sub>, Eust. 234<sub>12</sub>; Eust. 1301<sub>3</sub>; ἐστάλαται Hdn. II 224<sub>9</sub> (An. Ox. I 396<sub>11</sub>), Diakonon on Hsd. *Aspis* 288, Eust. 1301<sub>3</sub>; ἡλεύθαται (!) Greg. Kor. § 74; ἡχάδαται Hdn. II 348<sub>22</sub> (Et. M. 48<sub>9</sub>), An. Ox. I 74<sub>2</sub>; κέαται Et. M. 295<sub>4</sub>, 308<sub>5</sub>, Eust. 1043<sub>56</sub>, 1837<sub>15</sub>, An. Ox. I 142<sub>28</sub>, IV 198<sub>3</sub>, Choirob. 697<sub>16</sub>, 698<sub>28</sub>, Et. Gud. 155<sub>54</sub>; κείαται Et. Gud. 155<sub>54</sub>, An. Ox. I 142<sub>28</sub>, Et. M. 295<sub>4</sub>, 308<sub>5</sub>; κεκάραται Choirob. 698<sub>17</sub>; κεκλίαται Hdn. II 224<sub>19</sub> (cf. An. Ox. I 396<sub>19</sub>, Et. M. 500<sub>11</sub>), Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655, An. Par. IV 70<sub>10</sub>, An. Ox. I 224<sub>28</sub>, cf. 226<sub>5</sub>; κεκλίναται(?) Hdn. II 224<sub>9</sub>, cf. An. Ox. I 396<sub>13</sub>; κεχρυσάται Choirob. 698<sub>23</sub>, -ωαται (?) An. Ox. IV 197<sub>32</sub>; λελάχαται Choirob. 697<sub>31</sub>, Greg. Kor. § 74; λελέχαται Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 57<sub>12</sub>, Eust. 234<sub>12</sub>; λελήφαται An. Ox. I 268<sub>26</sub>; νενέαται Hdn. II 225<sub>8</sub> = An. Ox. I 300<sub>6</sub>, Et. M. 599<sub>26</sub>; νενήφαται Choirob. 697<sub>30</sub>; νενίφαται Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 57<sub>12</sub>; νενόαται An. Ox. I 287<sub>28</sub>; νενύχαται Choirob. 697<sub>31</sub>; πεπείθαται An. Ox. I 396<sub>7</sub>; πεφράδαται Eust. 1301<sub>7</sub>, An. Ox. I 74<sub>2</sub>, IV 197<sub>27</sub>, Theod. 57<sub>14</sub>, Choirob. 697<sub>33</sub>, Greg. Kor. § 74; τετάχαται Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655; τετεύχαται An. Ox. I 395<sub>31</sub>, 411<sub>15</sub>; τετίλαται Choirob. 698<sub>18</sub>; τετράφαται Hdn. II 223<sub>17</sub> (An. Ox. I 395<sub>26</sub>), Joh. Gr. 242, Et. M. 366<sub>7</sub>, An. Ox. I 127<sub>15</sub>, Meerm. 655; τετύφαται Choirob. 696<sub>29</sub>, Theod. 57<sub>10</sub>, Max. Plan. in Anecd. Bachm. II 531, Diakonon on Hsd. *Aspis* 288, Eust. 234<sub>12</sub>, 1301<sub>3</sub>; ὠνομάδαται Eust. 1301<sub>9</sub>; ὠρέχαται An. Ox. I 451<sub>15</sub>, Schol. Ven. A on Λ 26. (2) -εαται: βεβλέαται Hdn. II 225<sub>14</sub> (An. Ox. I 288<sub>5</sub>); βεβοέαται Greg. Kor. § 74; βεβολέαται An. Ox. IV 197<sub>23</sub>, Choirob. 698<sub>26</sub>; εἰρέαται Eust. 234<sub>15</sub> (not specifically called Ionic); ἐκκεκωφέαται Hdn. II 225<sub>14</sub> (An. Ox. I 288<sub>4</sub>); κεκινέαται Hdn. II 225<sub>13</sub> (An. Ox. I 288<sub>2</sub>), An. Par. IV 70<sub>2</sub>; κεκλέαται Eust. 1895<sub>45</sub>; μεμετρέαται Hdn. II 225<sub>9</sub><sup>1</sup> = An. Ox. I 287<sub>28</sub>; μεμνέαται An. Par. IV 19<sub>15</sub>; νενοέαται Hdn. II 253<sub>3</sub> (Et. M. 601<sub>21</sub>), Choirob. 697<sub>14</sub>, 698<sub>25</sub>, An. Ox. I 287<sub>28</sub>, IV 197<sub>32</sub>, Eust. 1885<sub>48</sub>, 1895<sub>45</sub>; πεποιέαται Hdn. II 224<sub>17</sub> (Et. M. 500<sub>13</sub>), Choirob. 698<sub>24</sub>, An. Ox. I 287<sub>29</sub>, 197<sub>32</sub>, Eust. 1885<sub>53</sub>, Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 57<sub>17</sub>; πεποτέαται Et. M. 662<sub>21</sub>; περιβεβλέαται An. Ox. I 288<sub>5</sub>; ὑμνέαται Eust. 234<sub>16</sub>. (3) -ηαται: πεπλήαται Et. M. 367<sub>40</sub>; πεποτήαται Et. M. 662<sub>20</sub>, An. Ox. I 97<sub>3</sub>, Eust. 234<sub>16</sub>. (4) -εανται (?): Hyper-Ionic πεποιέανται, γεγενέανται are quoted from the *Ναξιακά* of Philetas or Kallinos by Herakleides Milesios in Eust. 1885<sub>52</sub>. For Philetas read Philteas.

The grammarians derived the plural directly from the singular forms. To their doubt as to what was the singular, what the plural, may be ascribed such forms as κεκλέαται for κέκληται in late Ionic monuments (pseudo-Hippocratic letters). Perhaps such collocations as ταῦτα . . . εἰρέαται Hippokr. VII 484, and ταῦτα . . . εἴρηται VII 496, 556, Hrd. 2<sub>84</sub>, aided the confusion.

#### 614.] Perfects with σ before -μαι<sup>2</sup>.

In the following are collected from post-Homeric Ionic writers, *first* those instances of perfects and pluperfects of verbs whose

<sup>1</sup> μεμετρέαται is here referred to Hekataios, though the passage quoted is found in Hdt. IV 86. Evidently two citations have been fused. In Et. M. 578<sub>41</sub> the passage is ascribed to Hipponax, who is quoted in Hdn. and having used κεκινέαται. Another instance of confusion between Herodotus and Hekataios is Hek. 135, where a citation from Hdt. and from Hek. have been fused. Nothing is thereby proved as to the spuriousness of the *Periegesi* of Hekataios.

<sup>2</sup> See Lobeck on *Aias* 704, Bredow p. 341 ff., Solmsen *K. Z.* XXIX 90 ff.

stems ended originally in *-s*, and in which *-σμαι* (though itself due to analogy) is relatively more primitive than in the verbs of the second class. Original *-σμαι* could not remain in the dialects: where it is apparently retained it is due to the influence of those forms before which the *sigma* could not disappear (*-σται*). Secondly, those verbs whose stems did not end in a sibilant, but which have borrowed *-σμαι* from the first class. Not all the examples in these two classes are certain, (1) because of the difficulty of determining the etymology, and (2) because of the existence of by-forms in *-ζω* or *-θω*, which might have carried *sigma* into the third person.

But few examples of *-ζω* verbs have been admitted, and such verbs as *πίμπλημι*, *πίμπρημι* have been excluded because of *πλήθω*, *πρήθω* which are both as early as Homer. Here the *θ* is adventitious in other stems than the present. It is noteworthy that Herodotus and Hippokrates avoid using *πέπλησμαι* and *πέπρησμαι*, though both have *ἐπλήσθην* and *ἐπρήσθην*. Stems ending in dentals are not here enumerated as they are easily recognized, e.g. *πέπυσμαι* with *-σμαι* borrowed from *πέπυσται*, *δέδασμαι* from *δέδατ*, not from *δασ-*. Ionic sometimes fails to adopt the adventitious *σ* where Attic has it. Cf. *νενημένην χοῖρον* Hrd. 4<sub>15</sub> with *Clouds* 1203 *νενησμένοι* (*νενασ-*?)

#### 1. Sigmatic Stems.

*βυνέω* (cf. *διαβύνεται* Hdt. II 96), Hdt. VI 125 (pluperf.), Hippokr. VIII 12. *βυνυμι* Hipponax 3, Hippokr. VII 456. In Homer we find *εἶμαι*, *εἶται*, and *εἶτο*. *ζέω* Hippokr. V 324. *ζώννυμι* Hdt. II 85 (*P*), VII 69 (in *Rz*, not adopted by Stein). *ξέω* Hippokr. VII 430. *πίσσω* Hippokr. I 600, VI 536, VIII 102. *πέννυμι* Hippokr. VII 274. *τελέω* Hdt. VII 118. *χρῖω* Hippokr. III 430, but *χρῖμαι* Hdt. IV 189 (*-σμ-* A. Eust.), 195. *χράζω* Hippokr. V 390 (or is the *σ* due to the dental?).

Perhaps the stems of the following verbs once ended in *s*: *οἶμαι*: *ώισμη[ν]* Hrd. 8<sub>16</sub>. *πρίω* Hippokr. III 242. *σπάω* Hdt. I 59, Hippokr. VI 178. *φλεύω*: *τοιπεφλευσμένους* Hdt. V 77.

2. *-σμαι* is due to analogy in *ἀλέω* Hdt. VII 23; *γινώσκω* Hdt. VIII 110, Hippokr. II 344; [*δέω* has *δέδεμαι*, but *δεδεσμένος* appears in the vulgate of Hippokr. IV 220, where Littré with ample MS. support reads *ἐπιδεδεμένον*; cf. IV 266, 268, 302]. [*ἐλαύνω*: *ἐλήλασμαι* Hippokr. VIII 290, 426 is a form neither Attic nor Herodoteian (on *ἡλάσθην* in Hdt. see under the Aorist passive). *ἐήλασμαι* does not occur again until Pausanias. The stem may be regarded as *ελδ-*; if so the *σ* is regular]. *ἐλκύω* Hdt. IX 98 (*ἐλκυσμένος*), Hippokr. VIII 484 (*ἐλκυσμένος*), V 178 (pluperf.). *καύω* Hippokr. VII 242, but elsewhere *κέκανται* I 54, V 424, VI 174, 192, 330, 442, VII 242 (and *ἐκαύθην*, *καυθήσομαι*). *κελεύω* Hdt. VIII 93 (pluperf.). *κλάω* Hippokr. III 420. *κλείω* Hippokr. V 528 has *κλεισμένον* (some MSS. *-ιμενον*), *κεκλήϊμαι* is the correct form in Hdt. II 113 (*-ειμ-* A B C, *-εισμ-* P R d z), III 117 (*-ειμ-* C, *-ηισμ-* P, *-ησμ-* R), VII 129 (*-ειμ-* C, *-ημ-* A B d, *-ησμ-* P corr., *-ῆσμ-* R q z). The Aorist passive always has *σ*. Cf. Hippokr. VIII 372 (cf. *ξυστός* Hdt.) *σκεδάω* Hdt. IV 14, Hippokr. VI 152. *σάω* Hippokr. III 202, 232. *χόω* Hdt. II 138, VIII 144; see Schulze K.Z.



XXIX 265. *χράω* Hdt. II 147, 151, III 64, IV 164 (-*ημ- CRz*), VII 141, 220. The variant -*ημαι* is very frequent. *χράομαι* has *κέχρημαι* Hdt. I 42. *ψάω* Hippokr. VII 556.

3. Perfects in -*σμαι* from verbs in -*νω*; which have also -*μμαι* < -*νμαι* in other dialects. Here too -*σμαι* is analogical. The aorist passive has -*νθην*. *θηλύνω* Hippokr. II 60, VI 202. *κοιλαίνω* Hippokr. IX 216 (cf. *ἐκοιλάνθην* V 420). *λεπτύνω* Hippokr. II 26, IV 510, VI 174 (*ἐλεπτύνθην* IV 548). *λυμαίνα* Hdt. IX 112. *ξηραίνω* Hippokr. VI 172, 322, 586, 588, Hdt. I 186, VII 109 (*ἐξηράνθην* Hdt. I 75, Hippokr. V 228, VI 174). *σημαίνω* Hdt. II 39. *ὕφαίνα* Hdt. III 47 (*ὕφάνθην* I 203). In connection with these verbs we may notice *ἀπήμβλυνται* Hrd. I 4.

### 615.] Varia.

*μέμνεαι* and *μέμνηαι* (Φ 442) are called Ionic by Choirob. 673<sub>14</sub>. *μέμνη* O 18 has been regarded as contracted from *μέμνεαι* from *μέμνομαι* because -*ηαι* < -*ησαι* is usually retained in Homer. But for *μέμνη* we may read *μέμνη'*.

Hdt. has both *δέδογμαi* and *δεκόκημαι*, the latter form only once (VII 16 γ). The form *κατακεκραμμένον*, Hippokr. III 490, has now given way to the present -*κρεμάμενον*. *κεκόρημαι*, not *κεκόρεσμαι*, is the Ionic perfect of *κορέννυμι*. In Attic we find the latter form. *Peace* 1285 is an epic parody. *λαμβάνε* yields *λέλαμμαι* Hdt. IX 51, but *ἀναλελάφθαι* Hippokr. III 308 according to the MSS. (the vulgate has here -*λάμφθαι*). Cf. § 130. The form *τεθληγμένο* Hippokr. VI 654 was displaced by Littré. *νέναγμαi*, not *νένασμαι*, Hippokr. VII 520. From *δαφ-ιω* we have *δεδαυμένος* Sim. Amorg. 30, the only certain occurrence. The perfect of *ἀλίζω* is also confined to Ionic. On *ἐκτημαι*, see §§ 583, 4.

### 616.] Pluperfect.

-*ατο* is the ending in Hdt., though -*ντο* occurs, *e.g.* *ἐπέπανντο* I 83, *κατέστρωντο* VIII 53. We find -*ατο*

(1) after consonants (generally with aspiration): *ἐτετάχατο* and in compounds of *τάσσω* (*διὰ, παρὰ, πρὸς*), *εἰλίχατο*, *κατεστράφατο*, *διεφθάρατο*, *ἐσκευάδατο*, *ἀπικάτο* (without aspiration, § 612, note). For *ἐσταλάδατο* or *ἐστελ-* VII 89, which was constructed on the analogy of *ἐληλάδατο*, we accept Dobree's *ἐστάλατο*.

(2) after *υ*: *ιδρύατο*.

(3) after *ε*, with shortening of *η* to *ε* in -*εω* verbs: *ἐκεκοσμέατο*, *περιεβεβλέατο*, *ἐδεδέατο*, *ὀρμέατο* (not *ὠρμέατο*), *ἐμεμνέατο*, *ἀναραιρέατο*, *ἐτετιμέατο*, *πεπειρέατο*, *κατέατο* (cf. *ἔατ'* H 414, *ἵησντο*), and by analogy in *ἐκέατο*; *ἀπεκεκλέατο*, or *ἀποκεκλέατο* in IX 50 has now given way to *ἀπεκεκλήατο*. It is to be noticed that Homer, in contradistinction to Herodotos, always uses -*ντο* after *ε* (present and aorist) and either -*ηατο* or -*ηντο* in the pluperfect.

The Homeric -*ηατο* appears in the MSS. of Hdt. in *περιεβεβλήατο* VI 24 in *A B C d*, *περιεβαλέατο* *reliqui*, whence we restore -*εβεβλέατο*. Here *βεβλήατο* Z 28 was the cause of the mistake.

*διεφθαρέατο* Hdt. VIII 90 in all MSS. except *P*, which has -*φθειρέατο*, should be changed to *διεφθάρατο* (plup.).



In other Ionic prosaists these forms are very rare. Eusebios, § 8, has *προσεκατέατο*. -ντο is adopted, *e.g.* in *κατέκειντο* Hippokr. I 660, *ἐγεγένηντο* V 184.

With the occurrence of -αται, -ατο in Hdt. and the lyric poets, compare the Iomeric usage throughout: (1) after consonants and ι these forms are necessary, (2) after ν, η, and ω they are possible, but (3) not after α<sup>1</sup>, ε<sup>2</sup>, and ο. The lyric poets and Hippokrates, if his text has not been Atticized in this regard, stand nearer to Homer than to Herodotos in the admission of the forms with ν.

Testimony of the grammarians. The following forms in -ατο, -εατο, and -ατο are called Ionic in grammatical treatises:—(1) -ατο: ἀγηγέατο Et. M. 12, An. Ox. I 396<sub>10</sub>; δειδέχατο Eust. 234<sub>43</sub>, 436<sub>22</sub>, 782<sub>55</sub>; εατο Hdn. II 92<sub>18</sub> Schol. Ven. A on O 10, An. Ox. I 174<sub>16</sub> (εατο ποιητικώς, εατο Ἰακώς as An. Par. IV 19<sub>14</sub> where the smooth breathing is found), 256<sub>2</sub>; ειλίχατο Eust. 234<sub>13</sub>; ῥάδατο An. Par. III 261<sub>3</sub>, ἐσεσάχατο Eust. 234<sub>12</sub>; ἐσπάρατο Et. M. 9<sub>27</sub>; ῥθίατο An. Ox. I 124<sub>31</sub>, An. Par. III 343<sub>18</sub>, τετεύχατο An. Ox. I 411<sub>17</sub>, τετύφατο Hdn. 58<sub>11</sub>, Choirob. 697<sub>2</sub>, 701<sub>10</sub>. (2) -εατο: ἀκαχέατο Et. M. 46<sub>11</sub>, cf. An. Ox. 97<sub>5</sub>; δεδμέατο Et. M. 252<sub>55</sub>, Et. Gud. 135<sub>6</sub>; ειλίχατο Eust. 234<sub>10</sub>; ἐκτέατο Eust. 34<sub>17</sub>; ξυνεδεδέατο Et. M. 252<sub>34</sub>, Et. Gud. 416<sub>18</sub>, cf. 160<sub>8</sub>. (3) -ηατο: δεδμήατο Et. M. 252<sub>54</sub>, Et. Gud. 135<sub>5</sub>, An. Ox. I 96<sub>31</sub>, 112<sub>32</sub> (cf. Schol. Ven. A. on Γ 183, 3); ἐβεβολήατο Et. M. 193<sub>51</sub>, An. Par. III 47<sub>11</sub>, βεβολήατο An. Ox. I 94<sub>12</sub>, 96<sub>27</sub>.

### 617.] Varia.

ἡρήρεισθαι Archil. ep. 94<sub>3</sub> is the MS. reading of the second person, which we adopt with the change to -θα, the original perfect ending. We should expect either ἡρηρέασθα or at least ῥήρησθα (cf. ῥῆδησθα τ 93 and in the drama) which Bergk accepts. If the εἰ be correct, it is due to the desire to bring the form into line with ἡρήρειστο. A direct interchange of εἰ and η is out of the question.

On ἔωρτο see § 289, 1; on ἐνένωτο § 296.

### Subjunctive.

### 618.] Present.

1. From Herodotos we are able to discover traces of a double flexion of δύναμαι.

(a) Forms similar to those of the Ω conjugation: δύν-η-ται I 125 (cf. κρέμηται Hippokr. IV 290), δυν-ώ-μεθα VII 143, δυν-ω-νται IX 11 as Samos 221<sub>25</sub> (cf. κέρωνται Δ 260). In δύν-

<sup>1</sup> When -αται would follow α in Herodotos, we have ε-αται.

<sup>2</sup> With the apparent exceptions εαται, εατο. Homer has even ἦντο as well as ἦατο. The former is due to the analogy of ἦμεθα, &c. < \*ἦσμεθα.

η-ται the long modal vowel of the subjunctive, instead of appearing after the final vowel of the stem (δύνᾱ-ται Thasos 72<sub>5</sub>), actually takes its place. δύνηται (cf. ἐπί-στ-η-ται from ἐπί-στᾱ-ται, and Skt. *da-dh-ā-tāi* from indic. *dā-dhā-ti*) is constructed as if the present were δύνομαι, a form which, we may incidentally remark, chances to have been used in a very late period of the language (*Papyr. du Louvre* 39<sub>10</sub>, 161 B.C.) and in Modern Greek. With δυνώμεθα cf. μαρνώμεσθα in Hesiod, μαρνοίμεθα in the Odyssey. A different formation is represented by Kretan δυνάμαι<sup>1</sup> and the Hipponaktian ῥήγνυται 19<sub>4</sub> (cf. ῥήγνυνται Hesiod, ζώννυνται Homer). Here a subj. like Messenian προτίθηντι seems to have been the model, or we have a very old formation by vowel lengthening in the subjunctive.

If Kretan δυνάμαι represents the primitive type of this inflection, the Ionic form would have been δύνημαι, which became δύνωμαι through influence of λύνηται, λύωμαι. This may be possible, even though δυνάμαι does not contain a pre-Hellenic contraction of *a + o*, as Osthoff held, *M. U.* II 116. ῥήγνυται is certainly an analogical formation.

(b) δύναμαι actually passes into the Ω inflection in δυνεώμεθα Hdt. IV 97 (*A B C*, δυνώμεθα *R*), δυνέωνται VII 163 (*R*), which forms are not mere blunders made through recollection of δυνέαται<sup>2</sup>. Cf. Thessalian δυνάεται or δυνάηται (as Delphic πριάηται) *B. B.* XIV 301. So too in the case of ἐπίσταμαι: for ἐπίστωνται we have ἐπιστέωνται III 134 and in the decree in Demosth. *De Corona* § 91. δυνέωνται has another parallel in βουλέωνται Teos (*Mitth.* XVI 292, l. 19), βούλομαι and δύναμαι going hand in hand in post-Homeric. Cf. βουλήσομαι, δυνήσομαι, ἐβουλήθην, ἐδυνήθην. The εω of δυνέωνται is perhaps reduced from ηω as that in θέωσι, ἀπιέωσι, ἐπιβέωμεν in Hdt. (Cf. μεμνεώμεθα, § 620.)

δύνωμαι with this accent is well attested (Herodian II 557: on Z 229 δύνηαι) but δυνῶμαι, as if the result of a contraction of δυνέωμαι, found a defender in Tyrannio, who accented the Homeric form δυνῆαι. Hdt. has δύνη.

In Π 243 is ἐπιστάεται (cf. δυνάεται) correct? The editors adopt ἐπίστηται (*C D G H*), which is rightly taken to be subjunctive. Zenodotos' ἐπιστέαται may point to a confusion with the singular (cf. §§ 611, 613) of the indicative which Meyer, § 485, thinks is the proper mood; but, as Leaf has suggested ἐπιστέαται and ἐπίσταται (*A L*) hint that the original reading was ἐπιστάεται.

2. -η is the termination in the second person of the subjunctive present and aorist in the prose documents. βούλη Thasos 68, a in Hippokr. VII 120 and Hdt., who has also πείθη, δύνη, συνέχ.

<sup>1</sup> Subj. δύνανται Hdt. IX 11 in one MS., VII 163 in Aldus are mere errors.

<sup>2</sup> μενέωσι Hdt. IV 97 in *R* (Aret. 251) is an example of the 'pleonastic' ε which was regarded as a mint-mark of Ionic.

(thus, and not -εαι V 23 with *C P d r*, or -ηαι<sup>1</sup> with Aldus). Herodas 6<sub>38</sub> has πεύθῃ. πείνῃηαι occurs in Theog. 929 at the verse end. βιήσῃηαι Theog. 1307, πείσῃηαι Solon 20, are probably imitations of the epic usage, though in the fifth century -εαι was still used for -ηαι in the aorist subjunctive active (§ 239).

### 619.] Aorist.

Mimn. 3 in παραμείνεται retains the short modal vowel (cf. § 239). ποιήσωμαι, Hipponax 43, is a post-Homeric form. Homer has no instance of -σωμαι.

παραλήψῃηαι Hippokr. VI 326 is a conjecture merely, and ἐλαμψάμην finds no support in Hdt. δυνήσωνται Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>17</sub> is a rare form and perhaps incorrect, as is ὑπελεύσῃηαι Hippokr. II 494 (-ελεύσεται). For δῆξῃηαι Hippokr. VII 330, 336, θ has δῆξεται. ξυμβήσῃηαι Hippokr. IX 28 is an interesting form. διαμαχεσώμεθα Hdt. IX 48 (-σόμεθα *Rz*) is the only example of this aorist subjunctive in early Greek.

### 620.] Perfect.

μεμνέμεθα has the support of all the MSS. in Hdt. VII 47, where μεμνώμεθα of Aldus and Eust. 767<sub>37</sub>, who quotes the passage, is adopted by recent editors. But -εώμεθα is not an impossible form in Hdt. μεμνώμαι, μεμνήται, κεκτῇται, κεκτῇσθε in Attic point to contraction, and -εώμεθα may represent -ηώμεθα or -ηόμεθα. That Homer has μεμνώμεθα ξ 168 renders, it is true, the appearance of the earlier form in Hdt. somewhat surprising; unless we assume that the epic form is derived from μέμνομαι. μέμνομαι has indeed been conjectured by Scaliger in Archil. 9<sub>2</sub>, but is not certainly attested before Xenophon, who has μέμνοιο, *Anab.* I 7, 5 (MSS.). But as Homer has μεμνέωτο Ψ 361<sup>2</sup>, we hold it preferable to adopt μεμνέώμεθα in ξ 168, and to reject Abicht's derivation of the Herodoteian form from μέμνομαι. See §§ 615, 626. Cf. also χρεώμενος Ψ 834 from χρηόμενος. In Hdt. I 96 *C Pz* have μνεώμενος for μνώμενος of the other MSS. and the editors.

Hippokr. VI 212 has both βέβρωται and βεβρωμένος ἦ (cf. ξυγκεκαυμένη ἦ VII 242), VII 24 ἦλκωται (ἐλκ- *E I J K*), ἦλκω- μένον ἦ VIII 262. προσαρήρεται is called Ionic for -ηται by Tzetzes on Hesiod, *W. D.* 429 (431). Cf. Eust. 1869<sub>34</sub>. It is the only example of the short modal vowel in the perfect. Vat. 2 has προσαρήσεται as a correction of -αρήρηται.

<sup>1</sup> -ηαι is called Ionic because it is Homeric: *An. Ox.* I 215<sub>14</sub>, 296<sub>21</sub>, *An. Par.* III 315<sub>34</sub>, 341<sub>5</sub>. ὕδῃηαι is found in all MSS. but one in Hdt. IV 9.

<sup>2</sup> μεμνήτο Bekker: cf. μεμνήμην Ω 745.



*Optative.***621.] Present.**

-οιατο<sup>1</sup> for -οιντο occurs in δεχοίατο Sim. Am. 7<sup>107</sup>, δυναίατο, συναπισταίατο, γινοίατο, λυπεοίατο, μηχανώατο in Hdt., τραποίατο Arrian 21<sup>12</sup>, διαδεχοίατο Euseb. Mynd. 38, ἐλεγχοίατο 29; Hippokr. II 280 has βλάπτουιντο.

**622.] First Aorist.**

-αιατο<sup>2</sup> for -αινωτο occurs in Hdt. γευσαίατο, δεξαίατο, ἀνακτησαίατο; κομίσαινωτο Samos 221<sup>11</sup>.

**623.] Second Aorist.**

-οιατο<sup>3</sup> for -οιντο occurs in πιθοίατο Sim. Am. 1<sup>22</sup>, γενοίατο Hdt., Hippokr. II 666, VIII 94 *bis* (but γένουιντο Theog. 736 in *A*), ἐλοίατο, ἀπικοίατο, ὑπερβαλοίατο &c. in Hdt., πυθοίατο Hippokr. II 224 (vulgate).

*Imperative.***624.] Present.**

Herodotos has both -εο<sup>4</sup> and -εν from ε-σο, *e.g.* (1) -εο in προσδέκεο III 62, ἀναπαύεο V 19, πείθεο VIII 62, ἐπιφαίνεο VIII 143, &c., προσκείμεο Demokr. 172, (2) -εν in ἄγευ VII 38, ἀνέχευ I 206, V 19, τέρπεν II 78 (Greg. Korinth. § 60).

The poets have -εν in ἐνάδεν (ἀνὰ δ' ἔχεν?) Archil. tetr. 66<sub>2</sub>, ἀλέξεν 66<sub>2</sub>, χαρίζεν 75<sub>2</sub>; δικάζεν Demodok. 6 (tetr.); βουλεύεο Theog. 71, ἔρχεν 220 (*A*, other MSS. ἔρχου), ἐντρέπεν 400, πέλεν (and ἐφέπου) 1073; πληκτίζειν Hrd. 5<sub>29</sub>, σκέπτεν 79<sub>2</sub>. Cf. appendix.

Attic -ου appears in Theognis in several passages: εὔχου 129, 171, ἐφέπου 217, 1073, γίνου 217 (so Demokr. 174), τρίβου 465, βουλεύου 633, σπεύδου 980 (*A*, -ειν Bergk), ἄχθου 1032 (*v.l.* ἄχθει &c.). The -ου form, which in no case is to be regarded as due to Megarian influence, may be adopted in those portions of the poet which are demonstrably late.

Hdt. has ἐπίστασο (not -αο) VII 29, 39, 209 in marked contrast to Attic prose (which admits, however, the uncompounded

<sup>1</sup> Ionic according to Et. M. 507<sub>39</sub>, Et. Gud. 318<sub>25</sub>, An. Ox. I 109<sub>13</sub>, 244<sub>10</sub>, Gram. Vat. 694.

<sup>2</sup> Et. M. 325<sub>43</sub>, 507<sub>39</sub>, Et. Gud. 318<sub>24</sub>, An. Ox. I 244<sub>10</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Et. M. 258<sub>51</sub>, 507<sub>38</sub>, 40, Et. Gud. 139<sub>30</sub>, 318<sub>25</sub>, An. Ox. I 244<sub>10</sub>, An. Par. III 343<sub>28</sub>, IV 71<sub>26</sub>; πλώιατο An. Ox. I 148<sub>32</sub> (Ionic, Doric, and Aiolic!).

<sup>4</sup> An. Ox. I 161<sub>4</sub>, on ἔρχεν Z 280, quotes as Ionic ἔρχεο (ἔρχεο); ἴζεο An. Ox. I 215<sub>28</sub>, Et. Gud. 273<sub>28</sub> (-εν Doric); ῥύεο Et. Gud. 494<sub>14</sub>.

ἵστασο). In Attic poetry only is there freedom to use either ἐπίστασο or ἐπίστω. For Attic χρῶ we have χρέω in Hdt. I 155 (except in *A B*); cf. § 687, 2. In Hdt. and the inscriptions we find only -σθων (μαχέσθων, χράσθων Hdt., ἐνεχέσθων Zeleia 113<sub>26</sub>), but Hippokr. VI 82 has the later χρήσθωσαν (*A*). κτεινέσθων in Hdt. VII 10 (θ) may be noted because of its use as a passive.

### 625.] Aorist.

γενοῦ Archil. 75<sub>2</sub> (tetr.) is an Atticism for γενέο or γενεῦ. Hdt. has -ευ<sup>1</sup> in πύθεν III 68, βάλεν VII 51, VIII 68 (γ) as Theog. 1050. On the accent, see Chandler § 783. δικασάσθων Thasos 72<sub>15</sub>, Ηε]λέσθων Chalkidian Ionic, 13<sub>8</sub>.

### 626.] Perfect.

μέμνεο Hdt. V 105, Hrd. 489, might be derived from μέμνομαι (cf. μέμβλεται Φ 516 and § 620), since from μέμνημαι we might expect μέμνησο in Ionic=Doric μέμνασο (Epicharmos, Pindar). It is not likely that *ā*-σο has become εο in μέμνεο. μέμνεο also occurs in the Anthol. Pal. and in Orph. Lith. 603. Cf. Attic κάθου and κάθησο. πεπρήσθω Halikarn. 238<sub>35</sub>.

## Infinitive.

### 627.] Future.

In the future of liquid verbs the MSS. of Hdt. usually have -έεσθαι, e.g. ἀπολέεσθαι I 38, 112, φανέεσθαι I 60, ὑποκρινέεσθαι I 164 and by conj. in V 49. In VIII 101 all MSS. agree in ἀποκρινείσθαι. The future of ἀποκρίνομαι is certainly rare, if correct, in Ionic. Furthermore in ἐπιτελέεσθαι VI 140. Hippokr. has ἀπολέεσθαι VII 218, but -είσθαι IX 320, and θανείσθαι VIII 356 (as Sim. K. 85<sub>9</sub>).

In -ίζω verbs we find -είσθαι: χαριείσθαι Hdt. I 158, III 39, ἀνασκοιοπιείσθαι II 132, IV 43, ἐπισιτιείσθαι VII 176. (Dindorf's -ιέεσθαι is wrong). Theog. 47 has ἀτρεμείσθαι (MSS. ἀτρεμέεσθαι).

τιθήσεσθαι Hippokr. IX 424 is a unique form (from τιθέω).

### 628.] Aorist.

ἀποίσασθαι Hippokr. (epist.) IX 418; μνήσασθαι Hdt. VII 39, *Syr. dea* 39, does not occur in Attic prose or in comedy.

<sup>1</sup> -εο in Homer is Ionic: An. Ox. I 322<sub>28</sub>, Et. Gud. 436<sub>23</sub> (ὄρσεο), An. Par. III 138<sub>16</sub> (περίσχεο).

*Participle.***629.] Future.**

ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι adopted by Stein in Hdt. I 66 is incorrect. Cf. ἐξανδραποδιεῦνται VI 9, ἐπισιτιεύμενοι IX 50, ἀνταγωνιευμένους V 109. In Arrian 24<sub>2</sub> Dübner's ἀπομαχοούμενοι is non-Ionic. δικάσόμενοι Hdt. I 96 should be noted because of δικᾶν I 97.

**630.] Aorist.**

εἰσάμενοι Hdt. I 66 has borrowed its εἰ from the indicative (εἶσαθ' Theog. 12). The epic form is ἔσσ- (π 443), which recurs in Anakreon (?) epigr. 111<sub>3</sub> (καθέσσατο).

**631.] Perfect.**

On ἀναιρερημένος and ἀναραιρεμένος, see § 583. ἀπολελαμμένοι Hdt. IX 51, διαλελαμμένος III 117 deserve notice because of παραλελάβηκε III 42 and ἀναλελάβθαι Hippokr. III 308 (-άμφθαι *vulgo*). See also λάμψομαι § 607, 6, and cf. § 130. ἐβλαμμένοις occurs on a very late Ephesian inscription, Ditt. *Syll.* 344<sub>86</sub>. Hippokrates VIII 418, 494, 498 uses βέβλαμμαι. νεοσσευμένα Hdt. I 159 has awakened suspicion because of νεοσσός II 68, νεοσσιέων III 111. Portus' conjecture νενεοσσ- is adopted by Dindorf. See § 287, 2, note, and cf. Modern Greek νοσσός, νοσσίς. Aldus and *d* have νοσσιέων in III 111.

**632.] Future Perfect.**

βεβλάψεται Hippokr. II 256. γεγράψεται Hippokr. II 304, 330, 676, III 70, IV 104, 108, 114, 174, 252, Aretaios 280. In IV 80 for γεγραφόμενος, the only example, except διαπεπολησόμενον Thuk. VII 25, of the participle of the reduplicated future occurring in a classical author, we may read γραφόμενος with *J*. γράψομαι is a *v.l.* II 304, 676. Galen regarded as genuine the treatise περὶ ἄρθρων, in which γεγραφόμενος appears. δεδηλώσονται Hippokr. IV 190. εἰρήσεται Hdt. II 35, IV 16, 82, VI 86 (δ), Hippokr. I 596, II 250, IV 142. Hippokrates has the following noteworthy forms: εἰρησομένοισιν IV 238 in many MSS. (εἰρημένοισιν *vulgo*), εἰρησομένων III 516 (ῥηθησομένων in many MSS.), εἰρήσεσθαι VIII 28 (omitted by several MSS.; εἰρήσθαι θ). In Attic we find εἰρήσεται, but the participle and infinitive are not used. These unusual forms in Hippokrates are hardly due to a confusion with the forms of εἰρήσομαι *ask* (ἐπειρησόμενος Hdt. I 67, 174, IV 161, VI 52). ἐρηρείσεται Hippokr. VIII 292 (θ). κεκλήσομαι Archil. 24, Theog. 1203 (?), and perhaps in Euseb. Mynd. 47. κεκρύψεται Hippokr. VIII 86 (θ), not κρύψεται as passive, 98. λελέξεται Aretaios 280. ἀναμεμίζεται Hippokr. VII 498 (μίξεται C, ξ). μεμνήσεσθε *bear in mind*, Hdt. VIII 62, cf. *Syria dea* 27, 30. πεπαύσεται Hippokr. VI 238 (not in θ), IX 14, -ονται 52. πεποιήσεται Hippokr. VIII 46, 92 (C, θ). ἐμπεπρήσεται Hdt. VI 9 *AB Pm* and Stein; other MSS. ἐμπρήσεται. τετιμώρησαι Hdt. IX 78, all recent editors following Süvern (MSS. τετιμώρησαι).



*Passive.***633.] Future Passive.**

1. Examples of the future passive formed from the aorist passive stem are rare in early Greek. In Homer there is no future passive built from the first aorist stem, and only one (*μυγήσεσθαι*) from that of the second aorist. In the Attic dialect, when there exists a future 'middle,' from intransitive aorists in *-θην* or *-ην* (so-called aorist passives) a future 'passive' may be formed, which differs essentially from the future 'middle,' not in its voice relations (though the one tense may be intransitive, the other transitive), but in its tense meaning. The future passive is aoristic (ingressive, complexive, &c.), the future middle is durative. That is to say, the signification of the stem as an instrument to denote the character of the action is carried from aorist and present respectively into the two futures. It is not a matter of great consequence in Attic whether both the future 'passive' and the future 'middle' are attested in the monuments. See Blass' *Demosthenische Studien* in *R. M.* XLVII 269 ff. In Attic the passive forms are used much more extensively than in Herodotos. Ionic has so few instances to show of the coexistence of both future passive and future middle, that it is impossible to subject the dialect to the test that yields important results in Attic. The future middle in Ionic did duty for the former; indeed, the language did not seek to mark passiveness as a thing distinct from reflexiveness.

In Herodotos occur the following instances of the future passive from the first aorist stem:—*αἰρεθήσονται* II 13 (in all MSS., aoristic) gives support to *ἀπαιρεθήσεσθαι* V 35 (aoristic), the reading of *ABvsr*, where *CPz* have *-ήσεσθαι*. *ἀπαιρήσει* in I 71, *ἀπαιρησόμενος* in IX 82 are middle, as may be the case in Attic, though Euripides used *ἀφαιρήσομαι* and Lysias *αἰρήσομαι* as passives. The natural interpretation of the two future middles in Hdt. is that they are aoristic. *ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι* is adopted by Stein in VI 11 on the authority of *AB* etc. Here I would read *ἐλασσωσεσθαι* with *B<sup>2</sup> P<sup>vz</sup>* (*ἐλασσωσθαι R*, *ἐλάσσωσθαι s*). The action is aoristic. *συγκεντηθήσεσθαι* VI 29 (*-τήσεσθαι Krüger*), aoristic. *συλλυπηθησόμενοι* VI 39 (*-πησόμενοι Cobet*) *join in an expression of sympathy*. In Attic, which uses *λυπήσομαι* as the passive, *λυπηθήσομαι* does not appear before Aristotle. *μνησθήσομαι* will mention VI 19, *ἐπιμνησθήσομαι* II 3 (*ἐπιμνήσομαι van Herwerden*). Cf. *ἐπιμνήσομαι* I 5, 177, II 101, Lukian *Syr. dea* 36, *ἀναμνήσομαι* Hippokr. II 650, V 98, *μνήσει* Theog. 100 (epic). *μνήσομαι* is so rare in Attic prose that its correctness has been disputed.

2. In Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Arrian we have noticed the following cases of the future passive from the first aorist passive stem.

αἰωρέω III 468, IV 294, 382, 390; ἀλείφω in καταλειφθήσεται IX 320; ἀνδραποδίζω Arrian *Ind.* 28<sub>6</sub> (ἀνδραποδισθησομένην); δάκνω VII 386 (δῆξομαι is of course active); δέω III 444; εἶρω II 362 (ῥηθήσεται) and as *v. l.* in many MSS., III 516 (Littre εἰρησομένων), epist. 27<sub>41</sub>; εὐρίσκω I 572, III 436; καθαρίζω VIII 330; καίω VII 422 (the future middle appears in C, VI 302—the only occurrence in early prose); κενώω Aretaios 204 (κεινώσομαι in Empedokles is passive); κινέω VII 332, VIII 484 (passive or reflexive; cf. κινήσεται VII 90); κρατέω III 482; λύω VIII 484 (cf. καταλύσονται Hdt. IX 11 *come to terms*); ὁμολογέω VI 6 (a doubtful instance because *A* has ὁμολογήσεται); ὀξύνω II 426; ὀρθόω in κατορθώσεται III 446 (perhaps passive); πνέω Aretaios 200; σώζω II 112; ψύχω II 424; ὑγιάζω VIII 34 (in C); ὠφελέω VII 256 (Attic generally prefers the middle form).

Of these examples only ῥηθήσεται and σωθησομένους occur in the genuine writings of Hippokrates (cf. § 1). Future passives from both of these verbs occur in Attic, but not in Herodotos; and σώσομαι was never used as a passive. From the above it is evident that the genuine Hippokrates is as little fond of this formation as Herodotos.

3. From the second aorist passive stem are formed, *e.g.* ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι Hdt. II 120, Hippokr. VII 174, 234 as in Attic prose (in tragedy and comedy -χθήσομαι); γραφησόμενος Hippokr. II 278; ῥνήσεται VI 42; ἀποτακτησόμεναι VI 110, according to the vulgate reading adopted by Ermerins (τηξόμεναι *A*, Littre). [τήξεται, transitive, is now abandoned, VII 478.] It is noteworthy that Hippokrates has ἐτήχθην, not ἐτάκην; φανήσομαι Hdt. IV 97, VIII 108 etc., five times as frequent as φανῶμαι; σαπήσομαι Hippokr. IX 6; φθαρήσομαι Hippokr. I 598; καταρραγήσομαι V 732.

In an Hellenistic inscription from Smyrna in Dittenberger's *Sylloge* 171<sub>261</sub>, from 246–226 B. C. we find διαλεγήσονται. Cf. [δια]λεγείς Lampsakos, *l. l.* 200<sub>71</sub>. διαλεγήσομαι does not seem to occur elsewhere (συλληγησόμενος in Aischines). Attic inscriptions have διελέχθην, never διελέγην. The latter form first appears in Aristotle.

4. Ordinarily the future middle supplies the place of the future passive, passive and middle not being differentiated. Of the following instances a few may be reflexive, and in others the pure passive force is doubtful.

ἀγόρεω in παρηγορήσομαι Hippokr. V 478, Aretaios 341; ἀγωνίζω Hdt. III 83; ἀθέλω Aretaios 108 (cf. ἀθέλεται passive in Hippokr. V 478); αἶρώ in ἀπαιρήσεσθαι a reading in Hdt. V 35 (but see above under 1); ἀμβλύνω Hippokr. IV 464; ἀνδραποδίζω Hdt. VI 9, 17 (I 66 is not passive; cf. above under 2); ἀνασκολαπίζω Hdt. III 132, IV 43; βιάω Hippokr. VIII 280; ἔπω in περιέψομαι



Hdt. II 115, VII 149; ζημιόω Hdt. VII 39; θυμιόω Hippokr. VIII 272 (passive?); θύω Hdt. VII 197 (?); ἱημι Hdt. V 35 (μετήσσεσθαι); ἰνέω Hippokr. VI 318 (?), middle VIII 112, 258; καθαίρω Hippokr. VII 24, 330, VIII 338 (middle VII 54); κινέω Hippokr. VII 90 (reflexive?; see above under 2); κλονέω Hippokr. VII 474 (reflexive or passive); λέγω, *say*, Aretaios 304; λείπω Hdt. VII 8 (α), 48, IX 56 (passive?); νομίζω Hippokr. VI 352; ξηραίνω Hippokr. VI 236; ὁμοιόω Hdt. VII 158 (*shall be like*); ὁμολογέω (see above under 2); ὀρίζω Hippokr. IV 102 (active in VI 4, IX 264); πήγνυμι Hippokr. II 36 (*shall freeze or be frozen*), the only occurrence of πήξομαι in early Greek; ἐμπίμπρημι Hdt. VI 9 (ἐμπεπρήσεται *AB Pm* and Stein); ἀποπληρώω Hippokr. VIII 12; ποιέω Hippokr. IX 238 (middle Hdt. VIII 4); πολιορκέω Hdt. V 34, VIII 49, IX 58, 97; σημαίνω Hippokr. VII 276 (?), middle II 228; τανύω Archil. 31; τελέω Hdt. VI 140; τρέφω Hippokr. VII 482, 518; ὕω Hdt. II 14; φέρω Hdt. VIII 49, 76, Hippokr. VII 580 (οἴσομαι is also middle as in Hdt. VI 100, 132).

### 634.] First Aorist.

#### 1. The endings of First and Second Aorist.

The third plural always ends in prose in -θησαν (-ησαν second aorist) not in -θεν (-εν). The occurrence of the latter (primitive) form in Homer led to its being called Ionic by the grammarians, though they more frequently refer it to Aiolic and Doric<sup>1</sup>.

2. εω remains open in the subjunctive, *e.g.* ἀπαιρεθέω Hdt. III 65, ἐσσωθέωμεν IV 97, ἡλιωθέωσι Hippokr. II 18, μυγέωσιν VIII 62. Out of line are ἀποδεχθῶ Hdt. I 124, ἐπιμνησθῶ II 3, συμπειχθῶσιν Hippokr. VI 292, ξηρανθῶσιν VI 280 etc. πειρηθῶ Theog. 506, or -εω, was a necessity.

ηη is always contracted<sup>2</sup>, *e.g.* μνησθῆς Hdt. VII 159, διδαχθῆς Theog. 565, τερφθῆς 594, ἀσθηθῆς 989; ἐξενειχθῆ Hdt. II 90, ἐξενιχθῆ Keos 43<sub>24</sub>, διαρανθῆ 43<sub>17</sub>, ἀδικηθεῖ Oropos 18<sub>14</sub> (§ 239), φανῆ Zeleia 113<sub>20</sub>, μεθυσθῆ Herakl. 73, συμμιγῆ 36, ἀπαλλαχθῆ Diog. Apoll. 5, ἀναταραχθῆ Hippokr. III 42, πιεσθῆ Solon 13<sub>37</sub>, τρεφθῆ Theog. 379; μνησθῆτε Hdt. I 36, πεισθῆτε Hrd. 7<sub>52</sub>.

In the optative Hdt. has ἀπαιρεθείησαν I 70, ὀφθείησαν VIII 24 (cf. εἰδείησαν III 61) with the ingression of ηη from the singular. The shorter form appears in ἀλίσθειεν I 63.

3. ἥρπασθην is the form to be adopted in Hdt., though -χθην is supported by good MS. evidence in II 90 (-σθείς *Rd*), VII 169 (-σθείσαν *R*), VIII 115 (all MSS.). The form with -σθην occurs I 1, 4, VII 191; and in the future and aorist active σ is correct. Hippokr. II 34 has ἀρπασθῆ. Cf. § 593, 2.

πιέζω varies between ἐπιέσθην Hdt. IV 11, Hippokr. VI 368, Solon 13<sub>37</sub>, and ἐπιέχθην Hippokr. III 324, 434, VI 292. In Hippokr. V 430 occurs συμπιασθῆναι, which is a surprising form

<sup>1</sup> An. Ox. I 9<sub>19</sub> refers it to Ionic, Doric, and Aiolic; An. Par. III 343<sub>23</sub> to Ionic and Doric; An. Ox. I 429<sub>8</sub> to Doric or Aiolic; as also An. Par. III 323<sub>32</sub>, 363<sub>27</sub>. πέλασθεν M 420, φόβηθεν Π 290 are called Ionic by Schol. Ven. A., rather on account of the omitted augment.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker's δεηθέη Hdt. IV 154 is an error.



because Hippokrates does not make use of the Doric *πιάζω*. Cf. *πιεσθῆ* VI 368 and § 136. Littré refers the form to *συμπιάνω*, but it may have forced its way in from late Greek. *πιαίνω* yields *ἐπιάνθην* VII 242, not *ἐπιάσθην*.

4. In Zeleia No. 1137, one of the latest inscriptions to preserve the character of the dialect (it dates after 334 B.C.), we read *κατελάφθη*, a form which agrees in its construction with *λελάβηκε* Hdt. IV 79, *ἀναλελάφθαι* Hippokr. III 108. Hdt. has *ἀπολελαμμένοι* IX 51, *ἐλάμφθησαν* IX 119, *λαμφθεῖσαι* VI 92; Hippokr. *ἐλήφθη* V 112. The forms devoid of the *μ* do not render impossible *λάμψομαι* or *ἐλάμφθην*, which contain the nasal of the present stem. See §§ 130, 615.

5. Despite *ἐτρώθην* Hippokr. VI 146 etc., we find in the vulgate *τιτρωθῶσιν* V 698 for which we must read *τρωθῶσιν*. *ξυνεξερευθεῖη* Hippokr. II 176, adopted by Littré, is noteworthy because of the retention of the diphthong. Two MSS. have *-ερυθεῖ*. For Attic *ἐτύχθην* we find in Hippokr. IX 242 *ἐτεύχθην*. *κατηναλώθην* Hippokr. V 122, 126 is an unusual form. *ἐξεράθεις* Hippokr. VIII 262 has the *ā* commented on in § 593, 4. On *ἦρθην*, *ἀέρθην*, see § 305 and appendix. On the aorist passive of *φέρω* (*ἡνείχθην*), see § 608, 2. *ἐσσυθῆ* Hippokr. VII 502 cannot be correct though preserved in all MSS. (*ἐκσυθῆ*?). Aretaios 96 *ἐσσύθη* is the only certain occurrence of the simple verb in prose. *εἰρέθην*, the regular form in Ionic (Hdt. IV 77, 156, VI 15 etc.), is from *\*ἐφερέθην*, *ἐρρήθην*, the strict Attic form, from *\*ἐφρήθην*. Ionic and Attic *εἶρηκα*, *εἶρημαι* are from *\*φεφέρηκα*, *\*φεφέρημαι*. In Hippokrates we meet with the mixed form *ἐρρέθην*, e.g. V 166, where *J* has *προερρήθη*. *ἐρρέθην* also appears in the MSS. of Plato, &c., but is rarely adopted by the editors of the classic authors. In the indicative only we find the *ε*; in the other moods *η*, e.g. *ῥηθείς*, *ῥηθῆναι*. *αἰνέω* also refuses (as in Attic) to lengthen the stem vowel in this tense: *αἰνηθείς*. Hdt. V 102, with which cf. *ἐπῆνηται* Hippokr. II 334. A difficult form from *εὐνάω* would be *ξυνευνεθῆ* adopted by Kühn in Hippokr. VIII 338. *θ* has however *-ηθῆ*. Some rare forms are *κλονηθείς* Hippokr. VII 532 (only in Ionic prose), *ἐσκέφθην* Hippokr. VI 18, *περιέφθην* Hdt. VI 15, VIII 27.

6. An interesting case of the survival of the use of the aorist 'passive' in the transitive sense occurs in Archil. 12:

εἰ κείνου κεφαλὴν καὶ χαρίεντα μέλεα | Ἥφαιστος καθαροῖσιν εἰ  
εἵμασιν ἀμφεπονήθη.

With which we may compare an inscription from Korkyra C. D. I. 3188:

Πραξιμένης δ' αὐτῶι γ[αία]ς ἀπὸ πατρίδος ἐνθῶν | σὺν δάμωι τόδε  
σᾶμα κασιγνήτοιο πονήθη.

*πονήθη* may be taken as a representative of the original indifference of the *θη* forms towards the transitive-active use, on the one hand, and, on the other, the intransitive meaning, out of which grew the passive. Originally *ἐπονήθη* was no more passive than *ἐρρύνη*. In Attic *ἐπονήθη* became intransitive; but in Plutarch, *Perikles* 4, 1, *διαπονηθῆναι* is 'middle.' We rarely find in Ionic examples of the aorist passive used, now as a passive, now as a middle; *e.g.* *ἐπενοήθη*, which is active in Hdt. III 122, VI 115, Hippokr. VI 612 (*προνοηθείς*), passive in Hippokr. IV 184. Occasionally Attic and Ionic vary in this respect.

## 635.]

1. Aorist passives with *σ*.

The following list follows the lines laid down in the consideration of the perfect middle or passive :

(1) *Sigmatic Stems.*

*αἰδομαι* Hdt. VII 141, IX 7; *ἄλθομαι* Hippokr. IV 126 (*τὸ ἄλθος* Et. M., Hesychios); *ἄχθομαι* Hdt. II 103; *ἐράω*, *ἐραμαι* Hdt. I 8, II 131; *ζέω* Aretaios 213; *κορέννυμι* (late present) Homer, Theog. 1249, but *κεκόρημαι* Hom., Theog. 751, Hdt. III 80, *Peace* 1285 (epic parody). Attic *κεκόρεσμαι* in Xenophon; *κρούω* Hippokr. III 148; *λεύω* Hdt. I 167, Hippokr. IX 412; *σβέννυμι* Hdt. I 87, Hippokr. II 446; *σείω* (?) Hdt. VI 98; *τελέω* Hdt. IV 79. Perhaps from sigmatic stems are *κναίω* Hippokr. VIII 132, 262; *πρίω* Archil. 122, Hippokr. V 214, 226 (*πρίζω* occurs first in Plato, *Theag.* 124 B); *σπάω* Hdt. VI 134, Hippokr. VII 172.

(2) *-σθην* by analogy occurs in *ἄγαμαι* Solon 333; *ἄρύω* Hippokr. VII 524, 526; *βιάω* Hippokr. VIII 96 (Hdt. *ἐβιήθη* VII 83); *βοάω* Hdt. VI 131, VIII 124 (*ἐβώσθην*), but *βεβωμένα* III 39; *γινώσκω* Hdt. IV 42, 154; *δύναμαι* Hdt. II 19, 140, VII 106 (*-ηθ-* in *z*), Hippokr. IV 214, where most of the MSS. have *δυνηθείη* or the like; *ἔδω* Hippokr. VI 558 *vulgo*; [*ἐλαύνω* yields *ἡλάσθην* according to the better tradition. The best support for the other form, which is that in use among the Attics, is Hdt. VII 165 where all MSS. have *ἡλάθην*. In IV 145 *ἡλάθην* *bis* is attested by *ABdz* in the first case, *Ad Bcorr. z* in the second, in V 42 by *Pr*, in V 97 by all but *ACP*, in VII 6 by all except *C*. The testimony in favour of *ἡλάθην* is weakest in I 168, 173, III 46, 51, 54, IV 4. *ἡλάσθην* is to be adopted against Veitch. It is best to regard the stem as *ἐλαδ-*, cf. *ἐληλάδατο* η 86]; *ἐλκύνω* Hdt. I 140, Hippokr. V 152; *ἐλύω* Archil. 103; *ἐρύω* (*εἰρύω*) Hippokr. V 234 (*ἐρυσθ-*), III 26, VI 194, VIII 84 (*εἰρυσθ-*); *ἑλάω* Hippokr. VI 406; [*καλέω*. *ἐκλήθη* Archil. 783, Hdt. I 173, Hippokr. II 344 etc., render *προσεκαλέσθη* the vulgate reading in Hippokr. V 330 extremely suspicious. Littré adopts *προσεκαλεύθη* on the authority of four MSS.]; *κελεύω* Hdt. VII 9 (*a*); *κλάω* Hippokr. VII 516; *κλείω* (*κληῖω*) always with *σ*; *κρεῖννυμι* Hdt. VII 26, 194, IX 122; *μεθύω* Herakl. 73, Hdt. II 121 (*δ*), Hippokr. VI 636; *μιμνήσκω* Hdt. II 3 (*μνησθήσομαι* VI 19; see § 632); *ὄνομαι* Hdt. II 136; *παύω* Hdt. I 130, V 94, VI 66. Of these occurrences I 130 offers the best support for *ἐπαύθην* (*A corr. Rdz*); elsewhere *d* has the *-θην* form; *παιίνω* Hippokr. V. 430 (?) but *-νθην* VII 242; *πτύω* Hippokr. VI 194, 198; *σκεδάω* Hdt. V 102; *στορέννυμι* (a late form) Hippokr. I 618; *σχάω* Hippokr. VI 428



(but perhaps from *σχάζω* which is Hippokratic); *ῥω* Hdt. III 10; *φλάω* Hippokr. III 200, 218, 220, VI 306, 402; *χάω* Hdt. II 11, 137; *χράομαι* Hdt. VII 144, IX 120 (but *κέχρημαι* I 42); *χράω* Hdt. VI 19, VII 178, IX 94.

2. Aorist passives of verbs in *-νω*. See § 614, 3.

A. Verbs in *-αίνω*, which form their perfects in *-σμαι*, have *-νθην*. *ὕγιαίνω* shows the regular *ὕγιάνθην* in Hippokr. V 174, VIII 410; *ὕγιασθην* in V 678, VI 8 (*ter* in Littré)<sup>1</sup> is from *ὕγιάζω*.

B. Verbs in *-ύνω*. *αἰσχύνω*, *ιθύνω* have *-νθην*. *ιδρύω* (*ιδρύνω*) has *ιδρύθην* in Hdt. I 172, II 44 (*-νθ-* in *CPz*), I 118, IV 203 (*-νθ-* in *Apr.*, *B*), and Hippokr. V 150 (*-νθ-* in *CD*), VIII 314 (*-νθ-* in *vulgo*, *-θ-* in *C*, *θ*). Littré adopts *ιδρύνθην* in III 144, 146 (*-θ-* in *FGHIK*), 556, IV 118 (*-θ-* in *C* and seven other MSS.), V 652 (*-θ-* in *AD*). I would reject the *-νθ-* forms. Epic is *ιδρύνθησαν* Γ 78, Η 56; cf. *ἡρτύνθην*.

C. Verbs in *-ίνω*. In Archilochos 34 *ἐκλίνθησαν* is Toup's conjecture for *ἐκινήθησαν*. In Homer we find both *ἐκλίθην* and *ἐκλίνθην*, in Ionic prose only *ἐκλίθην*. Homer has also the pair *ἐκρίνθην* and *ἐκρίθην* (B 815), later Ionic only the latter. Archilochos, it may be noted, has *ἀποκριθείς* in frag. 89<sub>3</sub>. In *ἐλάμφθην* Hdt. VI 92, IX 119 we meet with the nasal intruded from the present as in the Homeric *ἐκλίνθην*, *ἐκρίνθην*.

D. Schneidewin's *κατεκτάνθη*, Hipponax 13<sub>2</sub>, is wide of the mark. *ἐκτάνθην*, if correct, occurs only in late authors.

### 636.] Second Aorist.

1. Coexistence of First and Second Aorists. The following instances in the New Ionic may serve to illustrate the two forms<sup>2</sup>:—

*ἀλλάχθην*<sup>3</sup> Hdt. I 170, II 2 (*-γ-* in *C*), *ἡλλάγην* Hdt. VIII 84, Hippokr. V 152, V 4, 65, VIII 18, Diog. Apoll. 5. 206.

*ἐθάφθην* Hdt. II 81, VII 228. *ἐτάφην* Hdt. III 10, 55, IX 85. In II 81 *Rd* have *ταφῆναι*, which is due to the well-known substitution in later times of the light for the heavy form.

*ἐκαύθην* Hdt. I 19, IV 69, VI 101, *ἐκάην* Hdt. I 51, II 107, 180, IV 79. Hippokr. V 146, 208; cf. *νεοκαύ-τoις* Smyrna, D. S. 171<sub>48</sub> (late). Hippokr. V 214, VI 330.

<sup>1</sup> In two of the three cases there is authority for *-νθην*.

<sup>2</sup> See Valckenaer on *Phoin.* 972 (D), Veitch p. 50, Headlam on *Editing Aeschylus*, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> *ἡγγέλην* is poorly supported (*Rd*) in Hdt. II 121 (δ). *R* has *ἄγγελο* in VII 37.



ἐκλίθην Hdt. I 211, Hippokr. II 682, III 40, 94, 140, 146, VIII 312. On ἐκλίνθην, see 635, 2, C.

ἐκλίνην Hippokr. V 444, the only place (v.l. -ίθην), Hdt. IX 16 Dindorf and Herwerden, κλῖναι Stein.

ἐμίχθην Hdt. I 199, IV 9, Hippokr. VII 534.

ἐμίγην Hdt. II 131, VIII 38, Hippokr. VII 180, VIII 62.

ἐρρήχθην (?) Hippokr. VII 242.

ἐρράγην Hdt. II 173, Hippokr. III 214, V 424, VII 20, 534, VIII 68.

ἐστράφθην Hdt. I 130 (-φησαν CR dz).

ἐστράφην Hdt. III 129, Solon 376, Hippokr. V 426, VII 514, 534.

συνελέθην Hdt. I 97 and often (rare in Attic).

συνελέγην Hdt. VII 173, IX 27, 29, 32 (rare in Ionic).

ἐσφάθην Hdt. V 5 (not in Attic prose).

ἐσφάγην Hdt. IV 62.

ἐτρίφθην Hippokr. V 206, VIII 380.

ἐτρίβην Hdt. VII 120.

ἐφάνθην Hippokr. VIII 50.

ἐφάνην Hdt. I 36, and often (perhaps also I 165 for ἀναφῆναι intrans.), Hippokr. II 658, V 186.

2. In the following list of those examples of second aorist passives which we have observed in the post-Homeric Ionists, we have pointed out those cases which are Homeric in order to show the growth of this tense in the later dialect. Homer has twenty-two or twenty-three examples of the second aorist passive forms, most of which do not recur in Ionic prose; and this number is about one-sixth as large as that of the first aorist passive. Of the forms here included some belong only to late Ionic writers. On the forms in -η- which coexist with those in -θη-, see above under 1.

ἄγνυμι, see § 582; ἀλλάσσω above; βάπτω Hippokr. V 664; βλάπτω Hom., Hippokr. V 418, 460; βρέχω Hippokr. VIII 200; γηρεῖς in γηρέντος Xenophanes 8, from γήρημι. Hdn. II 266, cites γηρεῖς ἐν οἰκίουσιν from an unknown source: otherwise there is no further trace of γήρημι. The form γηρεῖς is remarkable not only on account of the long vowel (cf. however γηραλέος by the side of γεραῖός), but because of the existence of a γήρᾱμι whence comes γηράς P 197. Pairs such as γήρᾱμι and γήρημι are strange. On this verb cf. Lobeck on Buttman II 138, Brugmann, *M. U.* I 76, III 87. It does not suffice to say that γηρεῖς is constructed like θεῖς or ῥυεῖς. We need definite analogues. I do not find κινυεῖς given as a parallel to κινυάς in Buttman II 13, but we have πιμπλᾶς (Plato) and ἐμπιπλεῖς (Hippokr.). It is unlikely that Xenophanes should have employed an Aiolic form (γήρημι from γηρέω); γράφω Hdt. IV 91; δάκνω Aretaios 134; \*δάω Hom., Lukian *Syria dea* 1; δέρω Hdt. VII 26; δύω? (for διεκδυνῆναι in Hippokr. VI 374, Veitch suggests that διεκδύναι is to be read). Cf. ἐφύην, ἐρρύην; θάπτω above; καίω above; κείρω

Hdt. IV 127; κλίνω above; κόπτω Hdt. VIII 92; λανθάνω (?), Hippokr. VII 532, διελήθησαν *vulgo* (διελελήθεσαν Veitch) for which Littré adopts διεβλήθησαν from *CE*; -λέγω above; μαίνω Hdt. III 30 &c., Hippokr. III 140, V 186; μίγνυμι above; πείρω Hdt. IV 94; πήγνυμι Hom., Hippokr. V 222, VI 194 (Hom., has also πῆχθεν); πλέκω Hdt. VIII 84, Hippokr. IX 194; πλήσσω: ἐπλήγην Hom., Hdt. V 120, ἐξεπλάγην Hdt. I 119; πνίγω Hippokr. VII 150; πτύσσω Hippokr. VII 284; πτύω Hippokr. V 106; ῥάπτω Hippokr. III 524; ῥέω Hom., Hdt. VIII 138, Hippokr. II 658, V 114; ῥήγνυμι above; σήπω Hom., Hdt. III 66, VI 136, Hippokr. VII 190; σκάπτω Hdt. VI 72; στέλλω Hdt. IV 159, V 126; στρέφω above; σφάζω above; σφάλλω Hdt. IV 140, VII 168; τήκω Hippokr. III 330; τρέφω Hom., Hdt. III 111 &c.; τρίβω above; φαίνω above; φθείρω Hdt. VII 10 (ε), Hippokr. VIII 66; φλίβω Hippokr. VI 292 (here *C* has ἐκθλιβῆ); φράσσω Aretaios 13; φρύγω Hippokr. VI 414; φύρω Aretaios 241; φύω (?), Hippokr. VI 182 (in *θ*), VII 514 (now rejected in III 286 by Littré). Cobet and Nauck brand ἐφύην as a product of the decline; χαίρω Hom., Hdt. VIII 101.

### Contract Verbs.

Forms of *μ*i verbs inflected like Contract Verbs will be found § 691 ff.

637.] 1. Denominative verbs formed by the addition of -ιo-, -ιe- to the nominal stem lost their -ι- in the primitive period of the language<sup>1</sup>. The vowels thus brought into contact are treated as follows in Ionic.

#### (1) -aw verbs.

$a + \epsilon = \bar{a}$	$a + o = \omega$
$a + \eta = \bar{a}$	$a + \omega = \omega$
$a + \eta = a$	$a + oi = \varphi$
$a + \epsilon i = a$	$a + ou$ (spurious) = $\omega$

The inscriptions and the lyric poets without exception adopt this scheme of contraction. The prose writers follow it in the main. The differences consist (1) in the contraction of  $a + \epsilon$  to  $\eta$  chiefly in Hippokrates<sup>2</sup>, (2) in the contraction of  $a + o$ ,  $a + \omega$ ,

<sup>1</sup> Between vowels  $\iota$  was retained only when it was preceded by  $\upsilon$  ( $\upsilon\iota$ ).

<sup>2</sup> Only one example occurs in the MSS. of *Hdt.* ( $\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  IV 75, where  $A^2 B$  have  $\iota\hat{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$ ). In *Demokritos Phys.* 1, Sextus Empiricus has  $\delta\rho\eta\nu$ , but in *Melissos* 17 Simplicius has  $\delta\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu$  (Mullach  $\delta\rho\eta\nu$ ). In *Hippokrates* (but chiefly in the supposititious treatises) there are numerous examples according to Littré. Good MSS. often have the correct forms:  $\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\eta\nu$  VIII 342 ( $\hat{\alpha}\nu$  in  $\theta$ );  $\alpha\iota\tau\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  VI 606 ( $\hat{\alpha}$ - in  $\theta$ );  $\hat{\alpha}\nu\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  IX 384 ( $\iota\hat{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$  VI 388);  $\hat{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\eta\nu$  II 478 ( $\hat{\alpha}\nu$  in  $A$ ), VII 220 ( $\theta$ );  $\hat{\alpha}\sigma\eta$  (?) VII 252,  $\hat{\alpha}\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  IX 384, but  $\hat{\alpha}\sigma\hat{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$  VI 388, VIII 78;  $\beta\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  VIII 328 (*C*, *vulgo*,  $\iota\hat{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$  Littré), 560 *bis*;  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta$  IX 336 ( $\hat{\alpha}$  *CD*, and  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\hat{\alpha}\varsigma$  338),  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta\nu$  338 ( $\hat{\alpha}\nu$  *CD*). Cf. also *v.l.* 322, 356, 360 &c. It would be possible to refer  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta\nu$  to  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta\omega$ , since  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\hat{\alpha}\omega$  occurs in Doric (*C. D. I.* 3339<sub>35</sub>, 123);



$a + \text{ov}$  in some twenty verbs to  $\epsilon\text{o}$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\text{ov}$  in the *Parisinus* (P) of Hdt., and to  $\epsilon\omega$  in the *Florentinus* (C). See on these points § 688, where the instances of  $-\epsilon\omega$  for  $-\alpha\omega$  verbs are collected. Examples of the 'distracted' verbs are suspicious in Hdt. Stein adopts  $\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu\tau\omicron$  VI 11 ( $-\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron$  *A B*<sup>1</sup>),  $\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\omicron}\omega\sigma\iota$  IV 191 ( $-\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota$  *R*).

## (2) $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs.

Lyric poets and inscriptions agree with Herodotos and Hippokrates in their treatment of dissimilar vowels in contact, but differ from them in respect of the contraction of like vowels. In the lyric poets and inscriptions we find:—

$$\epsilon + \epsilon = \epsilon\epsilon$$

$$\epsilon + \eta = \eta$$

$$\epsilon + \epsilon\iota = \epsilon\epsilon\iota \text{ (}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\text{)}$$

$$\epsilon + \text{o} = \epsilon\text{o}, \epsilon\upsilon$$

$$\epsilon + \omega = \epsilon\omega, \epsilon\omega$$

$$\epsilon + \text{o}\iota = \epsilon\text{o}\iota, \text{o}\iota$$

$$\epsilon + \text{ou} = \epsilon\text{ou}, \epsilon\upsilon.$$

Thus the inflection of  $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  was the following, as early as the seventh century, in all respects except perhaps  $-\epsilon\upsilon-$  for  $-\epsilon\text{o}-$  in the poets; certainly by the time of Herodotos.

$\delta\iota\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\omega$  VIII 340;  $\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$  VII 296 ( $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  *H*), VIII 204 (*C*,  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  *vulgo*), but  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  VIII 184, 232;  $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\eta\nu$  VIII 366 ( $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$   $\theta$ , &c.,  $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\acute{\alpha}\omega$  is late, if correct at all); on  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron$ , see § 685;  $\acute{\upsilon}\text{po}\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\eta\nu$  VII 332, 342,  $\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\eta\sigma\theta\omega$  VII 320, 342, VIII 318 ( $-\alpha-$  in  $\theta$ );  $\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  III 294, IV 608, IX 312 (cf.  $\iota\eta\tau\omicron$  *Syr. dea* 20),  $\iota\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  III 258 ( $-\alpha-$  in *C*), VI 386 ( $-\alpha-$  in  $\theta$ ), VII 28, 252 *bis*, Aret. 302, Arrian 15<sub>12</sub>, but  $\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  Hippokr. VI 316, IX 328,  $\iota\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  Pherekyd. 76; [ $\kappa\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  III 490 does not belong here because of Attic  $\kappa\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ ];  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta\nu$  VII 204, 236, but  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$  VII 190;  $\mu\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\eta$  III 244 (so Littré) is wrong as regards the 'distracted'  $\eta$ ;  $\delta\delta\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  II 424 ( $-\alpha-$  in *A*), but  $-\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$  VII 70,  $-\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron$  V 206. Cf.  $\delta\delta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota$  IV 166;  $\delta\rho\eta\nu$  II 442 ( $-\acute{\alpha}\nu$  *A*) VI 146 ( $\theta$ ,  $-\acute{\alpha}\nu$  *vulgo*), VII 244 ( $-\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in  $\theta$ ),  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\rho\eta\nu$  VII 178,  $\sigma\nu\nu\omicron\rho\eta\nu$  II 440 ( $-\acute{\alpha}\nu$  *A*),  $\acute{\upsilon}\text{πε}\rho\omicron\rho\eta\nu$  Aret. 312, &c.,  $\text{προ}\omicron\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  IX 366;  $\text{πει}\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  II 178 ( $-\alpha-$  two MSS.);  $\text{πυ}\rho\iota\eta\nu$  VII 322 *bis*, 420, 422, VIII 138, 280 ( $-\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in  $\theta$ ), 340, but  $\text{πυ}\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$  VII 26,  $\text{πυ}\rho\iota\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  VI 516,  $-\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\omega$  VII 322, VIII 340 ( $-\alpha-$  in  $\theta$ );  $\text{φυ}\rho\eta\nu$  VIII 198. In *Herodas* we find  $\lambda\omega\beta\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota$  III 3 (but cf.  $\lambda\omega\beta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  369);  $\theta\lambda\acute{\eta}$  283,  $\theta\lambda\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota$  344, perhaps  $\acute{\alpha}\text{πε}\mu\text{πο}\lambda\acute{\eta}[\nu]$  765, and  $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\eta}$  617;  $\delta\rho\eta\varsigma$  423, 35, 56, 558 and 267 (corrected from  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ );  $\delta\rho\eta$  350, 427;  $\delta\rho\acute{\eta}\tau'$  268, 722, but  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$  666. Most of these forms have  $\eta$  in place of  $\acute{\alpha}$  after  $\iota$  and  $\rho$ , that is to say, they owe their origin to a belief (held in part even by Buttmann, *Gramm.* § 105, 12) that  $\acute{\alpha} + \epsilon$  in Ionic became  $\eta$  after  $\iota$  and  $\rho$ . [It is noteworthy that some of the  $\iota\eta$  incorrect forms occur in close proximity to futures or aorists where  $\eta$  is in place. Cf.  $\text{πυ}\rho\iota\eta\nu$ ,  $\text{πυ}\rho\iota\eta\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  VII 422,  $\text{πυ}\rho\iota\eta\nu$ ,  $\text{πυ}\rho\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$  VIII 340,  $\acute{\upsilon}\text{πο}\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\eta\nu$ ,  $-\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  VII 370. Cf. § 272, 3.  $\mu\alpha\lambda\kappa\iota\eta\nu$  (see L. S. s. v.) is a corruption of  $-\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\nu$ , not an Ionism.]  $\rho\eta$  was Ionic too in the verb, e. g. in  $\delta\rho\eta\nu$ . The examples with  $\eta$  not after  $\iota$  or  $\rho$ , are more difficult. To refer them to primitive  $-\eta\omega$  verbs is especially hazardous because they occur only in late works and even there the best MS. tradition is often against their correctness. We prefer to ascribe them in general to the grammarians whose hyper-Ionisms advanced to the point of resembling Dorisms. In the case of *Herodas* the possibility of  $\eta$  being a Doric contraction must not be overlooked. Only a thorough investigation of the question can disclose how many, if any, of the forms in question are to be regarded as having stems in  $\eta = \acute{\alpha}$ , parallel to those in  $\acute{\alpha}$ .



<i>Indic.</i>	<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Imperf.</i>
φιλέω (-έω)	φιλέω (-έω)	ἐφίλεον (-εον, -ευν)
φιλεῖς	φιλήῃς	ἐφίλεις
φιλεῖ	φιλήῃ	ἐφίλει
φιλέομεν (-έομεν, -εὔμεν)	φιλέωμεν (-έω-)	ἐφιλέομεν (-έομεν, -εὔμεν)
φιλεῖτε	φιλήητε	ἐφιλεῖτε
φιλέουσι (-εὔσι)	φιλέωσι (-έω-)	ἐφίλεον (-εον, -ευν)

A noteworthy difference between Herodotos and Hippokrates is the avoidance by the former of the forms of the optative in -οιην, and their frequent use by the latter. The infinitive is φιλεῖν, the participle φιλέων, -έουσα (-εὔσα), -έον (-εὔν), φιλέοντος (-εὔντος), -εούσης (-εύσης), -έοντος (-εὔντος).

In the MSS. of the prose writers εε, εη are generally retained (especially after consonants) and εει is very frequent.

It is certain that the Ionic of the fifth century contracted ε + ε, ε + η, ε + ει. Unless we admit that Herodotos and Hippokrates consciously adopted a system of inflection antiquated in their time, we are forced to the conclusion that the introduction of open εε, εη, εει in the texts of the early prose writers is due to the μεταγραφάμενοι. The cause of their error was the belief that the New Ionic did not contract ε with a following vowel. Meeting with εω in Ionic where Attic had ω, the grammarians opined that the difference between the two dialects consisted solely in the possession by the former of a 'pleonastic' ε<sup>1</sup>. Again they observed that εο, even if contracted in Ionic, did not lose its ε as it did in Attic, and that ε was often preserved before α. Furthermore, though εφε may become ει, εφη is actually uncontracted in -εφεω verbs. Thus unable to distinguish Ionic from Attic, and New Ionic from Old Ionic, and possessed of the belief that Herodotos was a species of prose Homer, it is not surprising that the grammarians or copyists were led to change δοκεῖ to δοκέει<sup>2</sup> and reinstate the ε everywhere before a following vowel (§ 108). The inflection thus seemed to them to gain in coherence and to approximate more closely to that of Homer who was the main source of their knowledge of the dialect.

The MSS. of the other prosaists anterior to the pseudo-Ionists have fared better than those of Herodotos and Hippokrates. In the pseudo-Ionists the open forms may claim a species of genuineness (§ 107).

The contraction of εο and εον. Dindorf<sup>3</sup> was an adherent of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. χρέωμαι from χρώμαι in Eust. on Ψ 834. From this source of error may have sprung some of the hyper-Ionic verbs in -εω. See under 3.

<sup>2</sup> The citation by Greg. Kor. (§ 14) of δοκέει and λαλέειν is inapposite. Both forms occur in a pseudo-Anakreontic fragment (no. 62).

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. *Praefatio* p. xxix.

the view that, while the ordinary speech of the Ionians may have preferred the closed to the open forms, in their literature some verbs were written with *εο*, others with *ευ*, and still others indifferently, and that certainty in so elusive a matter was to be despaired of. Bredow appears to have been of the same opinion. Abicht<sup>1</sup> first sought to bring order into a chaos which he conceived as foreign to the language of Herodotos. In those verbs<sup>2</sup> in which *ε* was preceded by a vowel, *εο* and *εου*, he contended, became *ευ*; in those in which *ε* followed a consonant *εο* and *εου* were retained. The former contention has some support, the latter may readily be disproved. Thus in verbs ending in a consonant we find *-εον*, but also *-ευμ-*, *-ευντ-*. Stein refuses to adopt the innumerable changes necessary to the carrying out of Abicht's theory, and prefers to edit that form which he thinks the MSS. in each case show to have existed in the archetype. Spreer<sup>3</sup> is an adherent of Abicht so far as the five verbs mentioned in note 2 are concerned, but joins issue with him in respect of that part of his theory which demands *εο* after a consonant. In the case of *ἀγινέω*, *αἰνέω*, *αἰτέω*, *δοκέω*, *σιτέομαι*, *φρονέω* and *χωρέω* he thinks Hdt. adopted *εο*. His attempt at differentiating between various portions of the text as regards the preference of the scribes for one or the other writing leads to no important results. We present below<sup>4</sup> a table, taken from Spreer's treatise, of verbs employed by Hdt. at least five times in present and imperfect, in order to show the affinities of the MSS. for *εο* or *ευ*, *εου* or *ευ*.

The views of the scholars above mentioned are all vitiated by the fact that they assume a radical difference between *εο* and *ευ*, *i.e.* that *εο* is a dissyllable, *ευ* a diphthong. While it may seem

<sup>1</sup> *Quaest. de dial. Herod. spec. primum*, 1859, *Uebersicht des herod. Dialekts*, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *θηέομαι*, *διανοέομαι*, *ἀγνοέω* always avoid *εο*, *νοέω* has *νοεῦντες* VIII 3, *διανοεῦνται* IX 54, but *ἐπενόεον* V 65, *νοέουσι* III 81, *νοέουσα* VIII 101. *ποιέω* has about 243 *ευ* forms to 41 in *εο*, and *ευ* is much preferred to *εου*.

<sup>3</sup> *De verbis contractis apud Herodotum*.

<sup>4</sup>

	ΕΟ	ΕΥ	ΕΟΥ	ΕΥ		ΕΟ	ΕΥ	ΕΟΥ	ΕΥ
ἀγινέω	13				οἰκέω	73	1	36	
αἰνέω	11		5		ὁμολογέω	8		9	
αἰρέω	24	1	7		πολιορκέω	28	2		
αἰτέω	21		2		προθυμέομαι	5	1		
ἀπορέω	4	1			σιτέομαι	17			
ἀρνέομαι	4	1			τελέω	11	2	16	1
βοηθέω	21		2	1	τιμαρέω	7	1	3	
δοκέω	50	1			φορέω	15	3	20	
ἀγέομαι	26	7			φρονέω	11		8	
κνέομαι	25	5			χωρέω	10		2	
κστορέω	5	1		1	ὠνέομαι	4	1		
αλᾶλέω	172	19 or 21	33	1					



harsh to hold that nothing is indicated by the distinct preferences, indicated in the MSS., of many of the verbs in question for the one or the other writing, the evidence of the inscriptions (§§ 246, 287) is conclusive that no great difference in pronunciation existed between  $\epsilon\omicron$  and  $\epsilon\upsilon$  (*i.e.*  $\epsilon\ddot{u}$ ) on the one hand and  $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  and  $\epsilon\upsilon$  (*i.e.*  $\epsilon\ddot{u}$ ) on the other. The difference is not phonetical, but orthographical, as Merzdorf<sup>1</sup> first recognized. With the material at our command it is impossible to reconstruct the exact system of orthography adopted by Herodotos or any other Ionic writer<sup>2</sup>. In Herodotos the preponderance in favour of  $\epsilon\omicron$  over  $\epsilon\upsilon$  is very great, except in the case of four of Abicht's five verbs; in Hippokrates, the other early Ionic prose writer, and in the pseudo-Ionists  $\epsilon\omicron$  prevails over  $\epsilon\upsilon$ , as is natural in literary monuments, which are conservative. The inscriptions have  $\epsilon\omicron$ , never  $\epsilon\upsilon$ . In the lyric poets there is not a single case except Mimn. 14<sub>3</sub> (see § 661), of dissyllabic  $\epsilon\omicron$ . Herodas prefers  $\epsilon\upsilon$ , perhaps because the Alexandrians regarded  $\epsilon\omicron$  as dissyllabic<sup>3</sup>. The contraction of  $\epsilon\omicron$  to  $\omicron\upsilon$  is an Atticism which has no place in any portion of Ionic so long as the dialect retained its native vigour<sup>4</sup>.

The writing  $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  is generally preserved in the inscriptions. In a document from Kos (Paton 37<sup>57, 61</sup>) coloured by Ionisms, we find  $\kappa\upsilon\epsilon\omicron\sigma\alpha = \kappa\upsilon\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ , Hippokr. VIII 484; but a like spelling we do not recollect to have encountered on any inscription from Ionia or the Ionic islands.  $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  rarely usurps the place of  $\epsilon\upsilon < \epsilon\omicron$ , *e.g.*  $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  Samos 217,  $\text{'}\text{Α}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  Thasos 72<sup>15</sup>. Strictly speaking  $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  is not contracted to  $\epsilon\upsilon$ . When, as in  $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\iota$ , the one writing is substituted for the other, the dialect merely fails

<sup>1</sup> Curtius' Studien, VIII 167.

<sup>2</sup>  $\epsilon\upsilon$  before  $\mu$  is a favourite spelling. When an  $-\alpha\omega$  verb appears under the form of one in  $-\epsilon\omega$  (§ 688), the evidence points to  $\epsilon\omicron$ , not  $\epsilon\upsilon$ , except in a comparatively few cases. These are  $\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\upsilon$  v.l.  $\delta$  251, Hdt. I 158, III 140, 15 IX 89, 93 generally in CPd $\zeta$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\rho\omega\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$  III 62,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  VII 236,  $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon$  IV 2 in P,  $\pi\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  Hippokr. IX 354,  $\delta\rho\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  IX 358, 376, Aret. 42 and Theokritos (Ahrens II 310),  $\delta\rho\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  Hrd. 444,  $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  Solon 375,  $\mu\omega\mu\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau$  Theog. 369,  $\mu\omega\mu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  169,  $\lambda\omega\beta\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$  Hrd. 369,  $\pi\eta\delta\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha$  396.  $\pi\lambda\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  Arris 72 is a bad conjecture. On  $-\epsilon\upsilon-$  in  $-\alpha\omega$  verbs, see § 690, and on  $\pi\iota\mu\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$  Hesiod, see § 691, note 4. Cf. also Theokr.  $\chi\alpha\sigma\mu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  IV 53,  $\delta\pi\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  VII 5 XXIII 34,  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\varsigma$  XIX 2,  $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  v.l. I 36,  $\sigma\pi\alpha\rho\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  (?) Quint. Smyr XIV 283,  $\sigma\kappa\iota\rho\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota$  Opp. Kyn. IV 342,  $\delta\iota\psi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\eta$  Anthol. Pal. VI 217. When a verb in  $-\alpha\omega$  is incorrectly inflected like one in  $-\epsilon\omega$  (§ 690),  $\epsilon\omicron$  is very rare. Hence  $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  Hdt. VIII 130 is probably correct.

<sup>3</sup>  $\epsilon\omicron$  which was copied from the earlier monuments by the pseudo-Ionists was regarded by them as more Ionic than  $\epsilon\upsilon$ , and perhaps classed as dissyllabic.

<sup>4</sup> The confusion between  $\epsilon\upsilon$  and  $\omicron\upsilon$ , starting from a comparison of  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$  and  $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$  produced such forms as  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\iota$  in the MSS. Hrd. has  $\chi\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$  442,  $\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  489,  $\delta\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  561, which are unique of their kind.

<sup>5</sup>  $\rho\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\varsigma$  in the oracle, Hdt. VII 140, should give way to  $\rho\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\eta\eta\varsigma$  (Clemens Alex.), and be referred to an otherwise unattested  $\rho\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ .



to differentiate between  $\epsilon v = \check{e}\check{u}$  and  $\epsilon v = \check{e}\check{u}$ . In the lyric poets  $\epsilon ov$  is almost always a monosyllable. In Hdt. it is preferred to  $\epsilon v$ , except in the case of  $\pi o i \acute{\epsilon} \omega$ ; Herodas prefers  $\epsilon v$ . The later prose literature generally adopts  $\epsilon ov$ .

$\epsilon \omega$  is open about 190 times in Hdt. There are only three or four cases of the Attic  $\omega$ .

In the optative,  $\epsilon oi$  is retained as an old-fashioned spelling in a Teian inscription and in Ionic prose. In the poets we have  $oi$  for  $\epsilon oi$ , and even in prose there is ample support for  $oi$  after consonants as well as after vowels. It will not do to say that Ionic prose contracts  $\epsilon oi$  only after vowels as was held by Merzdorf and Spreer. How far the spelling  $\epsilon oi$  after consonants is a genuine survival, how far reinstated by the writers of the MSS., cannot be determined.  $\epsilon oi$  is found, outside of  $\pi o i \acute{\epsilon} \omega$ , about forty times in all the MSS. of Hdt. In the case of  $\pi o i \acute{\epsilon} \omega$ , the contracted  $oi$  is found up to VII 45, after which chapter we have  $\epsilon oi$ . Stein adopts the latter form throughout, even when it has no support from the MSS., e.g. V 75  $\pi o i o i \acute{\epsilon} v$ .

### (3) - $\omega$ verbs.

$o + o = ov$ , never $\epsilon v$	$o + \epsilon i = oi$
$o + \epsilon =$ „ „ „	$o + oi = oi$
$o + \omega = \omega$	$o + ov$ (spurious) = $ov$
$o + \eta = \omega$	

All the witnesses for the dialect agree to these contractions. On  $-\epsilon v-$  for  $-\epsilon v-$  erroneously introduced into certain forms of this inflection, see § 690.

### 2. Verbs in $-\epsilon f-\omega$ .

In dissyllabic verbs in  $-\epsilon f-\omega$  the contraction of like vowels is not imperative, as it is in the case of verbs in  $-\epsilon-\iota\omega$  and  $-\epsilon\sigma-\omega$ , which are inflected like those in  $-\epsilon-\iota\omega$ . The prose writers vary between  $\epsilon\epsilon$   $\epsilon\epsilon i$ , and  $\epsilon i$ , with the exception that  $\delta\epsilon i$  is always contracted. In the lyric poets  $\epsilon f\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon f\epsilon i$  generally become  $\epsilon i$  (in Herodas always), but  $\epsilon\eta$  remains open.  $\epsilon\omega$  is never contracted,  $\epsilon o$  only once (in Herodas), and  $\epsilon ov$  is so written (except once, in Herodas), even when it may be monosyllabic.

$\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ : in the poets we find  $\delta\epsilon i$ , Hipponax 6 (trim.), Anakr. 98 (eleg.), Herodas 390, 520, 66, 62, 31, 7129. The only occurrence of the word in Homer  $\Pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  I 337) takes this form, for which  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon i$  should not be substituted e.g.  $\tau\acute{i} \delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon i$  with omitted  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ). In Herodotos there are about 50 cases of  $\delta\epsilon i$  3 of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon i$  (III 127, VIII 68 (a), 143). Hippokrates uses  $\delta\epsilon i$ , e.g. II 52, 374, 76, VIII 190 (next to  $\pi o i \acute{\epsilon} i v$ ), so too Herakleitos 94, Melissos 16, Demokritos 0, 47, 70, 73, 205, 219 (sic Stobaios, Mullach  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon i$ ), Ion 1, Euseb. Mynd. 1, 21, Aretaïos, e.g. 55. Eberhard's  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon i$  in Arrian 43<sub>6</sub> has no MS. support ( $\delta\epsilon i$  or  $\epsilon i\tau\alpha i$ ?).  $\delta\epsilon i v$  occurs in Hdt. I 129, II 133, VI 135, IX 33, Hippokr. II 248, 02 &c.,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon i v$  but once in Hdt. (VIII 62). A much used word would tend to contract (cf. Boiotian  $\tau\acute{\alpha} v$  &c.).  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  Zeleia 113<sub>39</sub>, Hdt. I 90, Hippokr. II 246,

III 258, Aret. 198, Arrian 124. So too<sup>1</sup> in *Clouds* 493 and in Attic inscriptions: II 809 B 32 (δέει with ει from ηι). The contracted form δῆ, which occurs sporadically in Attic literature, appears in Lebadeia (Ditt. *Syll.* 353<sub>62</sub>), and in the form δει<sup>2</sup> Teos 158<sub>8</sub>, and *B. C. H.* 1890, p. 393. In the imperfect in Herodotos we find ἔδεε 15, ἔδει 7 times by consensus of the MSS. Stein changes to ἔδεε four times where the MSS. have ἔδει, but leaves ἔδει in three passages with the MSS. ἔδεε was perhaps the Herodoteian form. In Hippokrates we find ἔδει II 46. Herodas has ἔδει 6<sub>79</sub>, 80, 92, Lukian, *Syr. dea* 25 ἔδεεν (cf. πῶς δειῖ ἰστ. συγγρ. § 18 citing from an anonymous writer in Ionic). δεῦμαι Hrd. 5<sub>19</sub> is an instance of the rare contraction of εο. δέει<sup>3</sup> Hdt. VII 161 is probably incorrect (cf. δέη in *R*). δέεται is found in Hdt. I 32 &c., Hippokr. II 36 (-ει- *vulgo*), 256 (-ει- *vulgo*), 348 and 372 (-ει- *A*), VII 288, and occasionally in Attic; δειται in I 616, II 356, III 210, 212, 232 *bis*, Arrian 36<sub>2</sub>, Herodas 1<sub>79</sub>, 6<sub>41</sub>, 7<sub>49</sub>. δέεσθε Hdt. VIII 22. In the subjunctive we find δέηται Olynthos 8 B 4, Arkesine (*Mitth.* XI 107, late), Hdt. III 96, Hippokr. III 204 (δει same line), as in Attic inscriptions (C. I. A. II 40 A 13, 54 B 15), and with the glide ι (δείηται II 167, 43, 48)<sup>4</sup>, δέωνται Hdt. II 173, IV 94 (Attic δειώνται C. I. A. II 119, 14). δειότατο Hdt. V 73, Hippokr. III 230; δεισθω appears in Hippokr. VIII 340, Hrd. 4<sub>38</sub>, δέεσθαι Hippokr. II 28 (-ει- *vulgo*), IX 334, Hdt. IV 145 &c. (also Attic), δεισθαι IX 8 (in all MSS. except *R*), and in MSS. Arrian 31<sub>7</sub>, and Hippokr. VII 176. δέόμενος Hdt. IV 11, Euseb. Mynd. I, δειομ- Oropos 18<sub>56</sub>. Theokr. XXX 32 has δέόμενον, which is not, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 485, note 1, states, an unthematic form. In the imperfect: ἐδέμεν Hdt. III 36, ἐδέο VII 161 (Bredow, MSS. ἐδέον), ἐδέετο Hdt. IV 162, &c. (also Attic), ἐδέοντο I 196. θέω yields θεῖ Hdt. I 181; θέειν VIII 140 (*a*), but θεῖν III 105, both in all MSS.; θέοντες Hippokr. epist. IX 350; ἔθεε Hdt. I 43, ἔθεον I 82. νέω *swim* has νέειν Hdt. VIII 89 (νεῖν VI 44 *A B<sup>1</sup> C d*); ἔνεον VIII 89. πλέω yields πλεῖ Hekat. 284, Aret. 69, Hrd. 2<sub>21</sub>, πλέουσι Hdt. II 60, Hippokr. II 60, IX 368 epist., Kallimachos frag. 94 (choliambic); πλέη Hdt. III 138, πλέωμεν VIII 109, πλέωσι IX 98; πλέοι II 115; πλέειν VIII 109 but πλεῖν Arrian 6<sub>5</sub>, Vita Hom. 6, 7; πλέοντες Hdt. II 60, πλεούσας VIII 10; ἔπλεε<sup>5</sup> Theog. 12, Hdt. IV 43, but ἔπλει Ion I, ἔπλεον Hdt. I 164. πνέω yields πνέει Hippokr. II 62, VII 486, but πνεῖ VI 384 (*θ*), VII 16, πνέουσι Aret. 102; πνέη Hrd. 1<sub>90</sub>, Aretaios 5; πνέειν Hippokr. V 204, πνεῖν VII 50; πνέοντες Hdt. II 22, πνέοντα Diog. Apoll. 5; ἔπνεεν Sim. Keos 115<sub>2</sub>; πνεόμενος Hippokr. II 122. ῥέω yields ῥέει Mimn. 51 (=Theog. 1017), Hdt. I 51, 72, 180, 185, &c. Hippokr. III 252, VII 12, 562, 570, VIII 260, Aret. 109, Herakl. 41 (but ῥέ 42) according to Bywater. ῥεῖ is found in Hippokr. II 658, VII 12, VII 34 Arrian 8<sub>5</sub>. ῥέη Hdt. I 193, II 149, Hippokr. VI 314, VII 34, Aret. 98, 271 (but ῥῆ 303); ῥέοι Hdt. II 22; ῥέειν Hdt. II 21, Hekat. 278, Hippokr. II 38 136, Aret. 248, ῥεῖν Theog. 639 (εὐ ῥεῖν for *A*'s εὐρεῖν, *vulgo* εὐρεῖν), Hippokr. VI 12; ῥέων Hdt. I 6, Hekat. 202, ῥέοντα Hdt. II 121 (*δ*); ἔρρεε<sup>6</sup> II 121 (*δ*), ἔρρε

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also δεησόμενος, δεηθείς, περιδεής, ἐνδεής.

<sup>2</sup> In Hort. Adon. p. 187 B δει is given as the Attic subjunctive. Cf. Demokl 188 where Stobaios has δει.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιδεύει B 229 is Aiolic rather than Ionic. An. Ox. I 109, calls it Ionic because Homeric.

<sup>4</sup> προσδείται Ditt. *Syll.* 337<sub>11-12</sub> (320 B. C.) is an indicative form used in Attic as a subjunctive, a substitution made easier after δέη had become δῆ, the δει (above). Cf. also δηλοῖ indicative and subjunctive.

<sup>5</sup> Eust. 1892<sub>38</sub>, cf. 882<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Eust. 1892<sub>38</sub>.



Hippokr. V 226; ἔρρειτο Aret. 180; ῥέόμενος Hippokr. I 572, VII 320, VIII 48. From χέω we have χέει Hdt. III 96, χέουσι IV 195, χέη Hrd. 77; χέετω Sim. Keos 167<sub>5</sub>; ἐκχεῖν Keos 43<sub>22</sub>, Aret. 184, but χέειν Hdt. IV 127, Hippokr. II 356; χέουσα Hdt. I 185, χεῦσα Hrd. 677; χέεται Herakl. 23, Hippokr. VII 570, but χεῖται Arrian 32<sub>8</sub>, Aret. 296; χέεσθω Aret. 202, but χείσθων Anakr. 42; ἐχεῖτο Hippokr. III 54.

### 3. Variation in the Present between -ω and -εω (-αω) verbs.

This list includes only such verbs as show both forms in the same dialect. Omitted are cases analogous to δινέω in Hippokr. = δίνω in Hesiod and Herakleian, and also variations of the epic dialect, *e.g.* ἔλκω, ἐλκέω, αἰδομαι, αἰδέομαι. This section does not treat of the addition of an ε to the stem in other tenses than the present. Some of the undermentioned verbs are due to the error by which Ionic was thought to have εω in place of ω, an error assisted perhaps, but not directly caused, by the analogy of λαχέω, πορφυρέω, μελανέω, &c. The genuine forms recall the causatives in -áyati in Sanskrit, which in Greek were confused with the denominatives. The Greek representatives of -áyati are either causatives or iteratives (intensives and frequentatives), but in most cases the original signification has been lost.

ἀγεόμενος Hdt. III 14 in *qz* cannot stand. It is a confusion between ἡγεόμαι and ἄγω, parallel to ἐπειρεόμενος below. ἄχθομαι Hdt., Aret. 183, ἀχθέει Aret. 183. βαλλέω does not exist. ὑπερβαλλέειν Hdt. III 23, συμβαλλεόμενος I 68, III 95, &c., are stupid blunders of the Aldine edition. Cf. ὑπερβαλλέειν, the vulgate reading in Hippokr. IV 92. The existence of βαλλήσω (not attested in Ionic) may have furthered the error, but it is more probable that the false -έειν of the second aorist induced the mistake. Cf. also ὑπερθορέοντα Hdt. VI 134 (*sz*) from θορέειν. βουλέωνται Teos, Mitth. XVI 293, l. 20; cf. δυνέωνται and § 618. Notice also βουλήσομαι, ἐβουλήθην. βρύχομαι in βρύχωνται, a doubtful reading of Littré VI 360. Hippokrates has usually βρυχάομαι. (δια)βύνεται Hdt. II 96, but διαβυνέονται IV 71. In the *Peace* 646 we read ἐβύνουν. δεψεῖ Hdt. IV 64 *ABC* is a mistake for δέψει *Rz* (δέψεῖ *P*). δύνω 16 times in Hdt., δυνέω once, in ἐνδυνέουσι III 98 (ἐνδύνουσι *R*). Cf. θυνέω in Hesiod's *Scutum* 210, 257 with Skt. *dhūn-aya-ti* by the side of *dhū-nā-ti*. εἶλω perhaps in ἡλσάμην Sim. Amorg. 17, εἰλέω Hdt., Hippokr. εἶρομαι Hdt., ἐπειρεόμενος Hdt. III 64 in *ABdz*, ἐπηρεόμενος *C*. Read ἐπειρόμενος with *s, v*. Confusion between εἶρομαι and ἐρέω led to the incorrect form. ἔψω is Herodoteian (II 94, III 100, IV 61, IX 118) and Hippocratic, *e.g.* in the following cases:—ἔψειν II 32, III 236, ἔψε VII 158, 160, 374, VIII 174, 392, ἐπέτω VIII 182, ἔψων VIII 162, ἔψοντα VIII 138, ἐψόμενος VII 276. Since we have the testimony of a grammarian (wrongly supposed by Hermann (*de emend. rat.* p. 313) to be Herodian) to the effect that no ancient author used ἡψουν, ἔψεε or ἡψεε in Hdt. I 48 has been abandoned by the editors. The best support for this form in Hippokrates is II 518, where ἔψεε occurs twice. In the first case *A* has ἔφε, in the second ἔψε is the vulgate reading and the majority of the MSS. have ἔψεε. This example is however from the spurious appendix to the *περὶ διαίτης ὁξέων*. Other cases in the supposititious works are ἐψεῖν V 244, VII 86, 156 (ἔψει same page), 196, 254 (*θ*), 276, 374, VIII 82



(-ειν C), 92, 174, 194, 200, 338 (ἔψειν C), 366 (θ, Littré ἐψῆν), 392. Instead of ἐψῶν, which appears VII 48, 160, 222, 266, 276, 420, we have traces of the early form in ἐψοντα VI 566 (θ), ἀφέψοντα VIII 138 (θ), and ἀπέψων VII 402 (C). Aretaios has ἐψεῖν 250, ἐψείσθω 331, ἐψείσθωσαν 256 (Kühn), συνεψείσθω 170, 13 (Ermerins). The future, aorist, and perfect ἐψη- started the -εω form. That κύρω and κυρέω coexisted in post-Homeric Ionic may be inferred from κύρσω in Demokritos, ἐνέκυρσα in Hdt., ἐγκυρέω Herakleitos, κυρήσω Hdt., ἐκύρησα Archil., Hdt., Hippokr. κύω Hdt., Hippokr., κυέω Hdt. (κυήσω Hippokr.). μαρτύρομαι Hdt. I 44, V 92 (η), μαρτυρεῖ VIII 94 (bear witness), ἐπεμαρτυρέοντο (?) V 93. μαρτυροῦμαι is late, and due to a confusion between μαρτυρῶ (ἐγώ) and μαρτύρομαι (σε). The only testimony to μαχέομαι<sup>1</sup> occurs in Hdt. VII 104 (A B C d z, μαχομ- Rvs), 225 (R z), 239 (Suidas), IX 67 (A B, μαχομ- P R), 75 (z). In VII 104 occurs μονομαχέοιμι which is formed like συμμαχέω and must be considered apart from μαχέομαι. The -ε- form in the simple verb appears in the future μαχέσομαι in Hdt. μέλομαι is Herodoteian (I 98, II 2, 174) and Hippocratic (ἐπιμελόμενος III 522, *vulgo* -εο-). μεταμελῆται Hdt. III 36, in all MSS., should be read -ηται. In Hippokr. III 476 we find ἐπιμελῆται (as in Demokr. 41), in III 492, IX 256, 420 -έεσθαι. On inscriptions we find both forms: ἐπιμέλονται Thasos 71<sub>8</sub>, ἐπιμέλεσθαι 71<sub>7</sub>, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Oropos 18<sub>7</sub>. μινύθω Hippokr. IV 360, μινυθέω III 330. μύζω Hippokr. VIII 592, 594, μυζέω VII 252. ξύρω and ξυρέω are both Hippocratic. Cf. ξυρα VII 118 (aorist, not imperf. of ξυράω), ἐξύρησα VI 212. Hdt. has only ξυρέω. ὀμίχω in Hipponax 55 A ὤμιξεν; cf. ὀμιχέω in Hesiod. πέτομαι Hdt. II 75 renders καταπετεωμένas III 111 (C) impossible. Read -πετομέναs with A B. πιέζω Hdt. V 35, Hippokr. II 18, 92, III 334, 504, 522, 524, VII 190, 276, 496. πιεζέω in πιεζέμενος Hdt. III 146 (A B R), VI 108 (πιεζομ- C z), VIII 142 (πιεζομ- B C z). In these passages we adopt the contracted form, but in IX 21 πιεζόμενος (πιεζεμ- R), and elsewhere (I 142, II 25, IV 13, 105, 118, VI 139, VII 121, IX 60, 61), πιέζομαι is undisputed. Bredow and Dindorf would read this form throughout. Hippokr. has πιεζέω in πιεζεῦνται II 184, πιεζεῦντα III 450, πιεζέμενος VII 566, VIII 262. Aretaios has πιέζω 77, 107, πιεζέμενος 107. Apio adopted πιεζέω in Homer, Aristarchos and Herodian πιέζω<sup>2</sup>. πινέω in πινέμενος (?) Hippokr. II 38. ρίπτω Hdt. III 41, IV 61 &c., ριπτέω IV 94, 188, VII 50, VIII 53. Of σινέομαι (cf. IV 123, IX 13, 49, 73, 87) there is now no reading accepted in Herodotos. Even in V 81 ἐσίνοντο or ἐσικνέοντο is adopted. In all other passages except those referred to, the MSS. have σίνομαι. Hippokrates has σινεόμενος VII 552, 562, 592 twice and σινόμενος once, σίνοιτο III 482, VII 550. (περι)σπερχέω is correct in Hdt. VII 207, since it is derived from περισπερχής. Hdt. elsewhere has σπέρχω, σπέρχομαι, &c., and in the passage cited Abicht adopts Valekenae's περισπερχθέντων. σπέρχνω in the sense of σπέρχω is mentioned by Erotian (Lex. Hippokr.). φθινεύσιν, dat. pl. Hippokr. II 674 (-ουσιν A), cf. φθινήσας V 468. φυράω Hdt. II 36; cf. ἐφύρησα Hippokr. VI 460, &c., πεφύρημαι VI 540, but πέφυρμαι Hdt. III 157.

<sup>1</sup> Gram. Vat. 698 μαχόμενος, μαχεόμενος, but Meerm. 652 μαχούμενος, μαχεόμενος; in each tractate in conjunction with a present (λυπεόμενος). The reference, we think, has in mind the epic μαχειόμενος and μαχεούμενον rather than a New Ionic μαχέομαι.

<sup>2</sup> πιέζω Ionic (Homeric), Attic, Aiolic, πιάζω Doric, Hdn. II 348<sub>5</sub>, cf. I 443<sub>10</sub>, II 949<sub>21</sub>. In II 140<sub>23</sub> Herodian reports that Apio read (incorrectly, as he thinks) πιέζεν in μ 174.

In this list we have not included such monstrosities as ἐνείχεε, in all MSS. Hdt. I 118, ὤφλεε (*Rz*) VIII 26.

4. -εω varies with -ενω as in other dialects. ἀεθλέω and ἀθλεύω both occur in Hdt., but Hdt. has always τυραννέω, never τυραννέω; δινέω is rare in prose (Hippokr. V 274, VI 494, Hdt. II 14), while δινεύω is epic and tragic.

ἀναλόω appears in Hippokrates II 50, VII 588; elsewhere it is mainly older Attic. Aretaios has ἀναλίσκω 198.

κρεμάομαι in Hippokr. I 592, II 288 is suspicious. κρέμαμαι is certain in II 152.

λούω and λόω. The existence of a present λούω, λούομαι in Homer is open to grave doubt. Verbs whose stems ended originally in -ous (ἀκούω, κρούω) reinstate in the present their ου from future and aorist; but verbs whose stems did not end in -ous regularly lost their υ < F in primitive Greek. Homeric ἀπολούσομαι<sup>1</sup> and λούσα have as their present, not λούω, but λόω. For λούεσθαι in Z 508=O 265, which is merely an Aiolism (=λόφεσθαι), λοέεσθαι is the older form. ἐλούεον Hymn to Demeter 290 is also an Aiolism, or it is a confusion between λοέω and λούω (Gemoll reads with Bücheler ἔλουνον). λούω itself was formed from λούσω after the principle regulating the movement of the ου had passed into abeyance.

λόομαι occurs in the following forms:—λούται Sim. Amorg. 7<sup>63</sup> (first foot); λούνται Hdt. I 198, II 37; λούσθω Hippokr. VII 24, 26, 78, VIII 162, 260 (C θ); λούσθαι Hdt. III 124 (λούεσθαι AB), Hippokr. VII 74, VIII 298 (θ, λούεσθαι vulgo, Littré); ἐλούτο Hdt. III 125. All these are formed directly from λο + ε or λο + ο. It is not true that the present and imperfect 'generally drop ε and ο in their terminations' (Veitch, p. 424). Veitch cites the inf. λούν from Hippokrates in Galen.

λούω is found in λούε Hippokr. VIII 162; λούει Hdt. VI 52; λούειν Hippokr. II 374, 376, VII 26, 34, 90; λούοις Hippokr. II 372, as in Attic; λούονται Hdt. IV 75 ABR, Stein, but λούνται is better; λούεσθω Hippokr. VII 276, 334, 380, VIII 198, 242, 420; λούεσθαι Hippokr. II 376, V 244, VI 252, VII 330, Aretaios 301; λουόμενος Hdt. III 23 (Dindorf λούμενοι). The last form appears in Hippokr. VII 276, *Hellen.* VII 2, 22 (Dindorf λουμ-), &c.<sup>2</sup> It is certain in the comparatively late inscription from Andania (Cauer 47<sup>109</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> This form cannot be resolved into ἀπολοέσομαι as can 25 occurrences of the aorist (λούση Ξ 7, λούσατε § 210 resist resolution).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 274.



*Present Indicative.*

On -εω instead of -αω see § 688. Verbs in -εῖω are omitted (§ 637, 2).

**638.] Singular First Person.**

1. -αω is always contracted<sup>1</sup>, *e.g.* Anakr. 19<sub>2</sub> κολυμβῶ, Hrd. 386 σιωπῶ, 524 ὀρῶ, Hdt. VI 130 ἐγγυῶ, IV 36 γελῶ.

2. -εω<sup>2</sup>, though thus written, is always monosyllabic in the lyric poets of Ionic birth. φιλέω Archil. 58<sub>1</sub> (tetr.), Anan. 4<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 72 B, 94<sub>1</sub> (eleg.), Herodas 1<sub>66</sub> and so 7<sub>4</sub> where φιλῶ has slipped in; δοκέω<sup>3</sup> Anan. 5<sub>9</sub>, Solon 32<sub>4</sub> (iamb. tetram., δοκῶ Fick), Hrd. 1<sub>10</sub>, 6<sub>34</sub>, 7<sub>42</sub>; αἰνέω Theog. 873 in *n* alone, Hrd. 362; οἰκέω Hrd. 1<sub>13</sub>, 2<sub>22</sub> (Theog. οἰκῶ 1210 in all MSS.). Anakreon has also διοσκέω 3<sub>3</sub>, μισέω 74<sub>1</sub>, Theognis οἰνοβαρέω 503 (*AO*), Hrd. τελέω 264, μετρέω 6<sub>5</sub>, ὑλακτέω 6<sub>14</sub>, φωνέω 547, 7<sub>5</sub>.

In the spurious Anakreontics we find δοκέω 287, ποθέω 40<sub>1</sub>, φιλέω 40<sub>3</sub> (υυ-).

-εω is the ending in Ionic prose: δοκέω Hdt. I 8, &c., Hekat. 331, Hippokr. V 196, 714, Lukian *V. A.* § 14, Hdt. ποιέω I 38, νοέω VII 8 (*a*), ἐπινοέω III 134, &c., Hippokr. ἐπαινέω II 244.

3. -οω<sup>4</sup> = ω: δικαίω Hdt. III 142, &c.

**639.] Singular Second Person.**

1. ὀρᾶς<sup>5</sup> Archil. 87<sub>1</sub>, 88<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 1<sub>6</sub>, *Vit. Auct.* 4; Hipponax ἀρειᾶς 65, περνᾶς 52 (conj.), Anakr. ἡβᾶς 18<sub>2</sub>, Herodas γελᾶς 274, ἐρᾶς 279, Hdt. νικᾶς I 40, χρᾶς IV 155, *Vit. Auct.* 13 ἐρωτᾶς.

2. κοεῖς Anakr. 4<sub>2</sub>, δοκέεις 75<sub>2</sub>, φιλεῖς Theog. 88, ὀμιλεῖς 1377 (-έεις here impossible); Herodas has δοκεῖς 1<sub>65</sub>, 342, 517, φαμαρτέεις (?) 543, ποεῖς 6<sub>9</sub>, φιλεῖς 643, ἀμιθρεῖς 6<sub>6</sub>. In Hdt. the incorrect -έεις is more frequent than -εῖς: δοκέεις I 27, 207, III 34, IV 126, VII 237, νοέεις VII 38 (εὐνοεῖ VII 237), but ζητεῖς I 32 in all MSS. and in Stobaios, φλυηρεῖς VII 103 (*R*). Good MS. evidence supports ἀριθμεῖς and δοκεῖς *Vit. Auct.* § 4,

<sup>1</sup> Vat. 694 cites as Ionic βοάω parallel to the open ποιέω and χρυσόω. An open -αω is unknown in post-Homeric Ionic. The Doric λῶ is called Ionic in An. Ox. I 79<sub>31</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> καλέω Hdn. I 444<sub>13</sub>, II 332<sub>2</sub> (Et. Gud. 294<sub>41</sub>), ἀδικέω Hdn. II 331<sub>25</sub>, ὀκνέω II 267<sub>14</sub> (Et. M. 620<sub>45</sub>), φιλέω, νοέω Apollon. *Adv.* 143<sub>11</sub> (Schm.), φρονέω, νοέω Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 653, ποιέω Vat. 694.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Peace 46 Ἰωνικός τις φησι παρακαθήμενος "δοκέω μὲν, ἐς Κλέωνα τοῦτ' αἰνίσσεται . . ." Open -εω may occur in lyric passages in tragedy: καλέω *Agamem.* 147.

<sup>4</sup> χρυσόω Vat. 694 does not exist.

<sup>5</sup> κατορᾶς (Anakr.) Joh. Gr. 240, ἀτιμᾶς An. Par. III 350<sub>23</sub> (ἀτιμεῖς Aiolic, ἀτιμοῖς Attic).



ποιεῖς § 6 (in *C*). In Hippokr. ep. 14 (IX 338) we find *θεομαχεῖς*, but *-έεις* is more common (e.g. *δοκέεις* IX 360).

3. *δικαιοῖς* Hdt. VII 159.

#### 640.] Singular Third Person.

1. *ὀρᾶ<sup>1</sup>* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>15, 80</sub>, Theog. 168, Solon 13<sub>17</sub>, Hdt. I 10, Diog. Apoll. 6, Ion 1; Hippon. 76 *λαιμᾶ* (conj.), Theog. 320 *τολμᾶ*, Solon 13<sub>15</sub> *τελευτᾶ*, Hrd. 1<sub>77</sub> *ἐνγελᾶ*, 38 *ὀρμᾶ*, 7<sub>99</sub> *φοιτᾶ*, 7<sub>61</sub> *ἐρᾶ*, Hdt. I 55, &c. *χρᾶ*, VIII 69 *ἔᾶ*, Demokr. 15 *νικᾶ*, 71 *ἀνιᾶ*, Hippokr. VII 578 *ἐξερᾶ*, II 40 *λιθιᾶ*.

2. The only case of open *-έει* in the post-Homeric authors here investigated is *δοκέει* Theog. 221, which is a reproduction of the epic form in Z 338, Ψ 470, α 376, ε 360, &c. (nine times in all). Homer employs also *δοκεῖ* M 215, ν 154, &c., but never *δοκέει*. This *δοκέει* appears at the end of a trimeter in Hipponax 74, though Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>108</sub>, and Solon 13<sub>42</sub>, have *δοκεῖ* in the same place. The form with synizesis in the former poet (1<sub>9</sub>) is also improbable. Solon has *δοκεῖ ἔμμεναι* in 13<sub>39</sub>, but the passage is spurious, and Herodas the same form V 3 (*δόκει* Bergk). The only other trace of a possible *-έει* is *φιλέει* Anakr. 70, where the dactylo-epitritic permits *φιλέει* (cf. the metre of 71). *-εῖ* is found at the verse end in Archil. 116 epod. (*καθαιρεῖ*), 69 tetr. (*ἐπικρατεῖ*), Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>65</sub> (*φορεῖ*), 7<sub>27</sub> (*νοεῖ* as Sim. Keos (?) 85<sub>8</sub>), Theog. 1270, 1368 (*φιλεῖ*)<sup>2</sup>, Anakr. 21<sub>13</sub> (*φορεῖ*). Other cases of *-εῖ* are *ἐπαρκεῖ* Solon 5<sub>1</sub> (*-έει* impossible), *ἀρκεῖ* Hrd. 5<sub>2</sub>, *ἀπαρκεῖ* 3<sub>63</sub>, *εὐτυχεῖ* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>83</sub>, *ἀγρεῖ* Theog. 294, *φρονεῖ* Theog. 395. Herodas has *αἰνεῖ* 4<sub>47</sub>, *αἰτεῖ* 3<sub>10</sub>, *ἡθεῖ* 3<sub>33</sub>, *καλεῖ* 5<sub>56</sub>, *ποιεῖ* 7<sub>86</sub>.

On an Hellenistic inscription (Ephesos 147<sub>8</sub>) dating about 300 B.C. we find *διατελεῖ*, and *τελεῖ* on one from Teos [*Mith.* XVI 292 (l. 8, 12)] from the fourth century.

Herodotos: (1) *-έει* preceded by a consonant is left uncontracted in *χωρέει* I 192, *ἀγηλατέει* V 72 (only occurrence of the present in classic Greek), but the correct form appears in *κινεῖ* III 80, *ἀποστερεῖ* VI 65, *μαρτυρεῖ* VIII 94 in all MSS., and in some: *κινεῖ* II 68 (*PRdz*), *ἀπωθεῖ* II 25 (*CRd*), *ἀδικεῖ* VII 10, η (*PR*), *μαρτυρεῖ* II 18 (*d*), *χωρεῖ* II 96 (*C*), *δοκεῖ* III 5 (*AB*). (2) *-έει*, preceded by *οι*, is retained in the MSS. in *ποιέει* I 142, II 25, III 47, IV 26, &c. (cf. *ποιέειν* in Hdt.). Preceded by *ο*, *-εει* contracts in *εὐνοεῖ* VII 237 (but *νοέεις* VII 38!). Cf. the forms after *ο* in the infinitive and in the imperfect. The contracted forms are correct.

In the editions of other Ionic prosaists we find the open forms where the MSS. often pronounce in favour of the contraction.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *φιλεῖ* Theog. 1255 is possibly Solonian.

ἀγνοεῖ Euseb. Mynd. 54; ἀδικεῖ Demokr. 203; αἰμορροεῖ Hippokr. V 606, 618, 626, 726; ἀλγεῖ Melissos 4, 11 (Mullach ἀλγέοι), 13 (Mullach -έει) -έει, Aret. 69; ἀλυκτεῖ Hippokr. VIII 30 (an epic verb: near by is ἀμενηνά); ἀναιρεῖ Pherekyd. of Leros 48, Hippokr. V 624; ἀρκεῖ Hippokr. VI 210 (θ); γαμεῖ Pherek. Leros 22, 40, 48, 55 (Atticized fragments), 85; δοκεῖ Hekat. 332, Melissos 17, Demokr. 184, 185, 188, 208, Diog. Apoll. 2, 3, 6 *bis*, Arrian 9<sup>u</sup> 5; open δοκέει in Demokr. 25, 161 (Demokrates), Diogen. Apoll. 1 (Diog. Laert.), Lukian V. A. 13, Hippokr. II 38, 52, 56, 60, 76, 78, 128, 244, 250, 288, III 228, V 696. The vulgate of Hippokr. sometimes has -εῖ. In VI 110 A, in 276 C has δοκεῖ; ἐξανθεῖ Hippokr. V 710; ἐξαρκεῖ Herakl. 91; ἐπιδημεῖ Hippokr. II 20; ἐπιθυμεῖ Demokr. 71; κρατεῖ Anax. 6, Herakl. 91, -έει Hippokr. II 38; μαρτυρεῖ Herakl. 3 (Clemens, Theod.); ματαιοπονέει Demokr. 59; οἰκεῖ Demokr. 1, Pherek. Leros 16, 20; ὁμολογεῖ Melissos 17, -έει Herakl. 45 (in Hippol. -έειν); παρακολουθεῖ Hippokr. V 632; ποιεῖ Anax. 11, Demokr. 35, 88, 133, Hippokr. II 256 (in A) Arrian 47<sup>5</sup>; ποιέει Demokr. 24, Hippokr. II 20, 298, 358, 374, III 220 *bis*, 242, 258, V 656, 726 (-ροεῖ same page); συμφωνεῖ Hekat. 144; ταλαιπωρεῖ Demokr. 184; φιλεῖ Herakl. 10 (-έει 117), Demokr. 20, 235; χωρεῖ Meliss. 14, Diog. 2, Anax. 6 (-έει Hippokr. VIII 30 and often); ὤφελεῖ Hippokr. V 646, 650, 708, 720, but -έει II 128, 138, V 196 (ὠχλεῖτο same page), 622 *bis*, 710.

In a majority of cases Hippokrates has -έει. ἀλλοφρονέει VII 30 is an interesting use of an epic verb. Aretaios has about 130 cases of -έει to 20 of -εῖ. An unusual form in Aret. is νέει 274 = the poetical νέεται. Lukian's *Syr. dea* has only open forms, Arrian 14 cases of -έει to 4 of -εῖ.

3. σαοῖ Theog. 868, ἀμαυροῖ Solon 435, ἐπιλοξοῖ Hrd. 471, πληροῖ Hdt. II 7, δηλοῖ II 44, Hippokr. V 634, *Vit. Hom.* 37, ὀρθοῖ Demokr. 128.

#### 641.] Plural First Person.

1. Hdt. ἐῶμεν II 114 as in Homer, B 236, K 344, besides εἰῶμεν σ 420, φ 260. Cf. Schmidt *Neutra*, p. 326. ὀρώμεν is the reading of all MSS. Hdt. I 120 (as regards -ῶμεν); elsewhere *ABR* have the contracted form, *Cd* -έω-, *P* -έο-.

2. καλέομεν Hdt. V 49, Hippokr. ep. 17<sup>12</sup>, Aret. 25, νοεῦμεν Solon 1333 (Attic καλοῦμεν Theog. 1207), Hrd. ἀντλεῦμεν 414, τελεῦμεν *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 21. On ὀρέομεν see § 688.

3. δηλοῦμεν, &c.

#### 642.] Plural Second Person.

1. ὀράτε Solon 117, διαιτᾶτε Hrd. 286.

2. Kall. δοκεῖτε I<sub>3</sub>, αἰδεῖσθε I<sub>2</sub> (where εε is metrically impossible), Hdt. θαρσέετε IX 18, ποιέετε IV 136, &c.<sup>1</sup>, but αὐχεῖτε VII 103 (in all MSS.), a reading rejected by Stein. We require the contracted form.

3. ἀξιοῦτε Hdt. IV 115.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also ἀπιστέετε.



## 643.] Plural Third Person.

1. *δρῶσιν* Kall. 1<sub>20</sub>, Solon 34<sub>2</sub>, *τιμῶσι* Tyrst. 12<sub>37</sub>, Theog. 169, Hdt. II 50 (*CP* -έωσι, cf. § 688), Herakl. 102. Hdt. has also *σῶσι* I 200 from *σάω* *sift*<sup>1</sup>, *ἔωσι* II 36, *βοῶσι* III 117 (Sim. Keos 114<sub>6</sub>), *νικῶσι* VIII 94, Hippokr. *τελευτῶσι* V 598, 624, *ἡβῶσι* II 22.

*κομῶσι* Hdt. IV 191, adopted by Stein from all MSS. except *R*, is an epic form here out of place. So *κομῶντες* in Arrian 34<sub>7</sub>, 35<sub>3</sub>, and *ἀμφαφῶσι* Aret. 141. *σταλάουσιν* Astrol. 19 is an error (cf. Lobeck *Rhemat.* 175).

2. Open forms in -έουσι (υ-υ) are very rare in the lyric poets: *δοκέουσι* Phokyl. 9 (hex.), *καλέουσι* Xenoph. 2<sub>5</sub>—the only instances in poets of Ionic birth—and *στυγέουσ'* Theog. 278. -εῦσι occurs in *φρονέυσι* Archil. 70<sub>3</sub> (tetr.). It is interesting to observe that Herakleitos 5, where he states a belief in opposition to that expressed in the fragment of Archilochos, employs *φρονέουσι*. Theog. has *φιλεῦσιν* 169, 337, 871, Anakr. (?) *χωρεῦσι* 108<sub>3</sub> eleg., Hrd. *ἀπαρκεῦσιν* 36, *κατοικεῦσιν* 4<sub>10</sub>, *ποιεῦσι* 6<sub>69</sub>, *πορθεῦ[σιν]* 6<sub>101</sub>, Kallim. II 82 *ἀγινεῦσι*. *εἰσοιχνεῦσιν* *Prometh.* 122 (anap.) is from ι 120.

Solon's verse (15<sub>1</sub>) containing *πλουτεῦσιν* is reproduced in Theog. 315 where *πλουτοῦσιν* is read. The existence of *Κυπρογενοῦς* 26<sub>1</sub>, and *ἰκνοῦνται* 4<sub>21</sub>, make it probable that Solon used here the genuine Attic form in -οῦσιν, which was expelled on the ground that he was entirely dependent upon Ionic models. *πλουτοῦσιν* stands in Solon 24<sub>1</sub>=Theognis 719, *ἀδικοῦσι* in 4<sub>22</sub> (reading *ἐν συνόδοις θ' οὗς ἀδικοῦσι φίλους* for Bergk's *ἐν συνόδοις τῆς ἄδικ' ἐστὶ φίλα*). Forms in -οῦσιν occur elsewhere: *φρονοῦσιν* Hipponax 73 tr., *φαγοῦσι* 82 tetr. are clearly due to an Attic copyist; Theognis has *τελοῦσι* 142, *ζητοῦσιν* 684. Perhaps we should read *παταγεῦσιν* for Eustathios' *παταγοῦσιν* in Anakr. 6<sub>4</sub>. *διατελοῦσιν* Ephesos 147<sub>5</sub> is Attic also.

Hdt. has -εου- over 260 times in the 3rd plural and participle in other verbs than *ποιέω*. In the case of *ποιέω*, *ποιεῦσι*<sup>2</sup> is so much more frequent, that *ποιέουσι* in I 71, II 121, where there is no support for -εу-, should perhaps be corrected. So too *νοέουσι* III 81 (but cf. *νοέουσα* VIII 101). Exceptional, on the other hand, in having -εу- are *καλεῦσι* II 94 (with *v. l.* -έουσι in *C*), *ληλατεῦσι* II 152, *ἡμιοχεῦσι* IV 193, *πωλεῦσι* V 6, *ἐπιτελεῦσι* V 49, *διατελεῦσι* VII 111, all these verbs having a consonant before ε. -οῦσι is best supported in *κοσμοῦσι* III 24 (all MSS. except *R*).

-έουσι is very frequent in the other monuments of Ionic prose, e.g. Demokr. *φιλέουσι* 70, *πονέουσι* 87, *ἐπιθυμέουσι* 47, *ἀσκέουσι*

<sup>1</sup> Hippokr. has both *σάω* and *σήθω* (*σεσημένος* and *σεσησμένος*).

<sup>2</sup> Scarcely any passage has not the *v. l.* -έουσι, which occurs most frequently in *R*, often also in *Pd*, rarely in *ABC* (II 49, 60, VI 138). Twice at least *R* alone has -εῦσι (IV 146, VII 148).



103, τηρέουσι 126, σωφρονέουσι 137, ἀπορέουσι 168, εὐδαιμονέουσι 5 (MSS. -ου-); Hekat. οἰκέουσι 67, 78, 114, 175 (Steph. Byz.), but οἰκοῦσιν 173 (Athenaios and Steph. Byz.), ὁμουρέουσι 190, 195, φορέουσιν 189, καταλέουσιν 290 (Athen.); Anaxag. ἐκχωρέουσι 9; Herakleitos δοκέουσι 5, 122, φρονέουσι 5, ἐγκυρέουσι 5 (MSS. -ου-), ποιέουσιν 2 (MSS. -ου-), ὁμιλέουσι 93 (MSS. -ου-); Charon of Lampsakos 2 has ἐπαναχωροῦσι though Plutarch has in the same fragment βασιληῖον; Hellanikos ἀνθέουσι. A thorough investigation of Hippokrates does not exist. Our impression is that -έουσι is more frequent than εἰν for εἰο. Examples may be found II 28, 76, 78, 86, 110, 128, 130, 132, 154, 158, 166, 176 (ποιέουσιν), 178, 184, 262, 290, 312, VI 100 (the poetic τρομέω), 294 (ἀκέω, the only occurrence of the present active), 494 (δινέω, a rare verb in prose), IV 192 (ἀποπληρέουσιν, if not from πληρώω), V 656.

In Arrian the MSS. generally have the Attic form. δοκέουσι Aret. 248.

Forms in -εῦσι are rare: ποιεῦσι Demokr. 66 in Stobaios (with which cf. ποιέουσιν Hippokr. II 18, 76, 296), διουρεῦσι Hippokr. II 38, with οὐρέουσιν on the same page, μισεῦσιν IX 364, τάλαιπωρεῦσιν II 64, οἰκεῦσιν II 68, διατελεῦσιν II 238, καλεῦσιν II 410.

3. ἀξιούσι Priene 144<sub>9</sub>, Hdt. III 20, ὀρθοῦσιν Archil. 56<sub>2</sub>, tetr., σαοῦσι Tyrt. 11<sub>13</sub>, ἀμανροῦσιν Hippokr. II 84.

### *Subjunctive.*

#### 644.] Singular First Person.

1. ποιέω Hdt. IX 79 (hence εἰδῶ II 114 is probably incorrect).

#### 645.] Singular Second Person.

1. τιμᾶς, &c.

2. Herodotos has στρατηλατέης VII 14, the contracted and correct form in ποιῆς III 36, VII 235 (so in the archetype MS.). Demokr. 24 has ἐπιθυμέης, Hippokr. II 256 ἀφαιρέης, Lukian *Syr. dea* 32 ἐσορέης (§ 688). In the plural ἀγινῆτε Hrd. 355.

#### 646.] Singular Third Person.

1. εἰρωτᾷ Theog. 519, ὀρᾷ Theog. 932, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>15</sub>.

2. On inscriptions we find ἐπικαλῆι Halik. 238<sub>23</sub>, δοκῆι Olynth. 8 B 14, ἀμφισβατῆι Zeleia 113<sub>18</sub>, ποιῆι Chios 174 C 9, ἱεροποιῆι Miletos 100<sub>6</sub>, συνχωρεῖ Orop. 18<sub>19-20</sub>, παρεῖ 18<sub>26</sub>, εἶ 18<sub>34</sub> = ἦ Halik. 238<sub>37</sub>. On εἰ < ἡ, see § 239, 2. In the poets we observe only -ῆ:—δοκῆι Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>103</sub>, προεκποιῆ 22, γαμῆ Hippon

292. In Theog. 1166 *A* has ὁδοὺς τελεῖη, the other MSS. ὁδοῦ τελέη (*O* τελέοις). Neither reading makes sense and Bergk edits στέλλη. In 929 the MSS. have εἰ μὲν ... πλουτεῖς ... ἦν δὲ πένηαι where there is no reason to change to ἦν πλουτήs. In 96 we have φρουῖ, 609 προσομαρτή, 1008 νοῖ (Mimn.) In the last instance a vowel precedes the contracted syllable, as in νοεῖ (indic.) Sim. Amorg. 727. Solon has κυνῖ 122, γεγωνῖ 424, Herodas αἰτῖ 288, λαλῖ 661.

The MSS. of Herodotos vary between -έη and -ῖ. The former occurs, if we exclude the subjunctives from -εῖω verbs (§ 637, 2), seven times: ποιέη I 206<sup>1</sup>, διατελέη I 32, δοκέη I 122, IV 120, συνοικέη II 120, οἰκέη VIII 106, ἀπαιτέη VI 86 (*a*), the contracted seven times: οικοδομῖ I 21, ποιῖ III 69, ἐπιζητῖ III 36, ποθῖ III 36, αἰρῖ IV 127, δοκῖ VII 10 (*δ*) in *ABCD*, and IX 48. There is no support for the view that after vowels -ῖ, after consonants -έη was the Herodoteian form. In the aorist passive -έη is invariably contracted, and -ῖ is the only correct form here.

In the texts of other Ionic prosaists we usually find -έη, often-times against the MSS. Demokr. ἀδικέη 213 (Stob. -ῖ), δοκέη 188 (Stob. -ῖ). Hippokrates has very many examples of -έη (*e.g.* II 38, 114, 122, 146, 156, 158, 160, 180, 186, III 102, 216, 232, 238, 254, 258, 260, VII 74, 76, V 618, 660). Forms in -ῖ are very rare: ποθῖ II 360, παρακολουθῖ V 668, ὀχλῖ V 704, ῥιγῖ V 706.

Luk. ιστορέη *Syr. dea* 32, ἐπαινέη 36, but ὀρηῖ 31, 32, 48. Aretaios ἀχθέη 134 (rare and late use of this form of the present; cf. 183 when ἀχθέει and ἄχθεται occur in close proximity). We have noted in Aretaios -ῖ on pp. 91, 92, 101, 114, 165, 168, 245, 270, 279, -έη on 10, 22, 68, 69, 70, 71, 270.

3. Hdt. IX 93 δικαιοῖ.

#### 647.] Plural First Person.

1. Anakr. 63<sub>10</sub> μελετῶμεν.

2. Theog. 1134 ζητῶμεν in the first foot, Hdt. ποιέωμεν I 159.

#### 648.] Plural Third Person.

1. τιμῶσιν in the MSS. of Solon 13<sub>11</sub> is now generally read μετίωσιν. Bergk's suggestion of μῶωσι is not in keeping with the dialect of the elegiac poets, who do not adopt the epic distraction of vowels. Hdt. φυρῶσι II 36, &c.

2. Archil. ἐγκυρέωσιν 70<sub>3</sub> tetr., Ananias τραπέωσι 54, πατέωσιν 54 tetr. Hence δοκῶσιν Sim. Amorg. 797 is to be read δοκέωσιν. παραπιτνῶσι Samos 220<sub>20</sub> is Attic, but πωλέωσιν Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292, l. 8 (and ἔωσι l. 4) is the regular Ionic form.

<sup>1</sup> This is the only instance where εη in the verb ποιέω is supported by all the MSS.

In Hdt.  $\epsilon\omega$  is not contracted in the MSS. except in the case of  $\text{περιποιῶσι}$  VIII 75, where the contraction may be due to the influence of the neighbouring  $\text{διαφθείρωσι}$ . Cf.  $\text{ποιέωσι}$  IV 111. In Hippokr.  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma\iota$  is without exception, *e.g.* II 142, 156, 162, 186.

### Optative.

#### 649.] Singular First Person.

Verbs in  $-\alpha\omega$  always contract<sup>1</sup>. From  $-\epsilon\omega$  verbs we have  $\text{δοκέοιμι}$  Theog. 339, but  $\text{ποιοῖμι}$  Hdt. V 106 (*PR*  $-\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\mu\iota$ ).  $\epsilon\sigma\iota$  after a vowel probably contracts in this verb in Hdt. In pseudo-Ionic sources open forms are common, *e.g.* Euseb. Mynd. I  $\text{ἐπιθυμέοιμι}$ ,  $\text{ἐπαρκέοιμι}$ ,  $\text{ἀσκέοιμι}$ ,  $\text{αἰνέοιμι}$ , but also  $\text{ἐρῶην}$ ,  $\text{νικῶην}$ ,  $\text{τιμῶην}$ ,  $\text{κρατοίην}$ ,  $\text{προθυμοίην}$ ,  $\text{ἀποστυγοίην}$ . Hippokrates makes frequent use of  $-\sigma\iota\eta\nu$ , whereas Herodotos prefers the  $-\sigma\iota\mu\iota$  ending. See § 651.

#### 650.] Singular Second Person.

1. The only possible case of the open form in the later poetical monuments is  $\text{ἡβᾶοις}$  Theog. 877, which is now abandoned for  $\text{ἡβα μοι}$ . The *v. l.*  $\text{ἡβῶοις}$  is not to be defended, since the distracted verbs form no part of the linguistic apparatus of the elegy. In 107 Theognis has  $\text{ἀμῶς}$ .

2. Theog. has  $\text{τελέοις}$  926 and *v. l.* (in *O*) 1166. Lukian has  $\text{δοκέοις}$  *Syr. dea* 46, Hippokr.  $\text{τηροίης}$  I 634,  $\text{ἐννοοίης}$  III 254,  $\text{αἰωροίης}$  VII 524,  $\text{διαρροίης}$  VI 84, but  $\text{ὠφελέοις}$  VII 34 ( $\theta$ ).

#### 651.] Singular Third Person.

1.  $-\omega\eta$  in  $\text{νικῶῃ}$  Tyrt. 12<sub>4</sub>,  $\text{ὀπτῶῃ}$  Hdt. VIII 137,  $\text{ἐνορῶῃ}$  I 89;  $\text{δαιτυῶῃ}$  Hippokr. II 254,  $-\omega$  in  $\text{νικῶ}$  Xenoph. 2<sub>21</sub>. No case of  $-\epsilon\sigma\iota$  for  $-\omega$  occurs in the active.

$\sigma\alpha\phi\omicron\iota$  (=  $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$ ), the reading of Roehl and Roberts, is not adopted by Bechtel (No. 5). He adopts  $\text{ῥσσα φοι}$  on the ground that  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  never contained a  $F$ . For this view, cf. § 277, *Philol. Anz.* 1886, 14 note 8. Fick explains the  $\omega$  in  $\text{σωφρονεῖν}$  Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>108</sub>, &c., as originating from  $\text{ασο}$  Phokylides (9<sub>1</sub>) alone has the open  $\text{σαδῶφρονες}$ .

2. Teos 156 A 2  $\text{ποιοῖ}$ , but  $\text{ἀνωθεοίη}$ , l. 11 (whose  $\epsilon\sigma\iota$  is a legal archaism); in l. 4 of 156 B, Roehl supplies  $[\text{ἀπειθεο}]ῖη$ , Boeckl  $[\text{ἀπειθο}]ῖη$ ;  $\text{συντελοίη}$  Teos 158<sub>29</sub> (Attic)<sup>2</sup>,  $\text{ὁδοίη}$  (?) Roberts I 159 (Amorgos). Theog.  $\text{φιλοῖ}$  1119, Tyrt.  $\text{πλουτοίη}$  12<sub>6</sub>, Solon  $\text{συμ. μαρτυροίη}$  36 trim., a form suspected by Renner (p. 42) on the

<sup>1</sup>  $\text{ἀγαπῶῃ}$  Et. M. 6<sub>8</sub>, Et. Gud. 3<sub>16</sub>, An. Ox. II 338<sub>20</sub>.

<sup>2</sup>  $\text{ἐπιτορκοίη}$  C. I. A. II 578<sub>12</sub> is the only example of the optative of a contract verb we have met with on a purely Attic inscription.



ground that it is not in line with the Ionisms of vv. 11 and 12, and of 37. It may however be regarded as the earliest proof in Attic of the transferring of the -ιη of non-thematic verbs to the *verba contracta*, a phenomenon that grew apace in the Attic dialect though it was but sparingly adopted by Herodotos, and old-fashioned in the Ionic of the fifth century. See Rutherford's *Phrynichus*, p. 442 ff. on the optatives in -ιη in Attic. Tyrtaios' *πλουτοίη* may be regarded as an imitation of *φοροίη* ι 320 (though this is the only case in Homer of this class of new forms) and not as a Dorism (cf. *ἀδικοίη* in Kretan, C. I. G. 2556<sub>47</sub>).

In Hdt. -εοι is not contracted after consonants: *καλέοι* I 111, *δοκέοι* I 24; after vowels, to avoid hiatus, *ποιοῖ* II 169, *ποιοῖ* or *ποιοίη* VI 35 as Stein reads. This would be the only case of -οιη in Hdt. In VI 35 Dobree read *ποιῇ*. The first person is *ποιοῖμι* V 106 (§ 649).

The coexistence of *καλέοι* and *ποιοῖ* in Herodotos is paralleled by that of *ἀνωθεοίη* and *ποιοῖ* in the Teian inscription of the fifth century. Merzdorf, Stein, G. Meyer and others accept the contraction of *εοι* to *οι* after vowels as genuine Ionic, but hold the uncontracted forms to be equally genuine. While this is not disputed, the uncontracted *καλέοι*, &c., represent an antiquated orthography. Cf. § 637, 1 (2), end.

Hippokrates and the other writers of prose often have -εοι, but -οιη is preferred, at least by Hippokrates. Thus *ξυνωφελοίη* IV 132, *προσωφελοίη* II 356, but *ἐμποιέοι* *ibid.* according to Littré, where *Δ* has -υοίη. *ποιοίη* is correct; cf. IV 82. *ἐπιχειροίη* I 572, *αἰωροίη* VII 522 (an unusual verb in classic Greek), *ἐπικρατοίη* VI 82, *αἰμορραγοίη* IV 112, *ἀγρυπνοίη* II 136, *ἀπωθοίη* IV 226, 304 (in *BMN*, Littré -εοι) but *ἀντωθέοι* IV 82 on the same page with *ποιοίη*. Cf. *ρόφοίη* and *χωρέοι* VII 608. *ὠφέλεοι* is certain in III 524, *ἐμέοι* II 144, *ἐκχωρέοι* II 160, *δοκέοι* II 14, IV 92, whereas Herakleitos *R. M.* XV 605 has *δοκοίη*. Melissos 13 has *ἀλγέοι* twice according to Simplicius, and also in 4 according to Mullach; Lukian *Syr. dea* 19 *ἀπειθέοι*.

3. -οω verbs have -οι and -οιη.

### 652.] Plural First Person.

1. -ῶμεν e.g. *νικῶμεν*. *ἐρῶμεν* Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>23</sub> (others *ἐροῖμεν*).
2. Sim. Amorg. *φρονοῖμεν* 2<sub>2</sub>, 17<sub>13</sub> *ξυνεργοῖμεν*.
3. -οῖμεν in *δηλοῖμεν*, &c.

### 653.] Plural Third Person.

1. Theog. 81 *τολμῶεν*, Hdt. IX 69 *νικῶεν*.
2. Anakr. *φιλοῖεν* 45<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. *τελοῖεν* 35<sub>7</sub>. Such forms as Herodotos' *φρονέοιεν* I 46, VIII 34, *ποιέοιεν* VII 103, 208, IX 104 represent conservative spellings of the fifth century, if

indeed they may claim admittance into the text at all; cf. θεωροῖεν VIII 26 (*R* has θεωρέοιεν), ἀδικοῖεν I 196, V 84, ἐπιχειροῖεν IX 54 (*AB*), ποιοῖεν V 75. Anaxag. 17 has καλοῖεν, Herakl. *R. M.* XV 605 ἀπατοῖεν (*sic*, -ῶεν?), Hippokr. V 662 δοκοῖεν. The longer forms of this conjugation are still in their infancy in Homer.

### *Imperative.*

654.] Archil. eleg. φοῖτα 4<sub>2</sub>, tetram. ἔα 51, ὄρα 54, ἀσχήλα 66<sub>6</sub>, Theog. 1151 ἐρέυνα, 877 (cf. 1070) ἦβα μοι by conjecture for ἦβάοις or ἦβώοις. Hrd. ἔα I 76, εἰρώτα 378, κυβερνᾶτε 2100, Hdt. ὄρα III 134, προσδόκα I 42, &c.

655.] Upon inscriptions we find τελείτω Erythr. 204<sub>9</sub>, and hence ἐπικαλ[εῖ]τω Halik. 238<sub>17</sub>; συντελείτωσαν Teos 158<sub>13</sub> and ἐπι- l. 25 are Attic.

(*a*) Forms in -εε. ὀμίλεε Theog. 37. (*β*) Forms in -ει. Archil. ἄγρει 4<sub>3</sub> eleg., in the first thesis; Theog. προσομίλει || 31, ὀμίλει || 597, 1243, ὀμάρτει || 1165, ἐπιχείρει || 75; πένθει 830, ὄχθει 1032, αὔλει 1056 have their *ει* in the first thesis; δόκει 63, second thesis, 310 || where ∪ ∪ ∪ was metrically impossible. Solon κράτει || 36<sub>13</sub> tr. (Blass with one MS. κράτη), Tyrt. κινείτω 11<sub>26</sub>, Theog. οἶνοχοεῖτω 473, Tyrt. θαρσεῖτ' 11<sub>2</sub>, φιλοψυχεῖτε 10<sub>18</sub>. In the case of κινείτω and θαρσεῖτ' the open forms were metrically possible, but as in Homer the contract forms are written. Hrd. has εὐτύχει 188, κάλει 59, χώρει 174, &c., τελείτω 248, δοκεῖτε 292. The proportion of open to contract forms in Homer is somewhat greater than that in the lyric poets. Homer has 32 forms in -ει, three in -εε (η 303, K 249, Φ 288), -ειτω 5 times, *ει* in the dual 3 times, -ειτε 6 times in plural.

It is to be lamented that we have no example of the imperative in an early iambic fragment, otherwise we might estimate the value of the Herodoteian forms in -εε, which, if genuine, stand in sharp contrast at least to the elegiac use. But if the elegy has -ει, except in a single instance, it is highly probable that iambic poetry would have only -ει. Herodotos has στρατηλάτее I 124, V 31, VII 5, 10 (θ), λιπάρεε V 19, παραίνεε VIII 143, συνοίκεε IX 111 (*bis*), ποίεε I 124 (*bis*), 209, V 40, VII 18, VIII 100, IX 91, ποίεε IV 98, but ποίει I 8, 206 (*ABP*), VIII 140 *a* (*AB*). Other forms are read with -εε by Stein (θάρσει I 9, 120, IX 76 though in all the MSS., III 85 *ABR*, *i.e.* in the archetypal MS. according to Stein; ὥθει III 78, χώρει V 72, βοήθει VII 157, 159 (as Hippokr. IX 350), δυσθύμει VIII 100). In the plural Hdt. has ἀνγείτε VII 103 in all MSS., rejected



by those who hold that the evidence of *θαροέετε* IX 18, &c., is all-conclusive. Merzdorf<sup>1</sup> (p. 148) attempts fruitlessly to find a reason why Hdt. should use the imperative in *-ει* in one instance, that in *-εε* in another. The former only is correct<sup>2</sup>.

In Hippokrates we find *ποιεί* VII 428, VIII 162 (*ποιεῖ θ*), *ροφείτω* II 276 (*A*), VIII 92 (*θ*), VII 328 (*vulgo*, *-εε- J*), *ἐμεέτω* VII 74. Demokritos (Demokrates) 177 *ἀσκεέτω*, Euseb. Mynd. *ἐυγχωρέτω* 20, *κυρεέτω* 44. In the plural: *φοβεόντων* Hdt. VII 235.

656.] *στρέβλου* Hrd. 2<sub>89</sub>, *ἀφιδρούτω* Hippokr. II 516, Oropos 18<sub>10</sub> *ζημιούτω*.

### *Infinitive.*

657.] *ὀράν* Samos 215<sub>2</sub>, Xenoph. 2<sub>6</sub>, Hdt. I 33, *φοιτᾶν* Oropos 18<sub>2</sub>, Hdt. I 182, *νικᾶν* Solon 5<sub>6</sub>, Demokr. 75, *ἡβᾶν* Anakr. 24<sub>2</sub>, 44.

658.] In the inscriptions occur: *ἐπικαλεῖν* Halik. 238<sub>45</sub>, a form unjustly suspected by Renner, p. 39, who assumes that one *E* might have been omitted from *ΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΝ*<sup>3</sup>. But the contraction is supported not only by *ἐπικαλῆμι* 238<sub>23</sub>, &c., but also by *ἀδικεῖν* Mylasa 248 A 9, B 8, 9, C 11, and *σκοπεῖν* Orop. 18<sub>43</sub>, *ἐπιτιθεῖν* Orop. 18<sub>26</sub>, *ἐκτιθεῖν* 18<sub>42</sub>, *ἐκχεῖν* Keos 43<sub>22</sub>, *ἐπιτελεῖν* Erythr. 204<sub>29</sub>, not to speak of other inscriptional forms such as *ἐπεστ]άτει* Zeleia 114 B 1, *τελείτω* Erythr. 204<sub>9</sub>. I. G. A. 489 (Didyma) has *ποιE(ν)* = *ποιεῖν*. An Ionic *-έειν* is not to be defended by *ἀποσινέειν* C. I. A. II 834<sub>27</sub> (330–300 B. C.), the only example.

Lyric poets: Sim. Amorg. *ὠφελεῖν* 7<sub>97</sub>, *θυμηδεῖν* 7<sub>103</sub>, *σωφρονεῖν* 7<sub>108</sub>; Hippon. *ῥυφεῖν* 132; Hrd. *κινεῖν* 52; Solon *κοσμεῖν* 4<sub>10</sub>, *ζητεῖν* 27<sub>10</sub>; Xenoph. *αἰνεῖν* 1<sub>19</sub>; Theog. *δοκεῖν* 405, *φιλεῖν* 874, 1092, 1094, 1258 (MSS.), 1364, *πονεῖν* 919, *εὐδοκιμεῖν* 587; Anakr. *δισκεῖν* 40<sub>3</sub>.

In but two instances does the ill-famed form *-έειν* appear: Archil. 64 *κερτομέειν* and *φιλέειν* 80, where the shorter forms are required by the metre. In the first instance *κερτομέειν* is found in Clem. Alex. and Schol. Odyssey χ 412; Stobaios has *-εῖν*. The longer forms may have been introduced by scribes who had the epic and supposed Herodoteian *-έειν* in mind.

<sup>1</sup> After alluding to the fact that the quick utterance of the imperative demands the contraction, he says: *Accedit, quod praeter δυσθύμει breviora tantum vocabula contractam prae se ferunt formam θάρσει, ὦθει et quod non negligendum βοήθει, cum in longioribus στρατηλάτεις &c. quae ipsa natura ad vocandum et ad celerius promuntiandum minus apta sunt itaque in lentiore quoque oratione assumi possunt, semper εε appareat.*

<sup>2</sup> *νόει, φρόνει* Joh. Gr. 240 B.

<sup>3</sup> A supposed [*ἀμ]ύνεεν* Roberts I 26<sub>14</sub> (Naxos) gives no support to this assumption.



Herodotos: -έειν occurs (1) after consonants *e.g.* in αἰτέειν I 2, 3, ἀπαιτέειν I 2, 3, &c. But the correct forms in -εῖν are no infrequent. We find the following cases in which all the MSS agree:—ἐνδεῖν I 11, εὐφημεῖν III 38, ἐνεμεῖν II 172, πολεμεῖν V 120, τηρεῖν IX 104. In seven other cases there is some support for -εῖν in the MSS. (2) After the diphthong οεῖ holds its place in ποιεῖν<sup>1</sup>, which is attested as the sole Herodoteian form in over a hundred passages. After ο, εῖ suffers contraction in κατανοεῖν II 28 (*d*), 93 (*P R d*), ἀγνοεῖν I 162 in all MSS., εὐνοεῖν IX 79 (*P R*). The contracted forms are correct.

Other prose writers: Herakleitos ὁμολογέειν 1 is due to Bernays, μοχθεῖν 82, ποιεῖν 94, 107, σωφρονεῖν 106, 107, φρονεῖν 9 (*vulgo*); Demokritos, according to Stobaios and other excerptors in the following forms has -εῖν: ποιεῖν 100, 208, 235, ἐμποιεῖν 204 (in *A*), ἐπικαινουργεῖν 2017, ὑπουργεῖν 215, ἐπιθυμεῖν 47, φρονεῖν 73, 139, δοκεῖν 92, ἐπαινεῖν 120, ἐνεργυτεῖν 197, τιμωρεῖν 20, ἀδικεῖν 206, προτελεῖν 215, ὀξυκερδεῖν 14, ποδηγεῖν 11, ὀχεῖν 1, πονεῖν 235, -έειν in ἀδικεῖν 107, 109, 112, 205, ἀσκέειν 14, ἐπιθυμέειν 83, μετανοέειν 227, ἀγνοέειν 95, κρατέειν 77, θεωρέειν 2011, ξυγχωρέειν 44, κακοπαθέειν 2014; Anaxag. κρατεῖν 6, κινεῖν 3, 4 in Simpl., who read κρατεῖν in Diog. Apoll. 1, Hekat. ἐκχωρεῖν 353, Ion στρατηγεῖν and ποιεῖν 1.

In Hippokrates, Littré edits -έειν even when -εῖν has the better support, though such cases, we think, are not frequent. It is common to find -εῖν in the vulgate, but the -έειν forms preponderate over those in -εῖν. There is no genuine treatise in which -έειν is not more frequent. We believe this to be true also of the spurious tractates. We cite from Littré's text: II 12 ζητέειν (-εῖν), 14 σκοπέειν (-εῖν?), ἀναμετρεῖν 36 (*vulgo* -εῖν), 82 κινέειν, 111 νοέειν, 136 χωρέειν, 138 and 708 πονέειν, 138 φρονέειν, 141 αἰνέειν, 272 ὀκνέειν (*vulgo* -εῖν), 290 and 368 λυσιτελέειν (but Littré has -εῖν in 290), 356 (and III 58) ὠφελέειν, 642 νοσέειν; III 2 ἀλγέειν, 242 ξέειν, 248, 258 αἰρέειν. ποιεῖν occurs in II 12, 2 (Galen -εῖν), 264, III 234, 236, αἰμορροεῖν V 656, 724, 726, ὀχλεῖν 626, φλυηρεῖν, ἀνεμεῖν 660, εὐοδεῖν 664, θεωρεῖν 692, ψοφεῖν 693, ἐμεῖν 710, ἀρρωστέειν 718, with 12 cases of -έειν in the prolog. κωακαί. IV 640 shows ἀγνοεῖν by the side of ποιεῖν.

Lukian *V. A.* 3 λαλέειν, 4 ἀριθμέειν (*v.l.* -εῖν)<sup>2</sup>, -έειν 17 times in the *Syria dea*, twice in the *Astrol.*, Abydenos εὐτυχεῖν. Aretas has 106 cases of -έειν, about 20 of -εῖν. Arrian has -έειν 10, -εῖν 5 times.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Gr. 235, Gram. Leid. 628.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that in § 4 the tendency to hyper-Ionize characterised in MS. Ψ the ἀριθμεῖν of the Ὀνητής to ἀριθμέειν. Or the -έειν might have been caused by the previous ἀριθμέειν (where Ω has -εῖν).

659.] Verbs in -*ow* contract *o* + *ε* or *ει* (spurious) to *ου*; in Hdt. *καινούν*, *ἐξορκούν* (as Halik. 238<sub>26</sub>), *χοούν*, *νεοχμούν* IV 201 (the only occurrence of this tense in classic Greek); *ἀροούν* Tyrt. 53, Theog. 582; *βεβαιούν* Halik. 240<sub>4, 5</sub>, and so *διδοούν* Orop. 18<sub>21, 33</sub>.

### Participle.

660.] Verbs in -*aw* always contract. *ναιετάοντες* Sim. Keos 84, is not Later Ionic. *αἰσυνμυνΩΙ* Teos 156 B 8-9 has been read as -*ων*, and hence *νι[κῶν]* Samos I. G. A. 388 A. *εἰσορῶν* Archil. 74<sub>6</sub>, *ἐσορῶν* Mimn. 52, *προσορῶν* *ibid.* 18, *ὀρῶντι* Theog. 1059, *ὀρῶντες* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>111</sub>, Archil. *νικῶν* 66<sub>4</sub>, *δρῶντα* 65<sub>2</sub>, Hipponax *μαδῶντα* 23, Theog. *βοῶντος* 887, Anakr. *σκιρτώσα* 75<sub>5</sub>, Solon *σιγῶσα* 4<sub>15</sub>.

In Herodas we find *δρῶντα* 5<sub>23</sub>, *φυσῶντες* 2<sub>32</sub>, *ἀπαντῶσα* 5<sub>75</sub>, *γελῶσα* 6<sub>44</sub>, *διφῶσ'* 6<sub>73</sub>, *καταψῶσα* 6<sub>76</sub>, *πρημονῶσαν* 6<sub>8</sub>, *πηδῶσαι* 4<sub>61</sub>.

In Ionic prose we encounter the variation between -*aw* and -*ew* verbs, on which see § 688. Certain examples of the former are *τελευτῶν* Hdt. III 65, &c., -*ῶντος* I 24, &c., *τιμῶν* III 21, IV 43, *τιμῶσαν* VI 52, *προσδοκῶν* VII 235, *τολμῶντας* IV 150 (all MSS.), all of which verbs show in other forms or in other places variants from -*ew* verbs. The following verbs never have such variants: *θυμιῶντες* III 107, *ἔων* VII 47, &c., *ἔωντες* V 96, &c., *ἔῶσα* VIII 101, *βοῶντας* III 78, *πεινῶντας* I 133, *νικῶν* I 207, &c., *ἀπαντῶσας* II 75, *μελετῶν* III 115, *νωμῶντες* IV 128, *σιγῶν* VIII 26, *σιγόντων* IX 42, *σιωπώντων* VII 10, *καταψῶσαν* VI 61, *ἐρευνῶν* VII 19, *λευσσῶντα* IX 71, *ὀπτῶντι* IX 120, *ἐλῶν* II 162, &c. In Hippokrates we have e.g. *σιγῶσα* III 52, 142, 144, *τελευτῶσα* III 184, *μυδῶσαν* III 242, *χαλῶντες* V 590; *ἔστιῶντος* Ion 1.

*ρυπόωντας* Arrian 34<sub>7</sub> is an error; cf. Hippokr. IX 374.

### 661.] Verbs in -*ew*<sup>1</sup>.

1. On inscriptions: *ὑποτελέων* Chalkis 16 A 16, *τελέουσι* Olynth. 8 B 8, *τελέοντας* 8 B 6, *γεγωνέοντες* Chios 174 B 13, *ὑφορβέοντι*, *βουκολέοντι* Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195, l. 10, *μισθαρνεόντων*, *ξυληγεόντων* Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292, l. 7, *τιμουχέοντες* Teos 156 B 29, *μεδεούσης* Samos 216, *μεδεούση* Phanag. 164, Latyshev II 19<sub>12</sub>, 28 (Pantikap.)<sup>2</sup>, *Ἀρκέων* Styra 19<sub>17</sub>. *Φοικέων* Rhegion 5 is not Ionic. On *βασιλέοντος*, cf. § 248. It is to be observed

<sup>1</sup> -*έων* Joh. Gr. 240 B, 242, Meerm. 653, Birnb 678<sub>8</sub>, Et. M. 52<sub>48</sub>, An. Ox. I 232<sub>12</sub>, An. Par. IV 38<sub>29</sub>; -*έουσα* An. Ox. I 360<sub>25</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *μεδέουσιν*, *ἀύτευν* Hippolytos 168, and see § 74.



that in the epigraphical monuments we have no case of *ευ* for *εο*, and none of *ευ* for *εου*.

Attic contractions:—*ἀ[στν]νομοῦντος* Olbia 131, 2 and 14, *ἐνοικοῦντα* Keos 473, *κατοικοῦντες* Samos 221<sub>18</sub> (after 322 B.C.); *ποι[οῦ]ντας* has been restored by Roehl (I. G. A. 395 B 9) and adopted by Cauer (530 B) in an addition (of a later date) to a Keian inscription whose first part dates before 400 B.C. *ποιοῦντων* is found in Teos 158<sub>18</sub>.

2. In the lyric poets we find *-έων*, *-ῶν*, and *-έων* in Theognis and once in an Ionic elegist. *-έων* appears in Phokyl. *ἀπαιτέων* 16<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. *ὀμιλέων* 21<sub>7</sub>, *φορέων* 21<sub>12</sub>, Hrd. *κινέων* 155, *θαρσέων* 278, *οἰκέων* 65<sub>2</sub>, *ἐνπολέων* 63<sub>3</sub>.

*-ῶν*: Theog. *δοκῶν* 138, *κεντῶν* 371, *τελῶν* 914, *ποθῶν* 1251. *θηπῶν* is improbable in Hippon. 14.

*-έων* (—): Theog. *φρονέων* 27, *δοκέων* 137, *εὐσεβέων* 145, 1144, *ὀχέων* 534. These examples from the elegy are not surprising. Remarkable however is *τελέων* Mimn. 11<sub>3</sub>, the only example of open *εω* in the poets of Ionic birth. Meineke proposed *τε ἐλών*; Fick *τελέσων*, *τελεῖτων* (cf. *διετέλειε* Eresos)<sup>1</sup>, or perhaps *τελήων*; Meister *τε λέων* i.e. = Homer *λάων* τ 229. But if one instance of open *εο* (*κλονέοντα*, see below) is certain, no objection is possible on the score of an isolated case of open *-έων*. With the phrase *τελέων ἄεθλον* in Mimnermos, cf. *τελέοντες ἀέθλους* γ 262. Or *διψέων* Archil. 68, see § 687.

In the feminine occur *-έουσα* and *-εῦσα*.

*δολοφρονέουσα* Archil. 93<sub>2</sub> (epod.), *οἰκεῦσα* Phokyl. 5<sub>2</sub> (*-έουσα* Fick), *δοκεῦσ'* Hrd. 329 and seven other forms in *-εῦσα*.

In tragedy we have *ὑμνεῦσαι* Medea 422 (see Verrall's note), *μυθεῦσαι* I. A 789: both choric passages.

Variation between *-εο-*, *-εο-*, *-ευ-*. In only one case is *εο* a disyllable in a poet of Ionic birth: *κλονέοντα φάλαγγας* Mimn. 143, the phrase of E 96<sup>2</sup>. Theog. has *φρονέοντα* 625, *φορέοντας* 827, *φιλέοντες* 739, *δοκέον* 162.

*-εο-* is found in *ἀγρυπνέοντα* Theog. 471 (or *υ* before *πν* may be short).

*-ευ-*<sup>3</sup> was certainly used by the time of Theognis: *φιλεῦντος* 381, *νοεῦντες* 737, *ποιεῦντι* 589, *πλουτεῦντι* 1153 (Brunck; MSS. *-οι* as 315 *πλουτοῦσι*; see § 643, 2), *φωνεῦντες* 495 (*K* has *φονέοντες*). But whether it was employed by Sim. Amorg. 786 (*φιλεῦντι* i MSS.) may be doubted. Herodas has *δεῦντα* 524 (*δινδ*), *κινεῦντι*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1886, p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> *κλονέω*, which is poetical in the active, reappears in Aretaios 2; (*κλονέουσαι*).

<sup>3</sup> *λωτεῦντα* (M 283) is called Doric or Ionic by Hdn. II 336<sub>15</sub>, 777<sub>3</sub> (Choiro 395<sub>30</sub>).



367, νοεῦνθ' 355, ψοφεῦντα 711, δοκεῦντες 465, σκοπεῦντες 299, ποιεῦντες *Class. Rev.* V 480, frag. 118, κινεῦσι 773, οἰκεῦσι 294, ἀνθεῦντας 152. The only non-Ionic form in *Hrd.* is φρονοῦντα 7129.

3. -έων remains open in Herodotos in the present, as it does in the future, participle. Exceptions are ζητῶν VI 62 (*R*), οἰκοδομῶν II 121 (*a*) in *ABC*, σκοπῶν I 117 (in all MSS.).

In the feminine -έουσα is the usual form. In νοέουσα VIII 101, ποιέουσαι I 93 (as ποιέουσιν *Arrian* 316), κνέουσιν VI 68 a vowel precedes. -εῦσα appears in ιστορεύσῃ I 61, λυπεῦσα VII 190, βοηθεῦσαν<sup>1</sup> II 118, ἀνθεύσης IV 1, κεντεύσας V 87; and in ποιεῦσα III 119, IV 9 (-έουσα *CPR*), VI 52 *bis*.

-εο- preponderates generally over -ευ- in *Hdt.* Some interesting examples are: ἀελπτέοντες VII 168 (elsewhere only H 310), ἀλλοφρονέοντες VII 205 (an epic and Ionic verb: cf. *Hippokr.* VII 30), ἀτέοντες VII 223 (epic), τειχέοντος V 23 (Ionic τειχέω and τειχίζω, Attic τειχίζω). Examples of -ευ- are exceedingly rare in the case of verbs other than ποιέω: II 34 ιστορεῦντα, IV 156 ἀγνοεῦντες, 157 οἰκεῦντες, the only case, in 74 occurrences of οἰκέω, of the contraction (-εο- *AB*, οἰκέοντες above in same chapter), VIII 3 νοεῦντες. The -ευ- forms are, however, far more frequent in the case of ποιέω (ποιεῦντι VII 29, ποιεῦντες II 36, IV 98, V 81, &c.) But in the following cases -εο- is attested without any variant: I 140 (ποιεῦνται same chapter), 158, 216 (ποιεῦμενοι same chapter), VII 8 (δ).

The archetypal MS. of *Hdt.* rarely had -ου-: ποιοῦντες I 90, οἰκοῦντες I 175.

In the other Ionic prosaists the contraction of εο to ευ is very rare. εω remains open. *Demokr.* has νουθετέων 59, φθονέων 30, κρατέων 76 (*Stob.* -ῶν), ἀδικέων 205, θεωρεῦσα 147, ἀδικέοντι, ἀμελέοντι 213, ἐπιθυμέοντι 2013, σωφρονέοντος 42, ποιεῦντι 205, φιλονεικέοντα 212, ἀδικέοντα 112, 206, εὐθηλέοντα 185, μυθοπλαστέοντες 119, δοκέοντες 151, δυστυχέοντες 137, ξυμφωνέοντες 152, τάλαιπωρεόντων 2010, φρονεόντων 79, ἀμελέοντας 213, ἀδικέοντας 205; *Herakl.* διαιρέων 2, δοκεόντων 118; *Melissos* ἀλγέοντι 13; *Pherek.* οἰκέοντες 85; *Ion* ἀφαιρετέοντα, δοκέον 1; *Ktesias* φωνέοντι; *Lukian V.A.* 5 δοκέοντα, *Syr. dea* 26 εὐνοέοντας; *Vita Hom.* ιστορέων 6, but ποιῶν 15. *Simplicius* has Atticized *Anaxagoras* περιχωρεόντων 11. *Aret.* has ὠφελεῦντα 312, &c.

We note the following cases of -ευ- in *Hippokrates*, who has -έων, -έοντος, &c., in almost every instance: ἀλγεῦντα II 132, διηθεῦντες II 240, ἐκπνεῦντα V 626, ἐξαιρεῦντα III 258, φθινεῦσι II 674 (φθινέω here only, § 637, 3), ποιεῦντα VI 210 (θ, -εο-

<sup>1</sup> *Greg. Kor.* § 60.

Littré), cf. II 278, IX 362, οἰκεῦντα IX 354, cf. 360, πατεῦντα and ὁμιλεῦντα IX 382, ἀγρυπνεῦντα V 590, ἐπιρριγεῦντα V 592 (-έοντες 588). Usually we find -εο-. In the feminine: ποιέουσαι II 66, φιλέουσα *Syr. dea* 26.

### 662.] Verbs in -οω.

ἀξιο(ύ)ντων Priene 144<sub>3</sub>, κηροῦσ' Hrd. 315, χῶν Hdt. I 162, κακοῦντες III 82. On δικαιοῦντος IX 42, see § 690. For ὁμοῦντες Hdt. I 153, as if from an unheard-of ὁμόω, ὁμύντες is to be substituted.

## Imperfect Active.

### 663.] Singular First Person.

-αω verbs contract -αον to -ων (ἐνίκων Samos 215). Occasionally we have -εον for -αον, and this -εον may become -ευν (§§ 637, I (2), 688). Verbs in -εω have -εον, not -ευν so far as we are aware in Ionic literature<sup>1</sup>. In *Hippolytos* 168 we have however an Ionic αὔτευν. ἐδόκουν Hrd. 469 is an Atticism (᾿δόκεον Hrd. in *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 2<sub>6</sub>). Verbs in -οω have -ουν, not -ευν (§ 690).

### 664.] Singular Second Person.

ἡλάστρεις Theog. 600.

### 665.] Singular Third Person.

1. ἐφόρα (ἐκοία Fick in *G. G. A.* 1883, 125), I. G. A. 370, generally referred to Euboeia, but perhaps Asiatic Ionic. Hdt. has ὦρα I 11, &c., ἐφοίτα III 90, ἡῦδα II 57 (a rare verb in prose; cf. ἀπηύδηκε Hippokr. VIII 570).

2. -ει<sup>2</sup> is the correct form. On inscriptions: ἐποίει Eretria 14, Samos I. G. A. 388 *a*, Amorgos I. G. A. 390, Naukratis I 342, Klazomenai Head *H. N.* 491, ἐπόει Samos 222 (pre-Roman), Delos 57 (middle of second century). ἐποίειν Miletos 95 resembles ἡσκειν Γ 388 in adopting the -ν after a contracted εε, contrary to the ordinary rule. Other forms are ἐπεστάτει Iasos, *J. H. S.* IX 341, Nos. 2 and 3, 342 No. 4, Zeleia 114 B 1 and perhaps in the Parian inscription, C. I. G. 2384 *g*, add. l. 2-3; ὠμολόγει Mykonos 92<sub>24</sub>. In Bechtel's No. 6 ἐποίη is Eleian. The testimony of the inscriptions is unanimous in favour of -ει.

In the lyric poets, exclusive of ἔπλεε Theog. 12 (cf. Ξ 251),

<sup>1</sup> In Hrd. 693 ἐλιπάρεον we may have synizesis; but the tribrach is permitted in the second foot.

<sup>2</sup> When the Gram. Vat. 699 cites νόει, ποίει it is for the purpose of showing the omission of the augment.



we find only -ει: ἐδόκει Theog. 960, ἐφόρει Archil. 93, where  $\cup\cup\cup$  would have been the alternative; Hippon. tr. 47 ῥκει in the MSS. (Schneid. and Bergk οῖκει, Meineke οἰκεῖ). At the period of Hipponax it was not usual for the first foot of the iambic measure to consist of  $\cup\cup\cup$ . Sim. Amorg. 28 ἐκίνει  $\cup\cup$  was not admissible in the arsis of the trimeter; Anakr. ὕνοχρει 32<sub>1</sub>; ἐπο[ι]ει Hrd. 4<sub>22</sub>.

In by far the greater number of instances Herodotos has -εε. Thus ἐδόκεε, ἐχώρεε, ἐκάλεε and even after ο in the case of νοέω ἐνόεε I 155, VIII 103, ἐπενόεε I 27, III 31, but ἐπενόει II 152 (BCd), and οι in ποιέω (ἐποίεε III 9, VII 156). Forms in -ει occur as follows: ἡπόρει III 78, ὠφέλει III 126, ἐξήρκει VII 161. See also on the imperfect of -μι verbs.

In Hippokrates, both Littré and Ermerins contract -εε in νοέω, but after consonants we find now -εε now -ει. Thus κατενόει II 686, 690, 692, 702, 706 (*bis*), 714, III 34, 40 (*bis*), 42 (*quater*), 44, 48, 50, 62, 64, 110, 112, 122, 140, 142; παρενόει III 140; μενόει rejected by Littré III 42. Other examples of -ει are: λήρει II 688, 706, 712; ῥκει II 666 (*bis*), 682, 684, 702, III 24; ἐδυσφόρει III 40; ἡρρώσται II 290; παρηκολούθει V 370; μετέλει I 626; ἐξεπύει II 706; ἡφώνει II 714; οὔρει II 686, 692, 708 and many other forms in the genuine tractates. Littré edits -εε in ἡλγεε II 690 (*v.l.* -ει), 704 (-ει *vulgo*), 708 *bis* (-ει *v.l.*), III 52 (-ει *v.l.*), 64 (-ει *vulgo*); ἐπόνεε II 290 (-ει *A*), III 44 (-ει *v.l.*), 50 (-ει *v.l.*); ἐδόκεε V 204; ἡμορράγεεν II 600 (-ει *A*).

Aretaios 201 has ἐπόθεε.

The MSS. of the excerptors of the other prosaists have -ει, *e.g.*, πεχώρει Melissos 14, ἐδόκει 17, ἐποίει Anaxag. 6 (περιχώρεε in 6 is due to Mullach), ῥκει Pherek. Leros 55. In Protagoras ἐδόκεε has been read.

The iteratives appear in our texts with the form -έεσκον, which is open to suspicion. In Hdt. I 186 *Rdz* only have ἀπαιρέεσκον, in IV 200 all the MSS. have ἔχεσκε, ἔχεσκε, which recent editors change to ἡχέεσκε (Bredow ἐχέεσκε). Asios in Athen. 525 F used φοίτεσκον, from Ionic φοιτέω = φοιτάω. In the middle the forms with hyphaeresis are better supported, but in the following occurrences of the active -έεσκον is the uniform MS. reading: πωλέεσκε I 196, φοιέεσκον I 36. In Herodotos iteratives from contract verbs are confined to those in -εω, while Homer had -ασκε and -εσκε.

3. Hdt. ἡξιλον, ἐδικαίον (ἐδικαίεν, an hyper-Ionism, *v.l.* III 118, IV 154; cf. § 690).

### 666.] Plural First Person.

1. -αομεν = ωμεν except when it passes into -εομεν.
2. -εομεν is either retained or becomes -ευμεν.
3. -οω verbs always have -ουμεν.



**667.] Plural Second Person.**

1. -ατε.

2. -ειτε, not -εετε as often in the prose monuments.

3. -ουτε from -οω verbs.

**668.] Plural Third Person.**

1. -αον = -ων, e.g. ἐθυμίων Hdt. VIII 99, κατέκλων IX 62.

2. -εον is generally retained. -ενν is very rare. The inscriptions have -εον in ἐθόρεον Thasos (L.) 7 A 2, 8 A 6, 97.

Herodotos has ἐποίεον<sup>1</sup> VII 36, IX 6, 8, 11, 104, ἐπενόεον V 65, ἀέθλεον I 67, VII 212 (Xenophanes 2<sub>21</sub> has ἀεθλεύω as Hdt. V 22), ἐπλούτεον III 57 (Greg. Kor. § 14), ἐφρόνεον II 162, κατηγορέον II 113 (though there is a notable number of εὔ's in its vicinity (113, 115, 118). εἰρώτεον I 158 (§ 637, 1 (2)) contracts -εον < -αον. Cf. ἐπειρώτεον I 67.

Herakl. has ὕμνεον 127, Hippokrates διετέλεον II 640, ἐπερρίγεον II 642 *bis* (cf. § 687, 3), ἐπενόσεον II 646, ἥρεον V 88 (elsewhere in the late epic).

Menekrates has ἐδόκεον, ἐπολέμεον, *Vita Hom.* ὑλάκτεον.

In the poets -εον is never open. Cf. ἐφρόνεον Archil. 112, -ενν in ἐφίλεον Theog. 786, ἐσύλεον < -αον, Hrd., *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 3, ἐπορνοβόσκεον 277.

Atticisms are ἐδόκουν Theog. 1381 (where it may be original), ἐκάλουν Hdt. IX 11.

3. -ονν in ἐπλήρου Hdt. I 171, ἐδηίουν V 89 (ἐδικαίουν III 79 is an hyper-Ionism; § 690). On ἐπερρίγουν Hippokr. II 642 (A, Littré -εον), see § 637, 6.

## PRESENT, MIDDLE AND PASSIVE.

*Indicative.***669.] Singular First Person.**1. ἀρριχῶμαι Hippon. 104, ποιῶμαι Mimn. 52, ἐσσῶμαι Hrd. 8<sub>19</sub>.2. φορεῦμαι Anakr. 38, ἀλεῦμαι Theog. 575, αἰδεῦμαι Solon tetr. 32<sub>4</sub> (*vulgo* -οῦμαι, which may be correct), ἀπαρνεῦμαι Hrd. 274, παραιτεῦμαι 572.

Examples of -εῦμαι in prose are διηγεῦμαι Herakl. 2 (in the *Vit. auct.* 14 Herakl. uses -έομαι), Hippokr. III 100, ποιεῦμαι Hdt. IX 111, Hippokr. VII 490. Hdt. has elsewhere ε

<sup>1</sup> ἐποίηον is called Doric and Ionic Hdn. II 330<sub>6</sub> (Choirob. 528<sub>15</sub>).

generally, but *εν* in *προαιδεῦμαι* III 140, *αἰρεῦμαι* III 142, the only case of any contraction in this verb (cf. *αἰρέονται*, *αἰρέοντο* and even *αἰρέόμενος*), and also *ἀξιεῦμαι* V 106 (§ 690).

Lukian *Vit. auct.* 6 has *σιτέομαι*.

3. *γουνούμαι* Anakr. I<sub>1</sub>, 2<sub>6</sub>.

### 670.] Singular Second Person.

In verbs in *-εω* we may admit *-έαι* from *-έσαι* by hyphaeresis. Cf. Homer's *πωλέ' δ* 811, *μυθέαι β* 202, *μυθεῖαι θ* 180. As it stands, *μυθεῖαι* is an old form (= *-έσαι*, which might be read) though preserved in a very late book. In Anakr. 12 we find *δινέαι*, in Hdt. III 34 *ἐπαινέαι* (not *-έσαι* as *Pz*), *φοβέαι* I 39 (*-έσαι P*). Here *A C*<sup>2</sup> have *φοβέαι* with superscribed *ε* between *ε* and *αι*.

### 671.] Singular Third Person.

1. *ιερᾶται* Miletos 100<sub>4</sub>; *πλανᾶται* Archil. 56<sub>5</sub>, *μνᾶται* Anakr. 58, *βιᾶται* Solon 13<sub>41</sub>, *ἀλᾶται* 13<sub>43</sub>. Hdt. has *μηχανᾶται* I 21, &c., *ἐπαιτιᾶται* II 121 (β), *βιᾶται* III 80, *σμάται* IX 110 (*σμήται* Antiph. com. frag. III 81), Demokritos *κτάται* 184 (§ 687, 2), Hellanikos *ἀναρριχᾶται* 178. *ἀνιᾶται* occurs in Demokr. 184, Melissos 4, 11 (Simplicius). Hippokr. III 204 has *ἐσφλᾶται*.

2<sup>1</sup>. *ικνεῖται* Halikarn. 238<sub>26</sub> (fifth century); Sim. Amorg. *ποιεῖται* 7<sub>62</sub>, *κινεῖται* 7<sub>75</sub>. Even if the forms had been properly open, synizesis was not permitted in the arsis of the iambic measure. *προκαλεῖται* Anakr. 14<sub>4</sub>, *ὀρχεῖται* 20<sub>3</sub>; Hrd. has *αἰρεῖται* 3<sub>54</sub>, *δωρεῖται* 6<sub>30</sub>, *ὠθεῖται* 4<sub>54</sub>.

Herodotos: *ποιέεται*, &c., with *-εε-* everywhere, except *μνέται* in all MSS., VIII 65. In all these forms *-εε-* is out of date in the fifth century. Lukian puts *μυθέεται* into the mouth of Hdt., *De Domo* 20. In other writers of Ionic prose: Herakl. *ἀφικνεῖται* 8 (Stob., *-έεται* is conjectural), *ἐξικνεῖται* 12 (Plut.), *διαχέεται* § 637, 2), and *μετρέεται* 23 (Clem. Alex.), *ὠνέεται* 105 (Iamblichos); Demokr. *ἐρέεται* 6 = *ἐρᾶται* (Demokrates), *ἀκέεται*<sup>2</sup> 80 where Clem. Alex. has *ἀφαιρέεται* in the same frag.), *ποιέεται* 123 (Stob.); Melissos *συγχωρεῖται* (Simpl.) 1, *κινεῖται* 5, 14 (*bis*), 15, according to Simpl.; Hekat. *κινεῖται* 284 (Steph. Byz.), *μυθεῖται* 332, *καλεῖται* 260. Pherekydes of Leros has *ποιεῖται* 44, a fragment containing several genuine Ionisms. All the cases of *καλεῖται* (16, 85, 89, 114 A) are in Atticized fragments. So too *ἀφικνεῖται* 34; Hellanikos has *καλέεται* in 160, which contains *βοικοῦντες*.

In Hippokrates there are many examples of the correct form,

<sup>1</sup> *πωλεῖται* is called Ionic in contrast to a supposed Aiolic *πωλῆται* in An. Ox. I 36<sub>225</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Hippokrates VI 294 used the active *ἀκέουσιν*.

*e.g.* καλεῖται V 656, ἀφικνεῖται 664, οὐρεῖται 720. The resolved form appears in Littré, *e.g.* in ἀφικνεέται II 70 (*vulgo* -ει-), οὐρέεται II 38, VII 160 (so θ, *vulgo* -ει-), καλέεται III 84, 208, V 588, VIII 366 (θ), ποιέεται II 128 *bis*, V 644, κρατέεται II 638, εὐπορέεται III 102 (*vulgo* -ει-), ἐμέεται II 184 (*vulgo* -ει-).

Euseb. Mynd. 59 has ἀποστερέεται, 63 ἡγέεται, Aretaios 32 cases of -εε- to 3 of -ει- (ἐμέεται 1, καλεῖται 102, παρωθείται 297). In Arrian we have 12 cases of -εε-; Abydenos δωρέεται 9.

3. τρυχοῦται Mimn. 2<sub>12</sub>, λαχνοῦται Solon 27<sub>6</sub>, λοῦται Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>63</sub>, στεφανοῦται Anakr. 41<sub>2</sub>, ἀλλοτριοῦται Hdt. I 120, βιοῦται II 177, ἀλλοιοῦται Herakl. 36, ἑτεροιοῦται Meliss. 12, καρποῦται Demokr. 236, ἀμανροῦται Hippokr. V 644, μισθοῦται *Vita Hom.* 4.

### 672.] Plural First and Second Persons.

A. 1. διαιτώμεθα Hdt. IV 114.

2. -εόμεθα and -εῦμεθα.

3. -ούμεθα. On ἀντιεύμεθα Hdt. IX 26, see § 690.

B. 1. πειράσθε Hdt. IV 127.

2. ἡγείσθε Herakl. in *R. M.* XV 605, where Neumann read -εε- in order to accommodate the form to Hdt.'s ποιέεσθε IX 7.

3. -οὔσθε.

### 673.] Plural Third Person.

1. αἰτιῶνται Hdt. IV 94, Hippokr. II 78, ὁσμῶνται Herakl. 38, ἰῶνται Hippokr. II 78, ἐπισπῶνται II 312, ὀριγνῶνται Hrd. 7<sub>37</sub>.

2. Theog. 290 ἡγέονται but μωμεῦνται 369, as if from μωμέομαι (cf. μωμεύμενος 169); Solon 4<sub>21</sub> has preserved the Attic ἰκνοῦνται, φορεῦνται Parmenides 48.

In Hdt. we expect, and find, ποιεῦνται I 132, 140, IV 70, &c., except IV 180, where all MSS. have -εο-. Elsewhere we have -έονται, except ἡγεῦνται IV 2 (-εο- *PRz*), καλεῦνται V 108 (-εο- *CPz*), and διανοεῦνται IX 54 in all MSS. [cf. § 637, 1 (2)]. ἀνιεῦνται VII 236, if correct, is used in a future sense and as an analogue of κομιεῦνται, &c. Stein accepts ἀκεῦνται in his school edition.

Herakl. αἰρεῦνται 111, μνεῦνται 125; Demokr. δωρέονται 13 (Stob. -ου-), ποιέονται 47, 126, αἰτέονται 46<sup>1</sup>; Pherek. καλέονται 85; Hippokr. διαιτεῦνται II 68, 72, καλεῦνται II 68, 76, ἀσθενεῦνται II 316, ὀχεῦνται II 68, δυσαρεστεῦνται IX 368 ἡγεῦνται II 240 (*A*), ἀφικνεῖνται II 50, 150, ποιέονται II 56, &c. *Vita Hom.* has ἀπικνεῖνται 5, 6, Luk. *V. A.* κινέονται 4, συνελέονται 14.

<sup>1</sup> νεῦνται Mullach I 371, cited sometimes from Demokritos, does not exist (MSS. νοῦνται). The fragment is hard to restore.



3. ἀποχωλούνται Hippokr. II 78, ῥυσμοῦνται Demokr. 16, λούνται Hdt. I 198, τοξοῦνται Aret. 10.

### *Subjunctive.*

674.] -αω verbs are inflected as in Attic.

675.] From -εω verbs we have ποιῆται Chios 174 C 11 (cf. προθῆται Halikarn. 238<sub>33</sub>). This exemplifies the contraction supported in the MSS. of Hdt. in δηλῆται IV 187, ἐξηγῆται VI 74 all MSS. (-εη- V 23), IX 66 (-εη- R), ποιῆται IX 45, VI 57 (A B C d), III 8 and IV 65 (A B R, i.e. Stein's archetype), φοβῆται VII 36 (A B R). Herodas has ἡγῆται 543, θεωρῆται 546.

Demokritos has ἐπιμελῆται (?) and μετρῆται 41, ποιῆται 188. In Hippokrates the hyper-Ionic -εη- is very frequent, e.g. ὠφελῆται II 374, κινέηται III 258, ποιεῆται VII 514.

Lukian has ἀπηγέηται Astrol. 22, Euseb. Mynd. 53 ἀπαιτέηται, Aretaios ἀκέηται 25, ἐμέηται 31, μετακινέηται 62, but ἀνεμῆται 322.

In the third plural we have κινέωνται Hippokr. II 126, ποιέωνται, e.g. Philip of Pergamum, B. C. H. II 273.

676.] -οω verbs are inflected as in Attic.

### *Optative.*

677.] χολῶτο Theog. 325, σιγῶτο Hdt. III 82, νικῶτο IX 13, κοιμῶτο III 38, ὀπτῶτο VIII 137, &c., ὀδυνῶτο Hippokr. III 256, ἀνιῶτο Melissos 4 and 11, according to Mullach (Diels with Simplicius ἀνιάται). ἀνιῶτο Hdt. III 1, ἀνιῶατο IV 130.

678.] -εω verbs: ἐνθυμοίμεθα Sim. Amorg. 21. In Hdt. after consonants we find both the older and the younger forms: καλέοιτο V 76, ἀπικνέοιτο I 29, λυπεοίατο I 99, and δωροίτο II 126 (Rd), φοβοίτο VII 87 (R); after vowels ποιοίτο VII 48, VIII 57 (-οῖντο A B, -έοιντο C). The rule has been accepted by some that after consonants εοι, after vowels οι, is the correct form in Ionic. This is, however, applicable to the MSS. of Hdt., not to the wider horizon of Ionic literature. The testimony of φρονοῖμεν and ἐνθυμοίμεθα in Simonides of Amorgos and of φιλοῖεν in Anakreon shows, not that the forms in εοι above mentioned are wrong, but that contract forms had been adopted in pre-Herodoteian Ionic. The archaism ἀνωθεοίη Teos 156 A 11 does not invalidate this statement.

Demokr. has according to Stobaios ἀμελέοιτο 213, but ποιοῖτο 2. Simplicius has preserved Melissos' μετακοσμέοιτο (11). Hippokr. has ποιέοιτο II 110, λυπέοιτο II 134, ἀφαιρέοιτο II 356, οὐρέοιτο II 140, ἀπολωφέοιτο ep. 17<sub>16</sub>. Lukian *Syr. dea* 26 λυπέοιτο, ἐξαπατέοιτο 27 as if from -έομαι.

679.] -ow verbs are inflected as in Attic.

### *Imperative.*

680.] πειρῶ Theog. 358, κνῶ Hrd. 8<sub>8</sub>, πειράσθω Tyrt. 12<sub>41</sub>.

681.] ποιῶν Theog. 753 and αἰδοῦν 1179 are Atticisms, even if the latter is from αἰδομαι (αἰδεο Φ 74, &c.).

Hdt. has -εο<sup>1</sup> in αἰτέο I 90, ἀκέο III 40, λυπέο VIII 100, ἐξηγέο III 72, IV 9, ἀπικνέο V 24, φοβέο VII 50, 52, ποιέο VIII 68 (a), Demokr. 142 προθυμέο; -εν in φοβεῦν I 9, ποιεῦν IV 9, VIII 100. On the hyphaeresis see Fritsch in Curtius *Studien* VI 128, where it should have been noted that in -εἰε-σαι, not in -εφε-σαι, is the loss of one ε permissible in Homer. Cf. μυθέαι by the side of μυθεῖαι. In the imperative however we do not find -ειο.

In Oropos 18<sub>20</sub> we find τελείσθω, in Chalkis 13<sub>9</sub> αἰρείσθω. Tyrt. 11<sub>3</sub> has φοβεῖσθε, Hrd. 7<sub>21</sub> θηείσθε, Anakr. 42 ἀναχέισθω.

Hippokr. has -ει- in ἐμείσθω V 708 and II 144 (several MSS.) but ποιέεσθω VII 190. Aret. εὐπορείσθω 279, ἐψείσθω 202, 331.

682.] -ow verbs are inflected as in Attic. ἀνακοινέο Theog. 73 must come from -κοινέω, not from -κοινώω. Pindar has κοινάω.

### *Infinitive.*

683.] 1. Verbs in -aw have throughout -ᾶσθαι except in περιῆσθαι, διαιτῆσθαι, &c., in Hippokrates, § 637, 1 (1). Herodotos has e.g. ὀρᾶσθαι, ἀνιᾶσθαι, Theognis ἰᾶσθαι 433, ἀγορᾶσθαι 159 Miletos 100<sub>6</sub> προῖεράσθαι, Diog. Apoll. 6 κυβερνᾶσθαι. κρεμᾶσθαι Hippokr. I 592, II 288 should be read κρέμασθαι, which occurs in II 152. εὐνᾶσθαι Aret. 272 is the only prose instance of the uncompounded form.

2. Verbs in -εω<sup>2</sup>. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Orop. 18<sub>7</sub> (cf. ἐπιμέλεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> The Homeric ἀποαιρέο is called Ionic by the interlinear schol. Ven. A on 275. For ἄλευ' (ἰωνικῶς) Diogen. II 56, read ἄλεϋ (Schulze, *Quaest. epicae*, 64).

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Gr. 235, 240, Greg. Kor. 36, Gram. Leid. 629 πονέεσθαι (πονέσθαι Meerm. 650, Vat. 694, κλονέσθαι Meerm. 650, on the view that ε might appear in place of ει as in δέξω = δείξω).

Thasos 71<sub>7</sub>); Tyrtaios has *μυθεῖσθαι* 4<sub>7</sub>, where *μυθέεσθαι* would have been impossible; Hrd. *ἡγείσθαι* 1<sub>72</sub>. Herodotos: *ποιέεσθαι* about twenty times, but *R* has *ποιεῖσθαι* II 1. Contraction after *οι* in the finite forms of this verb is very rare in the MSS. After *ο* we have *διανοέεσθαι* II 121 (δ), but *διανοεῖσθαι* VI 86 (δ) in *ABCD*. Cf. the present and imperfect of *νοέω*.

Other Ionic prosaists have *-ει-* very often according to the MSS. of their excerptors: Demokrates has *αἰρεῖσθαι* 3, 92, *δατέεσθαι* 71, *αἰδέεσθαι* 100, 235, *ποιεῖσθαι* 128, *ἐπαινέεσθαι* 204, *ἡγείσθαι* 212. The open forms are *ἐνθυμέεσθαι* 20<sub>20</sub> (*sic* Stob., but *-ει-* in 92), *ἀρκέεσθαι* 20<sub>7</sub> (various conj.), *μιμέεσθαι* 114 (cf. 113), *φιλέεσθαι* 161 (Demokrates). Diogen. Apoll. *ἐννοεῖσθαι* 4 (Simpl.); Melissos *κινεῖσθαι* 5 (Simpl.).

Hippokrates has *-εε-* in many cases, *e.g.* *ἐνθυμέεσθαι* II 14, 170 (most MSS.) 188, *ποιέεσθαι* II 280, III 214, 228, 230, 252, *ἀνειλέεσθαι* II 138 (*-ει-* one MS.), V 694, *ταλαιπωρέεσθαι* II 72, *αἰωρέεσθαι* III 442, *σκοπέεσθαι* II 634, 678 (*-ει-* *vulgo*), III 100, *ἐκκαλέεσθαι* IV 630, *πονέεσθαι* II 184 *bis*, *ἀριθμέεσθαι* II 170 *bis*, *σιτεῖσθαι* II 246 (*A*), but *-έεσθαι* II 288, *σκοπεῖσθαι* III 212, 258, 260. Arrian's only case of *-ει-* is *ἐξικνεῖσθαι* 24<sub>4</sub>; Aretaios has *-εῖσθαι* only 73, 321. Lukian's *Vit. auct.* has *αἰρέεσθαι* 6.

3. Verbs in *-οω*. *ἐπανανεοῦσθαι* Eretria 15<sub>7</sub>; Theog. *μαυροῦσθαι* 192, Hdt. *κατορθοῦσθαι*, *ἐξισοῦσθαι*, &c., *ἐτεροιοῦσθαι* Melissos 17, Diog. Apoll. 2; *λοῦσθαι* Hdt. III 124, Hippokr. VII 74.

### Participle.

684.] 1. *-αω* verbs have *-όμενος*, *e.g.* *κυκόμενος* Archil. 66<sub>1</sub>, and MSS. Solon 13<sub>61</sub> (*κακούμενον* Bergk), *ἀλώμενος* Tyrt. 10<sub>11</sub>, *στρωφόμενος* Theog. 247, *πλανόμενος* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>14</sub>, Solon 36<sub>10</sub>, *λωβωμένη* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>109</sub>, *ἀμφιδηριόμενος* 7<sub>118</sub>, *πειρώμενος* Solon 13<sub>67</sub>, *γεγανώμενος* Anakr. 13 A.

Herodotos has *-όμενος*, without any variant, in the verbs *αἰτιάομαι*, *ἀλάομαι*, *ἀνακτάομαι*, *βιάω*, *δισαίτω*, *ἐράω*, *θεάομαι*, *θιράω*, *κραυγανάω*, *λωβάομαι*, *νικάω*, *πλανάω*, *στρωφάω*. On other forms (*-εόμενος*, *-εώμενος*) see § 688.

*τιμώμενος* Hippokr. II 80, Demokr. 231, *πειρώμενος* Herakl. 2, Pherekydes of Leros 33<sub>h</sub>, *ιώμενος* Pherekydes 76.

2. Verbs in *-εω*<sup>1</sup>. In the lyric poets we have unanimous testimony to the contraction of *-εο-*. Archil. trim. 32<sub>2</sub> *πονευμένη*, 44 *ποιεύμενος*, 46 *πολευμένη*, 102 *σαλευμένη*, 128 *ἐξαλεύμενος*; Sim. Amorg. *κλονεύμενοι* 1<sub>15</sub>, *μυθεύμενος* 7<sub>18</sub>, *φορευμένη* 7<sub>40</sub> (Stob.

<sup>1</sup> *λυπεόμενος* Joh. Gr. 240 B, Gram. Meerm. 652, Aug. 668, Vat. 698, Birnb. 678<sub>1</sub>, *ποιεόμενος* Aug. 668, *μαχεόμενος* Meerm. 652, Vat. 698.



*B-ou-*), ἀλευμένη 7<sub>61</sub>; Solon 13<sub>45</sub> φορεύμενος, trim. 36<sub>12</sub> τρομευμένους, the only contracted form of this poetic (and Hippokratic) verb, trim. 37<sub>5</sub> κυκεύμενος; Mimn. 7<sub>1</sub> δηλεύμενος; Theog. 169 μωμεύμενος. ποιεύμενος occurs in an iambic line preserved by Stobaios 28, 18; ὠνευμένης in Hrd. 7<sub>82</sub>. The cases of -ευ- in the early iambists awaken suspicion, as we elsewhere have εο. The writing ευ recalls that in vogue in the fifth century.

Attic forms are *πονούμενον* Theog. 1359, *Φιλουμένη* Paros 66, *ἀδικούμενον* C. I. G. 2919 (but the document is a modern forgery). Genuine Ionic is *ἀφικνε(ο)μένων* Oropos 18<sub>8</sub>.

Verbs in -εω usually show -εόμενος. This is the case even in Herodotos<sup>1</sup> who has the greatest number of cases of -εύμενος. These are given in the note below. Before μ there is evident a tendency to write ευ; as if the scribes thought εο (which they judged to be dissyllabic) with -μενος would produce too many short syllables.

αἰωρέω VII 61, 92; ἀπολογέω VII 161 (-ου- *B*); ἀπορέω II 121 (γ); εἰλέω II 76; ἡγέομαι II 93 (ἡγέονται *bis* same chapter), 113 (κατηγόρεον soon after) 115, VII 161; θηέομαι VII 44, 146, 212, VIII 88; θυμέομαι IX 72; ἰκνέομαι I 105 (-εο- *Rd*), 178, III 9, VI 65, 86 α (-εο- *C*), cf. VI 65, 84 (-ευ- *R*); καλέω II 56, 72, 79, 97, 113 (-εο- *C*), 118, 124, 156 (-εο- *CPD*), 178 (-εο- *CP*), III 101 (οἰκεόμενος same chapter), IV 20 (-εο- *R*), 85, 93, 175, V 31 (-εο- *r*), 108 (-εο- *ABCd*), VI 79 (-εο- *PRz*), VII 77, 170 (-εο- *ABCd*), IX 48; cf. II 41 (-ευ- *AB*) 154 (-ευ- *R*), καλεόμενος III 13 and elsewhere; καλλιέρω VI 82; λυπέω IX 94 μυθέω II 121 (δ); ναυπηγέω II 96, VI 46; νοέω III 122, V 36; πιεζέω III 141 (*ABR*), VI 108 (-ο- *Cz*), VIII 142 (-ο- *BCz*); πολιορκέω V 115 *bis* (-εο- *r*, and -εο- *B<sup>2</sup>r*); cf. I 26 (-ευ- *CP*), II 157 (-ευ- *R*), III 13 (-ευ- *CPdz*); τελέω II 152 III 134 (-εο- *d<sup>2</sup>*), VII 16 (-ου- *P*); τιμωρέω III 50 (-εο- *R*); ὑπισχνέομαι II 152 III 74 (-ου- *AB*), VIII 106, cf. V 51 (-εο- all MSS.); φορέω III 106, 146, VI 10 (θ); ὠθέω VI 83; ὠνέομαι I 165; ὠφελέω II 68, -εο- *PRz* (-εο- same chapter where *d* has -ευ-).

In the case of ποίεω, Hdt. has ποιεύμενος very frequently. In a small number of instances we find ποιεόμενος: I 37, 68 (same chapter -εύμενος), 73. θηέομαι, too, contracts εο to ευ.

In other prose writers than Herodotos: Herakl. κινεόμενος 8. (conj.); Demokr. θυμέόμενος 27 *bis*, -μεύμενος 20<sub>22</sub>, τελεύμενα 71. λυπεόμενος 29, κινεόμενος 20<sub>5</sub> (Stob. -ου-), ὑπηγεομένης 92, μωμεόμενων 123, καλεομένης 211, ἐρεόμενος (?) (with accus.) for ἐρώμενο 6; Anaxag. κινεόμενος *bis* 7 (Simpl. -ου-); Diog. Apoll. καλεόμενος 6 (Simpl. -ου-); Meliss. κινεόμενος 4 (Simpl. -ου-); Hekat ποιεόμενος 350 (Longinos -ου-). Hippokrates has -εόμενος usually, e.g. ἀφικνεόμενος II 14, ἐπιρροφεόμενος II 358, καλεόμενος

<sup>1</sup> Forms in -ου are to be rejected: ἀπολογούμενος VII 161 in *B*, πολιορκούμενος I 26 in *A*, III 13 in *AB*, ἐπιμετρούμενος III 91 in all MSS., ἀφαιρούμενος Hippokr. VI 494, σκοπούμενος III 258, ἡγούμενος I 612 (*A*) &c.

II 224, but ἀφικνεύμενος II 76, ἐμεύμενος II 144 (same page ἐμεόμενος), ποιεύμενος II 362, III 442, VI 74, 514, ἐνθυμεύμενος II 42, ἐννοεύμενος II 50, σκοπεύμενος II 50 (-ου- *vulgo*, cf. III 258), σιτεύμενος VI 54 (*A*) whereas Hdt. VI 57 as Hippokr. II 282, 288, has -εο-, κλονεύμενος VIII 18, ἀδηλεύμενος VIII 18, ἡγεύμενος II 110, 242, ἐναιωρεύμενος II 116, φιλοτιμεύμενος IX 358. *Vita Hom.* 33 καλεόμενος (only case of -εο-), ποιεύμενος 23, Lukian's *V. A.* ὠνεόμενος 14, Aret. 313 δινεύμενος. Attic forms sometimes occur in Lukian (*Astrol.* 19) and Arrian (203). πωλεόμεναι *Prometh.* 645 trim. as β 55, ρ 534.

3. Verbs in -ωω. Archil. γοννουμένω 751, χολούμενος 95, and so Solon 341. In 1361 Bergk follows Lobeck in reading κακούμενον for the MS. κυκώμενον. Herodotos has ἐσσούμενος, ἀντιούμενος, Hippokr. ἀποκορυφούμενος, &c., Diog. Apoll. 6 ἑτεροιοιμένων, *Vita Hom.* 5 ἀνδρούμενος.

*Imperfect.*

685.] 1. Verbs in -αω. ἦραο Xenoph. 51, ἐστρωφάτο Archil. 33, ποτάτο 186, ἐκοιμάτο Hippokr. III 48, ἀπεπειράτο Hdt. I 46. κατηρῶντο Hippon. 11. ἡργορόωντο Hdt. VI 11 cannot stand.

2. Verbs in -εω. Hdt. has ἡγεύμην II 115, ἐποιέετο about 30 times, ἐπορθέετο I 84, ἐμιμέετο V 67. Hippokr. has ὠφελέετο V 204, but ὠχλείτο V 196 (ὠφελέει same page). -εν- occurs in ἐποιεύμεσθα, Hrd. 417. -εοντο<sup>1</sup> and -ευντο in the third plural: ἡγέοντο Hdt. VII 40, διενοεύντο VI 133, προηγέυντο VII 40, ἐκαλεύντο VII 74, ἐποιεύντο V 63, VII 138, Hippokr. IX 348. ἐρριπτεύντο Hrd. *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 24. Forms that have been Atticized occur, *e.g.* ἐποιοῦντο Herakl. 127.

The inflection of the verb *behold* presents great difficulties<sup>2</sup>. Two forms are certainly Ionic: *θεόμαι*, *θεάομαι*. (1) *θεόμαι* = Doric *θαέμαι*<sup>3</sup> < \**θαῖε-ιο-μαι*, is found in *θηεῖτο* η 133, *ἐθηεῖτο* Hdt. I 10 (-*ηῆτο R b d z*), 68, IV 85 (-*ηῆτο d z*), VII 44, 56, 100, 208 (-*ηῆτο d*); *ἐθηεύντο* III 136, VIII 25; *θηεῖσθε* Hrd. 721; *θηεύμενος* Hdt. VII 44, 146, 212, VIII 88. Homer has eight forms from *θεόμαι*, one from *θεάομαι*. Hesiod has *θηήσομαι*, *θηητός*, Aret. 312 *θηητός* in *G* (*θηητός H. V.*). (2) *θεάομαι*<sup>4</sup>, as in Attic, from \**θηᾶομαι* < \**θαῖᾶ-ιο-μαι*. Hdt. has

<sup>1</sup> ἐ) *πονέοντο* Joh. Gr. 240.  
<sup>2</sup> Cf. Johansson, *D. V. C.* 149, *B. B.* XV 173.  
<sup>3</sup> *θαέομαι* (Pindar) from \**θαῖᾶ*, Syrakusan *θαᾶ*. *θαεῖτο* in Theokr. is not from \**θαᾶετο*, but from \**θαᾶέτο*, because α becomes ε before ο, not before ε (Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 327). *θαῆτος* is found in Pindar and Theokritos. With *θατῆρας* *θεατᾶς* < *θαᾶ-*, cf. Hom. *θηητήρ*, whose second η is different from that of *θηητός*.  
<sup>4</sup> Dindorf, praef. XXXVII, thinks the forms from *θεάομαι* in Hdt. are due to a copyist, and doubts even *θηηταί*, *θέητρον*. *ἀξιοθέητος* he is constrained to accept because of *θέης ἄξιος*.

θεώμενος III 32, VI 67, VII 208 (as Aret. 91), θεήσεαι, θεησόμενος, -σασθαι (as Hippokr. IX 348), -σάμενος often (I 11 *AP*, other MSS. -ηησάμενον), I 30 (*b* -ηησάμενον), II 106 (*Rd* -ειησάμενον), IV 87 (*Rd* -ηησάμενος), ἐθεήσατο VII 128 (IV 87 *Rdz* -ηήσατο), -αντο VI 120 (III 23 *PRz*, 24 *PRdz* -ηήσαντο). From the same stem we have θέη < \*θήη, in Hdt. I 25, IX 25 (θέαι Hrd. 129) = Attic θέᾶ, θεηταί Hdt. III 139, θέητρον VI 21, θέημα Sim. Amorg. 767 (Doric θᾶημα < θᾶφημα), ἀξιοθέητος Hdt. often. θεη- is contracted to θη- in ἵνα μιν θησαίαι' σ 191 (ἵνα θηησαίαι' Kirchhoff), θησάμενος Abdera 162 (metrical), θήσεσθε Hrd. 756. We see no reason for accepting an Ionic θάομαι in these contracted forms. The Doric forms (Ahrens II 342) may be referred to θᾶομαι or to θᾷμαι, and θεώμενος in Hdt. is not necessarily from θᾶομαι. θάο is certain in the Anthology and Hesychios, who has also θάοντα' θεωρῶντα, but Roehl's (I. G. A. 409) θάεν τοῦ λίθου in the Naxian inscription must yield to Bentley's [τ]οῖ αὐτοῦ λίθου. Two forms cause great difficulty: ἐθηήτο, the *v.l.* in Hdt. and ἐθεήτο in Hippokr. VII 490 according to Littré (ἐθειήτο in *ε*, ἐθεᾶτο in seven MSS.). These forms, if correct, could come only from an hitherto unknown θηήομαι < θᾶφᾶ-ιο-μαι, and from θεήομαι < θηη-. ἐθηήτο, we think, has its ηη wrongly transferred from ἐθηήσατο, &c. (a reading adopted by Abicht), and ἐθεήτο its εη from ἐθεήσατο. Johansson suggests the possibility of deriving ἐθεήτο from ἐθηεῖτο, *i. e.* ἐθήετο, by *metathesis quantitatis*. We prefer to regard the forms as simple blunders.

The editors adopt -εέσκετο, *e.g.* in ποιέέσκετο Hdt. VII 5, which has the support of only one MS. (*g*, ἐποιέέτο *PRz*). The preferable form would be ποιέσκετο found in *ABCD*. So in VII 110 *z* alone has ποιέέσκετο, the MSS. (except *R* ἐποιέέτο) ποιέσκετο.

3. Verbs in -ω. ἦντιοῦτο Hdt. I 76, ἐκακοῦτο Hippokr. II 74, ἡτεροιοῦτο Diog. Apoll. 2, παρεκνημοῦντο Hippon. 130. Οἱ ἐδικαιεῦντο Hdt. III 29, see § 690.

### *The Contraction of -εε, -εει.*

686.] To afford a survey of the usage of Hippokrates, Aretaios and the imitators of Herodotos in respect of their adoption of the obsolete forms in -εε, -εει from -εω verbs, we present the following table. See Lindemann *de dialecto Ionica recentiore*, pp. 31 ff. The names of Asinius Quadratus and Uranius are omitted from the list, since they present no pertinent forms. Forms of -εει verbs (§ 637, 2) are included in the enumeration.



	Indic. Pres. Act.		Inf. Pres. Act.		Ind. Impf. Act.		Indic. Pr. Pass.		Ind. Impf. Pass.		Inf. Pr. Pass.		Imperat. Act.		Imperat. Pass.	
	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.
Lukian { Syria dea Vit. auct. Astr. Arrian's Indikè	All	0	17	0	25 <sup>1</sup>	0	22	0	15	0	7	0				
	3	1	2	0	3		2	v.l. § 29	1	0	2	0				
	4	0	2	0	14	4	11 or 12	2	4	0	3	0				
	15	6	10	6	1	0	1	0			19	2				
Abydenos			1	0												
Eusebios					2	0			1	0						
Euseb. Mynd.	8	3 (2 δεῖ)	22	0			2	0			17	0				
Aretaios	136	21	106	25	7	0	32	4	0	1	17	2			1	2
Hippokrates:—																
ΠΚ	31	15	12	12			1	3			1	1			0	1
ΕΙ	2	2 (δεῖ)	15	0	15	30	1	0			1	1				
ΕΙΙΙ	3	3 (δεῖ)	2	1	3	44	1	1	0	1	0	1				
ΠΑ	10	10 (2 δεῖ)	8	5	0	1 (ἐδεῖ)	1	2			10	1				
ΠΔΟ	30	17 (δεῖ)	26	3 (2 δεῖν)	1	1	1	3			8	0			1 <sup>2</sup>	0
ΠΤΚ	5	2 (δεῖ)	1	0			1	3			6	4				
Π			11	v.l. 1			3	1			4	3 v.l.			0	1

The Vita Homeri contracts in all 25 times, leaves open 7 times.

<sup>1</sup> In 4 other passages the MSS. vary.

<sup>2</sup> So Littré II 276.

*The Inflection of Verbs in -ηω, -ωω.*

687.] 1. -ηλω < -αιω.

διψῆ Hippokr. VI 488, VII 258 (-ᾱ Ermerins wrongly), as in Pindar, διψῆ Hdt. II 24, διψέων (-ο-) Archil. 68, from διψῆων (cf. διψᾶων λ 584 and Μαχάων. Μαχέων § 140, 1). The contracted form appears in διψῶντα Anakr. 57, for which Fick would read διψέωντα, διψώντες Aret. 134, διψῶσαν Astrol. 24 = διψεῦσαν Anthol. Pal. VI 217. In the imperfect, ἐδίψη Hippokr. III 36, 42 ἐδίψων II 652.

The origin of the long vowel in διψᾶω, πεινᾶω still remains obscure Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 269 refers these two verbs to διψᾶσιω, πεινᾶσιω, and connects their latter part with √ās burn. But διψῆν, as πεινῆν, may be merely an analogue of verbs with primitive η, e. g. ψῆν.

δρῆν Hippokr. III 290, δρῶντα (Attic?) Hrd. 528, for which we should expect δρέωντα, δρέοντα, or δρεῦντα (cf. πηδεῦντα 396). Verbs in -ηω in Hrd always contract (cf. under κνᾶω and ψᾶω), and the closed forms are known to us from the prose monuments. Attic δρᾶν may be from δρᾱ-ειν.

θυμῆται Hdt. IV 75, ὑποθυμίσθω Hippokr. VII 320 have been regarded as derived from θυμῆω. We class them with the hyper-Ionisms (§ 637, 1 foot note), and in Hdt. read θυμᾶται with A<sup>2</sup>R.

μνᾶομαι we expect to yield μνεόμενος in Hdt. This is found in I 96, but only in CPz, MSS. which often affect -εω- where it is not in place. In I 20 all MSS. have -ω-. ἐμνᾶτο I 205 and μνᾶται Anakr. 68 are also from μνᾶομαι if the other forms in -ω- are correct. Homer has μνόμενος λ 117, but also ἐμνώνοντο, μνᾶσθαι, &c. μνώόμενος is a certain emendation of Wolf in Hymn I 209.

πεινῆ Hippokr. VI 488, but πεινῶντας Hdt. I 133 which would seem to be Attic, cf. πεινᾶων Γ 25, &c.

2. -ηλω (with pan-Hellenic η).

Whether pan-Hellenic η exists in all of the following forms e. g. σμῆν, ψῆν (ψᾶφος), is uncertain.

ζῆ < \*ζη-ει, Herakl. 25, Diog. Apoll. 6, Hippokr. III 192, VI 42 (subj. ζῶμεν Sim. Amorg. 32 might be from \*ζέωμεν < \*ζήομεν, could we not assume a weak stem ζα-. Improbable is the derivation from \*ζόωμεν < ζώομεν. ζῶ Hdt. II 92, IV 22 (A B R), 23 (ζώουσι R), 103, Hippokr. II 46, V 672. Bekke Dindorf, Abicht accept only ζώουσι in Hdt. ζῆν < \*ζη-εν, Hdt. V 6 (cf. VII in P R, Stob.), Demokr. 54, Theog. 1156, Aret. 10. Hdt. elsewhere has ζέω which Merzdorf would, and Stein does, adopt in V 6. ζῶν Herakl. 78, ζῶντ Hippokr. III 246, Aret. 183, ζῶντι Hippokr. III 246, Hdt. IV 94, VII 2, (A B R), ζῶντα Hdt. I 86 bis (in one case B<sup>2</sup>C have ζώντα; ζώντων in same chapter), II 162, III 10, IV 14, VII 33, 166, ζῶντες Hdt. IV 22, 23, 46 (ζα P d), IX 119, Herakl. 67, ζῶντα Hippokr. VI 488, ζώντων Herakl. 1 (Bernays), ζῶσι Hdt. VI 58, ζῶντας II 69 (ζω- C), VII 146, ζῶσα IV 205.

On the forms of ζῶω, see below under 3. The second ablaut form ζ cannot be supported by a supposed Kyprian ζαφεῖτε, or by δλαιτα (with Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 151). ζῆ is, moreover, not from \*ζήf-ει, but from \*ζή-εζῆν, ζῆθι are not original forms, the -μι conjugation of ζῆω being later than

that in -ω. ζῆθι is an analogue of στῆθι (cf. στήτω, ζήτω), and ἔζην is built on the pattern of ἔσβην. Cf. Brugmann *M. U.* I 7. ἔζην displaced the earlier ἔζων (Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* 546).

Hdt. has no trace of the η of \*κνήμω : κνᾶν VII 239, despite epic κνῆ and κνήται Hippokr. III 490. Herodas has κνῶ *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 15. If κνᾶς in Aristophanes is incorrect, as Cobet, Meineke and Dindorf maintain, κνᾶν would be erroneous in Hdt. But in the case of both Ionic and Attic we may assume the existence of κνᾶ-. See below, p. 565.

Hdt. contracts κτάομαι (§ 168) in κτῶνται I 135, III 98 (-εω- z), 105, 110, κτώμενος I 29, III 134, IV 80. The contraction to -ω- is also supported by *ABR* in κτῶνται III 107, where *P* has κτέονται, *Cdz* -εω-, II 79 (-εο- *P*, -εω- *Cz*), III 74 ἐκτέωντο (-εο- *P*, -εω- *Cz*), Euseb. Mynd. κτώμενος 15, 24; κτᾶσθαι Hdt. I 51, III 21, 73, VII 9; κτᾶται Demokr. 184. ἐκτέατο, imperfect in Hdt. VIII 112 in *ABCD* (-εε- *PR*), is certainly wrong (Dindorf ἐκτεητο, all the recent editors ἐκτᾶτο); as is -έετο, unless a form κτεε-, parallel to χρεε-, can be shown to exist in this verb. See on χράομαι below. ἐκτέαται IV 23 is correct.

λῆ Theognis 299 is not the result of a Doric contraction of λάει, but of pan-Hellenic λῆει. If the Kretan form were λῆτω = λῆέω, λῆ might also be explained as = λη + εἰ. It is, however, certain that λέοι is to be read in *Museo Ital.* II 678, 6, and this may stand for λε(ί)οι (Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1888, p. 400). Ληέω would, however, be a parallel of χρηέομαι (\*λῆος, χρῆος).

νήω *hear up* (νῆει· σωρεύει Hesychios) has passed into the inflection of νέω in Herodotos : ἐπινέουσι IV 62, περινεῖν VI 80 (so *R*, -εειν other MSS.), συννεύεται IV 62. Perhaps we should read νηεῖ in the gloss (cf. Hom. νῆέω). Photios' νῶντος· σωρεύοντος would point to νάω. νῶντα· νήθοντα has the same contraction. In Hesiod *W. D.* 777 we may read νῆ for νεῖ and in Hesychios νῆν for νεῖν (*spin*).

σμάω would seem to be Ionic, not σμήω : ἐξέσμων Hdt. III 148 (cf. Hesychios), σιασμῶντες II 37 (only *Cz* -εω-, *P* -εο-), σμάται IX 110 (cf. σμωμένην Aristoph. frag. 326 D). σμέονται was a conjecture of Valckenaer in Hdt. VII 209. Hippokr. uses σμήχω.

χρᾶς utterest an oracle, Hdt. IV 155 = Attic χρῆς; χρᾶ I 55 and 15 times elsewhere; χρᾶν IV 155, VIII 135 bis; χρέωσα VII 111 (χρέουσα *Pz*) fem. of χρέων Hymn I 253 (= II 75), cf. χρήων θ 79; ἔχρη Tyrt. 33 as in Attic.

χρεώμενος consulting an oracle Hdt. IV 151 (*P* -εο-); χρέεσθαι I 157 all MSS. (χρᾶσθαι Stein), χρᾶσθαι VII 141 (χρήσθαι *R*), χρήσθαι I 47 all MSS. (χρᾶσθαι Stein); ἐχρέωντο I 53, IV 157 (-εο- *BPR*), V 82 (-εο- *Pr*), VII 141 (-εο- *P*).

χράω (χρή), cf. Epicharmos· ἀποχρέω, and epic ὁμοκλέω derived from κλή. ἀταχρᾶ Hdt. I 164, ἀποχρᾶ IX 79, ἀποχρῶσι V 31 (cf. χρεῖ (χρέει?)· δεῖ in Hesychios, and ἀποχρέοντι in Archimedes); subj. ἀποχρῆ Hippokr. IX 156; ποχρᾶν (cf. Bekk. An. 439<sub>20</sub>) Hdt. III 138, VI 137, VII 148, IX 48, 94; χρεόν I 49 (-εών *dz*), 109 (-εών *dz*); ἀπέχρα I 66 (-η *b dz*), κατέχρα VII 70; ἀποχρεώμενος, content, I 37; ἀπεχράτο I 102 all MSS., VIII 14 (-έετο *Rz*, -ῆτο other MSS.).

From primitive \*χρή-ιo-μαι use (§ 167) we have the genuine Ionic<sup>1</sup> forms ρέωμαι, χρέωνται in all MSS. of Hdt. to II 77, except in a few passages where there is a slight support for -εο-, or Attic -ω-. From II 77 on we find that *P* as -εο- (except IV 104), all the other MSS. -εω-. Hippokrates prefers

<sup>1</sup> Also Kretan : χρεώμεθα *Mus. Ital.* III 563, l. 32. \*χρήομαι may stand for χρηφείομαι, Kretan χρηέομαι < χρήος. Or χρηέομαι may be a causative like the Skt. *prāyāyati*. It is more probable that we have two distinct forms χρήομαι and \*χρηείομαι.



χρέονται, e. g. II 12, 48 (-ω- vulgo), 54, 60, 72, 74, 88 (-ω- vulgo), 246 (-ω- in A, -εω- vulgo), 344 (-ω- A); χρεόμεθα VII 224. Herakleitos 111 has χρέωνται in Bywater, following Bernays, before whose time χρέονται was read. Neither form occurs in the MSS. In Anaxag. 10 Simplicius has χρώνται. χρέωνται is found in *Syr. dea* I (6 MSS., -εο- in E), χρέονται in 4, Arrian 134, 161, Aret 174. χρώνται is found in Theog. 161, and the MSS. Arrian 2915; χρώμεσθαι Herodas 321. χράται occurs 8 times in the MSS. of Hdt. (in I 58 z has -εε- in III 78 -η-, in IV 50 *PR* have -εε-); elsewhere there is no variation. χρέετα is found in Aret. 63, 133, 176, 179. The second person singular is χράῃ, Ioni and κοινή according to the Schol. Ven. A on A 216. Attic is χρῆ.

In the imperfect Herodotos has ἐχράτο<sup>1</sup> eight times in all MSS., ἐχρήτ once (III 41). Variation exists in II 173 (*v. l.* -εε-), III 129, VIII 14, 11 (*v. l.* -εε-), IX 37. ἐχρήτο is found Herodas 655, Hippokr. III 106.

Hdt. has ἐχρέωντο, not ἐχρέοντο<sup>2</sup> which is found in *P* (and in other MSS. occasionally), II 108, III 57, IV 157, V 68, 82, VI 46; Hippokr. has ἐχρέοντ II 226 (-εω- *S*<sup>1</sup>, -ω- gloss. *FG*). So too *Astrol.* 7, 23, Euseb. § 4.

In the subjunctive we find χρέωνται, e. g. Hdt. V 87, Hippokr. II 264. The optative is χρέοιτο Hippokr. II 346, but (χρῶτο in *A* and gloss<sup>3</sup>, 358 (χρῶτο gloss), VII 448.

Imperative χρέω Hdt. I 155 in all MSS. except *AB* which have χρέο, the reading of Littré in Hippokr. II 516 (χρῶ *A*), 520 (χρέω *A C*), VIII 440. Stei and Kallenberg adopt χρέο in Hdt., but the other form is preferable. χρέω from \*χρήο, \*χρήεο. The Attic χρῶ occurs in Herodas 56; χράσθω Hdt. II 12 χρέεσθω Hippokr. VII 176, 182, 184, 216, 234, 244, 246, 288, in VII 168 and VIII 260 (-η- in *θ*); χρήσθω VII 22 bis, 24 ter, 26, 28, 348 (-ει- *v. l.*), VIII 1 (C<sup>θ</sup>), 502; χράσθε Hdt. V 92 *a*) with -η- in *ABd*; χράσθων III 81; χρεέσθω Hippokr. VI 82 is read by Littré (*A* has χρη-). The ending is late.

χράσθαι appears 22, χρήσθαι only 6, χρέεσθαι 13 times in all MSS. of Hdt. Elsewhere there is variation (12 times), in 3 of which χρήσθαι is better attested than χρέεσθαι, and in 3 others better than χράσθαι. [χ]ρεσθ[αι] Keos 432 may be χρήσθαι or χρεῖσθαι, of which the former is correct. χρήσθαι is found in Demokr. 188 (Stobaios, who has χράσθαι in 11), Hippokr. III 23, VI 302, 342, 516, VII 26, 100, 234, VIII 440, to cite passages where Littré adopts this form. In a large number of passages Littré adopts χρέεσθαι against the authority of the best MSS. or of the vulgate. *A* has χρήσθαι II 254, 356, 364, 366, VI 72, 74 bis, 78, 80, 84 bis, *θ* has χρήσθαι VI 602; also III 394, VI 72. The vulgate has -η- in II 78, 180, 268, VI 76, &c. variant from χρέεσθαι is given in II 30, IV 162, VI 516, 662, VII 168, 190, 330. Littré even reads on the same page (VI 516) χρέεσθαι and χρήσθαι. Kühn adopts χρέεσθαι in Aretaios 188, 195, 198, 202, 203, 204, 303.

χρεώμενος (cf. χρεώμενος Ψ 834 and Eust. *ad loc.*) is the correct form Herodotos. *P* and sometimes other MSS. have -εο-, e. g. II 108 *PR*. χράμε is foreign to the dialect of the historian<sup>3</sup>. This form in Kallenberg's *t* I 131 must be an error. χρεώμενος is edited in Herakl. 62 (?), Hippokr. II (-ω- vulgo), IX 404 epist. (vulgo, -εο- *v. l.*), Abydenos 9 (-εο- *v. l.*).

χρεόμενος is generally adopted in Hippokrates: II 254 (-ω- *A*), 260 (-ω- vulgo), 264 (-ω- *A*), 280 bis (-εω- *v. l.*, -ω- *A*), 308 (-ω- *A*, -εω- *C*), 342 (-εω- *v.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bekk. Anecd. I 423<sub>26</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. § 15 cites this form as Ionic: ἐχράοντο ἐχρέοντο τὸ α ἐχτρέποντες.

<sup>3</sup> It occurs in Sim. Keos 100<sub>4</sub>.

-ω- A), 372 (-εω- A, -ω- gloss FG), III 102 (-ω- v. l.), 364 (D, -εω- S<sup>1</sup>, -ω- A), VI 72 bis (-εω- vulgo, -ω- A, and -εω- G J Q<sup>1</sup>, -ω- vulgo), 662 (θ, where Littré has -ω-); Lukian, *Syr. dea* 55 (-εω- v, A), *Astrol.* 15, 29 (E), Arrian 12<sub>2</sub>, 28<sub>8</sub>, 29<sub>16</sub>, Aret. 103, 241, 274, 306, 311.

\*ψῆζ yields καταψῶσα Hdt. VI 61, Hrd. 6<sub>76</sub> (cf. καταψῶν Peace 75).

Remarks. On the evidence above adduced we conclude that in the case of ζῆ-, κνῆ-, κτη-, σμη-, χρη- and ψη-, Ionic builds, with a few exceptions in the forms from χρη-, the inflections from the weak ablaut stem in ä. The presence of these stems in ä relieves us of the necessity of regarding the contracted forms in ω as the result of a union of ηω, ηο in ω. The interrelation of the stems χρη-, χρᾶ- and χρε-, and to a less degree that of κτη-, κτᾶ- and κτε- is of extreme difficulty. The most probable explanation is that of the two<sup>1</sup> ablaut forms χρη-, χρᾶ- (cf. χραισμέω and κνῆν, κναίω) κτη-, κτᾶ- the η form appeared originally before ο, that in ä before ε sounds<sup>2</sup>. Thus χρέωνται, ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενος, χρέω, χρέωσα on the one hand, and χρᾶται, ἐχρᾶτο, χράσθω, χρᾶσθαι, χρᾶς, &c. on the other, represent the original function of the two types. Later on this dichotomy was abandoned and the resulting confusion produced χράω, χρώμενος Attic and Messenian, χρῆσθαι, κτώμενος, κτώνται, &c.; unless we maintain with Schmidt K. Z. XXVII 297 that Attic χρω- is from χρηο- (cf. Ποσειδῶν <-ηων).

The χρε- forms<sup>3</sup> are historically and morphologically later. They came into existence when χρᾶομαι, instead of χρήομαι, had established itself in use. From this χρᾶομαι came Ionic, Rhodian, and Kretan χρέομαι, as ὀράω became ὀρέω (§ 688). χρέομαι soon led to χρέεται, ἐχρέετο, χρέεσθαι.

Without the assumption of an original differentiation in use between χρη- and χρᾶ-, the shifting between χρεώμενος and χρᾶται in Hdt. cannot be defended. If we attempt to carry the stem χρη- through the singular present and imperfect, and infinitive, it is inconceivable why Hdt. does not have χρῆται and χρῆσθαι. If χρᾶται is not original in Hdt., it was introduced at a time when Attic χρῆται had been supplanted by χρᾶται.

### 3. -ωιω.

ζώω<sup>4</sup> Theog. 914, ζώεις Hrd. 4<sub>10</sub>, ζώει Hdt. III 22, Hippokr. VI 482, 506. ζώομεν Sim. Amorg. 1<sub>4</sub> is the traditional form, but the verse will not scan (ζώουσιν Ahrens, Hiller, ζῶμεν Bergk). ζώουσι Herakl. 92, Hdt. I 216, II 36,

<sup>1</sup> The existence of an ablaut series η (ω), ε, ä in one and the same verb is not to be accepted with Johansson, who *D. V. C.* p. 156 (hesitatingly) suggests its possibility. πίμπλημι has πλη-, πλε-, πλᾶ-, but of these πλε- is a weakened form of πλη- before a vowel (πλε-ίων) that was carried into the inflection of the verb by the analogy of τίθημι, τίθεμεν. See § 691, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> This was not recognized in § 167. The weak point in the above explanation is that original χρᾶται in Attic was supplanted by χρῆται (whereas χρᾶται does not appear in inscriptions till the second century B.C.) and then was driven out by χρᾶται an analogue of τιμάται. Perhaps χρῆται was formed like ἔητο, ἔγνω.

<sup>3</sup> Meister, *Herodas* p. 796, thinks that χρη- became χρε- before the vowel ο when followed by a double consonant. Johansson, *B. B.* XV 172, suggested (doubtfully) that accent-shifting produced the change (χρηόμενος, χρεομένου). Neither theory has the support of facts.

<sup>4</sup> Very frequent in Homer. It occurs also in Kretan, Lakonian, Boiotian, North West Greek. Kyprian Ζώφης does not belong here. In Rhodian we find ζῶντι, ζῶντας, in Lakonian, Delphic, &c., ζῶντι, in Boiotian ζῶνθι.



III 22; ζῶη Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 12; ζῶοιμι Theog. 1121, ζῶην (?) Hrd. 379, cf. [ζῶ]η 570; ζῶων Kallinos 119, ζῶόντων Hdt. I 86 (ζώντων *Rd*), III 119, ζῶουσιν Hrd. V 2, ζῶοντας Euseb. Mynd. 42; ζῶειν Theog. 182, Herakl. 86, Hdt. I 31, VII 46, Hippokr. VIII 70, Hrd. 229, *Syr. dea* 6, Sim. Amorg. 117 at the verse end (hence Porson's ζόειν); ἔζων Hdt. IV 112.

ζῶω is well established in the language as early as Homer. From an ablaut perfect ἔζωκα (which chances to occur on a late inscription from Kyzikos C. I. G. 36845, where it is doubtless from ζῶω), the stem ζω- was abstracted. ζῶω is not a contracted verb, as πλώω is not. The stem ζω- we find in ζωρός, ζώπυρον, ζῶς which was later on enlarged to ζῶος [Archil.] 633, Hdt. I 194, ζῶον, *i. e.* ζω-ιο-ν, ζωή (Aret. 41). ζωή, ζῶος, ζῶειν, ζῶες became respectively ζῶη (Hdt. IV 112, Hrd. I 4, 32), ζῶος (Archil. 63, Porson), ζῶειν (Sim. Amorg. 117), ζῶες· ζῆ Hesychios.

From the stem ἰδρωσ-<sup>1</sup> (epic ἰδρῶ, ἰδρῶ) the denominative ἰδρωσιω is formed. Cf. epic ἰδρώουσα, ἰδρώνοντας. ἰδρῶω yields ἰδρώει *Syr. dea* 10, ἰδράφη Hippokr. II 34, ἰδρώειν *Syr. dea* 17, ἐφιδρῶντες Hippokr. V 598 (-ου- *vulgo*, cf. 594), VI 192 *bis* (θ, -ου- *vulgo*). The forms in Lukian may be derived from the future or aorist ἰδρωσ-, but neither Ionic nor Attic admit, in an early period of their existence, such forms as Delphic στεφανῶω formed from στεφανῶ-σω. From the weaker stem we have ἰδρῶσιω which yields in Hippokr. ἰδροῖ II 34, ἰδροῦσιν V 610, 626, ἰδρουν II 642, ἰδρούτω II 516, ἰδρῶν V 588, 596, ἰδρῶντες II 612, V 590, 594 *ter* (A has -ω- once), 596 *ter* (-ωο- twice in A), 676, 710.

The earlier type of the forms of ριγῶω is derived from the stem ριγωσ- (cf. Latin *rigōr*): ριγῶ Hipponax 162, 171, ριγῆ Hippokr. VII 190, ριγῶσα Sim. Amorg. 726. ριγέω shows its later origin in the fact that it is constructed in the ordinary fashion from the stem ριγεσ-. Examples of ριγέω are ριγοῖ Hippokr. V 588, ριγέουσι V 624, 626, ριγεῦσι V 112 (Attic ριγοῦσι V 656, 710), ριγῆ V 706, ριγοῦν Hdt. V 92 (η), ριγέοντες Hippokr. V 588, ριγέοντα V 590, ριγεῖντα V 592 (A), (ριγοῦντα V 540), ἐρρίγεον II 642 *bis* (-ουν *vulgo*, -εον C in one case only), 652 (-ουν *vulgo*).

### The Inflection of -ᾶω Verbs.

688.] 1. The original inflection of τιμάω was as follows, *e.g.* in the present and imperfect indicative:

τιμα-ῶ whence τιμέω	τιμα-ῶ-μεν whence τιμέομεν
τιμα-ῆ-ις „ τιμᾶς	τιμα-ῆ-τε „ τιμᾶτε
τιμα-ῆ-ι „ τιμᾶ	τιμα-ῶ-ντι „ τιμέουσι
ἐτιμα-ῶ-ν whence ἐτίμεον	ἐτιμα-ῶ-μεν whence ἐτιμέομεν
ἐτιμα-ῆ-ς „ ἐτίμας	ἐτιμα-ῆ-τε „ ἐτιμᾶτε
ἐτιμα-ῆ „ ἐτίμα	ἐτιμα-ῶ-ν „ ἐτίμεον

Before an *o* sound, *a* became *ε*<sup>2</sup> in the verb (and noun, § 136) in a very early period of the language<sup>3</sup>; a substitution of *ε* for *a*.

<sup>1</sup> ἰδρῶς in post-Homeric is a *τ* stem. Cf. Hom. γελῶω < γελωσιω, γέλφ, γέλω. γέλως is later a *τ* stem.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, *Neutra* pp. 326-334.

<sup>3</sup> Original *a* became *ε* in primitive Greek only before an *o* sound. In verbs



found in Homeric *μενοίνεον* (cf. *μενοινάαι*), *ὁμόκλεον*, *ὁμοκλέομεν* (cf. *ὁμόκλα*), *ποτέονται*, *ἐκποτέονται* (*ἄμφεποτᾶτο*), *ἦντεον*, *ἐσύλεον*, v.l. E 48, *ἀνει-* or *ἀνηρώτευν*, v.l. δ 251. It also appears in many of the dialects known to us only from inscriptions, but has been completely abandoned in Attic, that dialect reinstating the original *a* by analogy to the other forms (-*αι*, -*αιε*), and then contracting this *a* with the following *o* sound. The process that has thus recalled in Attic the older *a* forms was also active in the other dialects; and to such an extent that the regular forms with *εο*, *εω*, *εου* are the exceptions. The impetus towards the reinstatement of *αο*, *αω*, *αου* was vigorous enough and early enough to have left Homer with only a handful of instances in which *ε* has displaced *a*. The coexistence of such forms as *τιμάω*, *τιμέω* shows that the original dichotomy has been abandoned. When the dialects diverge in respect of a verb's variation between -*αω* and -*εω*, it cannot be said that Ionic always stands on the side of the latter. Hippokrates has *αἰολάω*, Plato *αἰολέω*.

2. The rule appears to be broken in the following forms (see the list given below): *αἰονεῖν*, *διαίτεεσθαι*, *ἐρέεσται* (?), *ἐρώτεε* (?), *μηχανέεσθαι*, *ὀρέει*, *ὀρέης*, *ὀρέη*, *πηδεῖν*, *σκορδινέηται*, *φοιτέεις*, *φοιτῆ*. Of these the only form that may be old is *ἐρέεσται* (?), which is, however, reported as used by Demokrates, not by Demokritos. The analogy of *ἐρεόμενος*, *ὀρέων*, &c., introduced the *ε* in forms where the primitive *a* was not followed by an *o* sound. On (non-Ionic) inscriptions we have *τιμεῖν* and *σκανεῖν*.

3. In poetry scant traces of *ε* for *a* occur: *ἐρέω* Archil. 25<sub>3</sub>, 58<sub>2</sub> (both tetram.), *μωμεῦνται* Theog. 369, *μωμεύμενος* 169, *κυκεύμενος* Solon 37<sub>5</sub> (trim.), *βροντέων* Hrd. 7<sub>65</sub>, *νικέων* I 51, *φοιτέων* 3<sub>65</sub>, *πηδεύντα* 3<sub>96</sub>, *λωβεῦμαι* 3<sub>69</sub> (cf. -ῆται III 3); *διφέω* in Krinagoras, Anthol. Pal. IX 559, and *σκιρτεῦσι* Oppian Kyn. IV 342. While no Ionic inscription has a trace of *ε* for *a* in any verbal form, it should be remembered that a *φοιτᾶν* (Oropos 18<sub>2</sub>) does not disprove a *φοιτέω*.

4. In the following note are collected from the prose writers those verbs which show any tendency in the MSS. to substitute, before an *o* sound, *ε* in place of *a* contracted with that *o* sound. The examples from Herodotos are complete save that an enumeration of all the MS. variants is not attempted in the case of *ὀράω*,

in -*α*-μαι, e. g. *δύναμαι*, *ἐπίσταμαι*, *ἀπίσταμαι*, -*ε*αται (§ 585) is not dissimilated from *α*-αται, but derived from such perfects as have -*ε*αται < -ῆαται (§ 611 ff.). Dissimilation is generally, but wrongly, accepted in *ἐπίστεται*, *δύνεαι*, whence *δύνη* (§ 605). The 2 sing. follows the analogy of the 3 plur. When *δύνα-νται* became *δυν-έται*, *δύνα-σαι* (A 393) became *δύν-ε(σ)αι*. These two persons alone have, or seemed to have, vocalic endings. In Attic both *ἐπίσταμαι* and *δύναμαι* contract their 2 sing. (*ἐπίστω*, *ἐδύνω*) contrary to the usual practice of *μι* verbs. That the analogy of *βούλη* helped the formation of *δύνη* (§ 618, 1) may be doubted.

εἰρωτάω and φοιτάω<sup>1</sup>. All other verbs than those included in the list and those so included in other cases than those specially mentioned, contract αο, αω, and αου to ω.

αἰονεῖν Aret. 194, 198. ἀμιλλεώμενοι Hdt. IV 71 R, -ω- ABCP d. ἀπα-  
τέοιτο Syr. dea 27. ἀρέομαι Hdt. III 65 Pz, -εω- C d, other MSS. -ω-. Kretan ἐπαριόμενον. On ἀρτέομαι, see Veitch  
s. v. βροντέων Hrd. 7<sup>65</sup>. δαπανέωνται Hdt. II 37 CPz, other MSS. -ω-.  
δαπανοῖεν Euseb. Mynd. 6, Aitolian δαπανούμενα (Andania). δαιατέοντο Syr.  
dea 26, δαιατεόμενοισιν Hippokr. II 354, the second hand in R<sup>1</sup> (other MSS.  
-ω-), ἐνδαιατέεσθαι R in Hdt. VIII 41; -ῶντο VI 514, -όμενος Aret. 321. διφέω  
Krinagoras, Anthol. Palat. IX 559. προσδοκέοντας Hdt. VII 156 CP d z,  
-ω- ABR; προσεδόκεε Aret. 201. ἐρέω Archil. 25<sub>3</sub>, 68<sub>2</sub> (both tetram.), a  
possible form, but not handed down, for ἐρῶ in Anakr. 31, 89 bis; ἐρεόμενος<sup>2</sup>,  
ἐρέεται Demokritos (Demokrates) 6. ἐρετᾶν v. l. for ἐρατόν<sup>3</sup>, Archil. 1<sub>2</sub>, ἐρετή  
ἐπιθυμητή Hesychios (without stating the dialect), Delos, Ἀθην. IV 463, Attic  
in Kumanudes' ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτ. 3037<sup>4</sup>, and Arkadian Ἐρεμένα C. D. I. 1227 are  
to be derived, not from ἐρέω, but from ἐρατός by dissimilation, the α being  
assailed by an e sound before and after. It is assimilated to the former.  
εἰρωτάω in Hdt. shows 6 cases of εἰρώτων in all MSS., but in I 158, IV 131  
no MS. has the contracted form. In 10 other passages there is variation  
between -ων, -εον or -ευν. In the *Vita Homeri* one MS. has ἐρώτее, but BPM  
have ἡρώτα, i. e. Ionic εἰρώτα. In the nom. masc. of the active participle we  
find -ῶν twice in all the MSS. of Hdt., and twice variation between -ῶν and  
-έων. -ῶντα VI 86 (γ), IX 55, -ῶντων VI 66, -ῶσι I 67, 158, VII 148 occur in  
all the MSS. Variation exists in V 13, IV 145, 155, III 62, I 47. The  
statistics of the middle participle are the same as those of the nom. masc.  
active. ἰάομαι yields ἀνιεύνται Hdt. VII 236, a form constructed on the  
analogy of the 'Attic' futures. On ἰήται, see § 637, 1 footnote. κοιμέοντα  
Hdt. II 95 Pz, -εω- C, -ω- other MSS., IV 172 P d, -εω- C z, -ω- other MSS.  
κομέουσι Hdt. II 36 ABC, -οον- R, -οω- d; IV 180 -εον- Pz, -εω- C d, -ω- A B I  
(here even Stein accepts κομέουσι). Elsewhere -ω-, except IV 191 -οω- (R -ω-) retained by Stein. In I 82, 195 all MSS. have κομῶντες which represents the  
contraction to be adopted in IV 180, 191, if not in II 36. κομῶσι is a  
inappropriate as ἡγορόωντο VI 11 (in all MSS. except A B<sup>1</sup>). κυκέοντας in  
three MSS. Hippokr. IX 374 epist.; cf. κυκείμενος Solon 37<sub>5</sub> trim. (κυκλευ-  
Lobeck), but in 13<sub>61</sub> eleg. κυκώμενον (κακου- Lobeck and Bergk). λωβέοντα  
Hippokr. IV 158 (-ῶνται many MSS.). Cf. λωβεῖμαι Hrd. 369. μαργάω (?)  
in καταμαργέων Hdt. VIII 125. This example may however be a case of  
variation between μαργέω and -όω (Pindar, Aischylos). ἐμηχανέοντο  
Hdt. VIII 6 -εω- d, VIII 52 PR, -ω- ABC d, VII 172 CP, -εω- d z, -ω- ABR  
-εόμενοι VII 172 P, -εω- C d z, -ω- ABR, 176 P, -εω- R z, -ω- ABC. Cf. ἐμηχανέας  
V 63 (-έοντο Stein). Elsewhere -ω-. -έεσθαι Aret. 192 (-ᾶσθαι Hippokr. IV

<sup>1</sup> On this point, see Spreer p. 13, Merzdorf p. 195. On verbs with long stem vowels such as χρη-, κτη-, see § 687.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Pal. ἐρεώμενος, a vicious form. The accus. in ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθὸς ἐρεόμενος, τὰ θεϊότερα ἐρέεται is suspicious. Orelli conjectured αἰρεόμενος αἰρέεται. Cf. Cobet's ἡρέθης for ἡράσθης in Alkiphron I 18.

<sup>3</sup> ἐρατῆς Anakr. 94<sub>1</sub> eleg. Cf. also ἔραμαι Anakr. 44, ἐράσμιος Anakr. 20 Sim. Amorg. 75<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> Κληνερέτη l. l. 1648 is an error for -αρέτη.

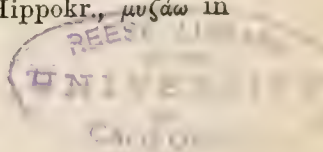


252, -ᾶσθαι Littré). νικέουσι Demokr. 200, νικέων Hrd. I<sub>51</sub>. In Aitolian we have νικέοντοis. Hdt. contracts νικάω 31 times. In respect of ξυρέω, the forms in Hdt. II 36, 37, 65, 66, III 8, 12 are divided between -ω, -εν-, -εο-, -ου-. Since ξυράω is not classic, the forms with -ω- (which are adopted by Stein, Kallenberg) may be explained as derived from ξυράω, abstracted from ξυρήσαι, which seemed to come either from -εω or -αω<sup>1</sup>. The only other form of the verb is ξυρέω, on whose -ου- (adopted by Holder), see § 690, 1 (B). ὀδυνέονται Aret. 141, ὀδυνώνται Hippokr. IV 166 in C (-ω- vulgo), but ὀδυνῶνται V 714, ὀδυνῆται II 424 (ὀδυνᾷται VII 70, ὠδυνᾶτο V 206). ὀρῶ is the better attested reading four times in Hdt. (I 89, 207, V 20, VIII 140 β). In VII 236, only AB support ὀρῶ. Stein's ὀρέω<sup>2</sup> is found only once in all the MSS. (I 111). Hippokr. has ὀρέω IX 340 (epist.), but ὀρῶ II 314 (in A<sup>1</sup>, Demokr. 185. Hdt. ὀρᾷ correctly, but Lukian, *Syr. dea* 29, ὀρέει. In the plural (present and imperfect) Hdt. has -ᾶμεν once in all MSS. (I 120), elsewhere (5 times) ABR have -ω-, C -εω-, P -εο-. ὀρέομεν occurs in Hippokr. VII 548 (ἐωρῶμεν vulgo), Arrian 15<sup>3</sup>, but the same form in Melissos 17 is a conjecture of Mullach. In Herakl. 64 it has the authority of Clement. In the third pl. Hdt. has ὀρῶσι I 124 (CP -εω-), 138 (C -εω-). In the subjunctive we find ὀρέης *Syr. dea* 32, Aret. 30, ὀρέη (?) Hippokr. V 480 (ὀρᾷ A), *Syr. dea* 32 (elsewhere ὀρή). In the plural we have ὀρῶσι Hdt. IX 66 (Stein -έωσι with ζ). ὀρέωσι appears in Aretaios 187. Imperfect, 1 sing. and 3 pl. in Hdt. 20 times, with ᾶρων 10 times in all MSS.; elsewhere there is fluctuation between -ων, -εων, -εον, but ABR have ᾶρων 7 times. In the third sing. we have ᾶρα, whereas Hippokr. has ἐῶρα II 708; see § 582. Participle: ὀρέων, 18 times out of 38 in all MSS. in Hdt.; ὀρῶν once (VII 44) in all. Elsewhere AB usually have -ᾶν, CP -έων, while R fluctuates, thus making ὀρέων attested more frequently than the εω forms elsewhere. ὀρέων Hippokr. III 238 (BMN, -ᾶν vulgate), IX 332, *Astrol.* 24, Aret. 10, and Protagoras. Hippokr. has ὀρῶν III 256; ὀρέοντι Aret. 10 (ὀρ.); ὀρέοντα is not the better reading in Hdt. (ABR -ᾶντα, -εω- C, -εο- Pdζ), ὀρῶντα in all MSS. VII 36. ὀρέοντα Hippokr. III 214 BM, -εω- N, -ω- vulgo, and on same page ὀρῶντα; ὀρέοντα Aret. 207; the nom. plural (31 times in Hdt.) varies greatly. In VI 68, VII 206 all the MSS. have -ᾶντες, and the contraction is well supported in I 82, 96, 99, VII 211. Elsewhere ABR have -ω- generally, the other MSS. either -εο- (C sometimes -εω-), or, when they divide, -εο- Pd and -εω- C. In Demokr. frag. physic. 4 Mullach edits ὀρέοντες, but Sextus has -ᾶντες; ὀρέοντες is edited in Hippokr. VI 44, IX 374, -εῖντες IX 358, 376 (-ω- many MSS.), and Aret. 42; ὀρέοντων Hdt. III 41 in Pdζ only; ABR -ω-, C -εω-; ὀρῶσι Hdt. I 99 (-εω- CPζ); ὀρέοντας Hdt. IX 37 Pdζ, -ω- ABR, -εω- C; ὀρῶσα Hdt. I 185, IX 76 in all MSS., VI 61 in AB<sup>1</sup> Cd; ὀρῶσαν VI 61 in all; ὀρέουσαι Aret. 167; neuter: ὀρῶν Hdt. VII 16 γ (all MSS., Stein ὀρέον), ὀρέεσθαι *Astrol.* 21; ὀρεόμενος Hippokr. IX 382 (epist.), *Vit. auct.* 5 (-αο- in Ω). Forms with ε appear in Alkman, Archytas, and Theokritos. From ὀρμάω we have -ᾶμεν Hdt. VII 209 in all MSS., -ᾶντο VII 88 in ABR, -εω- Cz, -εο- Pd. ὀρμάμενος is found 4 times in all except Cz or Cdζ, and in 21 other passages -ᾶμενος has the support of ABR, -εω- of C, -εο-

<sup>1</sup> So οἰδάω, abstracted from οἰδήσω, in οἰδῶσαν Plutarch *Mor.* 734 E. Sütterlin, *Verba denominativa* p. 91, suggests that ὀργάω helped the creation of an οἰδάω. With these late forms in -αω, cf. μυζέω in Hippokr., μυζάω in Ailian.

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. § 15, Et. M. 621<sub>38</sub> (ὀρέω).

<sup>3</sup> It is very unusual for Arrian to accept the ε forms.





of P. In 5 other places there is greater variation. Forms in ε (or ι) occur in Archytas and in Kretan. *πειράομαι* usually yields -ω- forms in Hdt. except I 46, III 73, 128, IV 3, VII 211, where the MSS. vary between -ω-, -εο- -εω-. *πειρεύμενος* appears Hippokr. IX 354 (-ω- many MSS.). In Rhodian we find *πειρούμενοι*. *πηδέων* *Syr. dea* 36, *πηδεύντα* Hrd. 396. In Hdt. VIII 118 R has *ἐκπηδέειν*. *πλανέονται* Hdt. II 41 Pz, -εω- C, -ω- other MSS. Elsewhere -ω- in Hdt. *Astrol.* 11, 24 *πλανέόμενος*, but in Arrian 7<sub>2</sub> this form is not in the MSS. *σκορδινέηται* Hippokr. VIII 486. Whereas *σταθμάω* contracts αο in Hdt. usually, we have -εύμενος VIII 130, -έόμενος II 150 (-εω- dz), as in Hippokr. VII 532. Since forms from *σταθμός* also exist, it is difficult to decide whether the forms in -εο- or -εϋ- are variations of the -αω verb, or false inflections of a verb in -οω (§ 690, 1 (B)). But εο for εϋ is very rare when from an -οω verb. *συλέω* appears in a v.l. E 48 (*ἐσύλεον ἐσθλοὶ ἑταῖροι* for *ἐσύλεον θεράποντες*). In Xanthos, frag. 1, Müller edits *συλοῦσιν* which is not in the MSS. We prefer the *σιλλοῦσιν* of A. Hippokrates IX 406 (epist.) uses *συλέοντες* of the Krisaïans. Cf. the numerous examples of *συλέω* in Delphic inscriptions. Hrd. has *ἐσύλεον* *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 31, [Theokr.] XIX 2 *συλεύμενον*, Quint. Smyrn. I 717 *σύλεον*. The only evidence in Hdt. for *τελευτέω* is the reading -έοντας in CPz and Celsus in III 38. Eberhard reads *προτελευτέουσιν* in Arrian 14<sub>8</sub>, which we think wrong. *τιμέων* Hdt. VI 39 (all MSS.), but in other passages the open forms are not well attested: -έοντες V 67 P d, -εω- Cz; -έωντες II 37 C; -έωσι II 50 CPz; -έόμενος V 20 P, -εω- C dz. Elsewhere only -ω forms. In 13 Herakl. has *τιμέω* (Hippolytos), but in 102 *τιμῶσι*. Lukian puts *τιμέων* into the mouth of Hdt. (*de Domo* 20), and has *τιμέουσιν* *Astrol.* I, *τιμέοντες* 10. *τιμέω* is attested in the dialect of Delphi, Phokis, Rhodes, Krete, Agrigentum, and perhaps in Boiotian. *τολμέω* Hdt. VIII 77 in all MSS., but -ῶντες IV 150, *τολμώντων* VII 10 in all MSS. Stein edits -εο-. Hippokr. III 450 and IV 166 (-εω- MN), Aret. 67 have *τολμέουσι*, Hippokr. IX 332, Aret. 200 *τολμέοντα*. In the subj. Demokr. 215 has *τολμέωσι*. *φοιτέω* occurs in *φοιτέεις* epist. Thal. 1 (Diog. Laert. I 43), *φοιτῶσι* Hdt. VII 103 all MSS. (Stein -έουσι). In 6 other passages: II 22, 60, 66, III 69, IV 180, 182, the MSS. vary between -έουσι, -έωσι and -ῶσι; *φοιτῆ* subj., Aret. 76, 168; *φοιτοῖη* Aret. 285; *φοιτέων* *Syr. dea* 15, -έων Hrd. 365, Hdt. III 6 except in AB, II 174 except BR; *φοιτῶσα* Hdt. IV 116 bis in all MSS.; III 119 -ω- ABR, -εω- C, -εου- P d; *φοιτέον* Hippokr. V 646, 652, Aret. 114, but *φοιτῶν* Hdt. VII 15 (R -φοιτον); *φοιτέοντος* Hdt. I 97 (-εω- C); *φοιτέοντα* Hdt. I 37, VII 126 (-εω- d), Aret. 21 (neut. pl.); *φοιτέοντες* is certain in Hdt. I 60, but in I 78, 186, II 63, 172, IV 172, VI 49, VII 125 there is variation. In IX 28 -ῶντες is certain; *φοιτέοντων* Hdt. I 73, VI 125; *φοιτέοντας* Hdt. I 37. The εο forms are therefore well established. It is noteworthy that *φοιτέοντος*, &c. remain open while *εἰρωτῶντες* is closed. *ἐφοίτων* Hdt. VII 22 in all MSS., but variation in I 96, IV 1, IX 25, 49; *ἐφοίτεον* VI 126 in all MSS. In Asios *apud* Athen. 525 F we find *φοίτεσκον*. *φυσέοντων* Hdt. IV 2 P dz, -ω- ABR sv, -εύμενος IV 2 P, -εω- C dz, -ω- ABR; *φυσῆται* Hippokr. VIII 484, *φυσέωντα* 320, but -ῶ- in θ; -ῶντες V 598, -άμενος V 596, 616, *φυσῶσι* Hdt. IV 2.

The preservation in all the MSS. of Hdt. of ε for α (contracted) is exceedingly rare: *ἐπιτιμέων*, *τολμέω*, *ὀρμεόμενος*, *ἐμμηχανέοντο* (in all except d), each of which occurs once, *ὀρέοντες* (once), *ὀρέω* (once), *ὀρέων* (18 times), *εἰρώτευν* or -εον (twice), *ἐφοίτεον* (once), other cases than the nom. sing. of *φοιτέων* (five

times). Not one of these verbs does not show other forms in which all the MSS. contract *a* with the following *o* sound. In general when the MSS. diverge, *ABR* (Stein's archetype<sup>1</sup>, which is however not infrequently deserted by Stein) have -*ω*-, *CP* the *ε* forms, *C* having -*εω*-, *P* -*εο*-, -*εου*-, -*εω*- as the case may be.

The problem of the dialect of Herodotos is thus fraught with peculiar difficulties. First it is impossible in certain cases to discover the reading of the archetype, and, secondly, we have to face the question whether the inconsistencies of the archetype reproduce the text of Herodotos. That there should have been such confusion in Herodotos himself as there exists in the archetype in the case of *ὀράω* may safely be denied; certainly it would be unparalleled in any other monument of prose literature. Lack of consistency between two *different* verbs may be admitted, and is a phenomenon known to us from other departments of Greek and from the modern languages. But an absolute diversity of inflection in one and the same verb must be viewed with suspicion. To preserve uniformity tradition must be deserted at some point. Thus if *τολμέω* is correct in VIII 77, *τολμῶντες* IV 150 and *τολμώντων* VII 10 would seem to be wrong. Yet both sets of forms have the support of all the MSS. Stein adopts -*εο*- in the participial forms of *τολμάω*, while Kallenberg and Holder retain the MS. readings in both cases. In the case of the participle of *ὀράω*, all editors would be forced to rely at times upon the slightest MS. support, or to desert the MSS. altogether, in order to adopt a uniform system of inflection.

From a survey of the MS. tradition in reference to the inflection of all the -*aw* verbs, it will be seen that the burden of proof is thrown on the adherents of the *ε* forms. No less than 38 verbs invariably contract *a* with a following *o* sound, and in a large majority of those which show any trace of *ε* (in *CPd*), the testimony is such that we may fairly conclude that they were contracted<sup>2</sup>. In respect of the others, notably *ὀράω*, *εἰρωτάω*, *ποιτάω*, the archetype was in a state of such confusion that we are utterly unable to discover the original readings of an inflection consistent with itself. Thus *ὀρῶ*, *ὀρῶμεν*, *ὀρώσα* but *ὀρέων*, *ποιτέοντος*, &c., but *ποιτῶσα* would seem to have stood in the archetype.

With our present evidence it is impossible to demonstrate whether the *ε* forms of *CPd* are survivals of the original scheme

<sup>1</sup> See footnote, p. 93. We have been unable to compare throughout the readings of *s* and *v*, which undoubtedly deserve a higher place than that accorded them by Stein. Their contractions support those of *AB* and *R*.

<sup>2</sup> These are *ἀμιλλάομαι*, *ἀράομαι*, *δαπανάω*, *δοκάω*, *κοιμάω*, *μνάομαι*, *πειράομαι*, *πλανάομαι*, *τελευτάω*, *τιμάω*, *φυσάω*. In the case of *τολμέω*, *μηχανάομαι*, *ὀρμάω* the fluctuation is greater, but the bulk of the evidence tends towards contraction.



of inflection not adopted by the archetypal MS., or whether they are mere errors of μεταχαρακτηρισμός. We incline to the belief that the readings in question in *P* and *C* (apart from the question of the peculiar  $\epsilon\omega$  in *C*) do not antedate those of *AB + Rvs.* The attempt has been made to refer *C*'s  $\epsilon\omega$  to an original type, but it failed; and was in fact withdrawn (in part) by its author<sup>1</sup>. It is significant, as regards the  $\epsilon\omega$  of *C*, that the hyper-Ionic  $\epsilon\omega$  appears in the inflection of nouns in this MS. Cf. § 480. We have little hesitation in regarding the  $\epsilon\omega$  as the work of a copyist who thought to give a specially Ionic tone to the inflection of verbal forms. If  $\delta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  is a genuine form in Hdt., it may have been the exemplar followed in the construction of *C*'s  $\epsilon\omega$ .

*Verbs in -aw in the pseudo-Ionists.*

689.]  $\alpha + \epsilon, \epsilon\iota$  become  $\bar{a}$  regularly in the imitators of Herodotos and Hippokrates with but few exceptions (§ 688, 2, 3). In 39 out of 56 verbs  $\alpha$  contracts with an  $o$  sound to  $\omega$ . There is no complete agreement between Herodotos and the pseudo-Ionists as to which verbs have  $\epsilon$  in place of  $\alpha$ ; nor do the later Ionists agree with each other. Arrian contracts  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ , while Aretaios prefers  $\delta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ . When Arrian does not have  $-\epsilon\omega$  for  $-a\omega$ , he contracts. Many of the forms used by him are those which are usually, or invariably, contracted in Herodoteian, as well as in Attic, prose. Arrian has  $\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$  30<sub>6</sub> and  $\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu$  32<sub>6</sub>, 37<sub>4</sub> which vary as to their form in the MSS. of Hdt. The *Vita Homeri* always contracts. In Herodotos there are 13 contracted verbs which are used in the contracted form by the Ionic writers of the age of Hadrian.

\* *Forms in  $\epsilon\nu$  from Verbs in -ow.*

690.] In a few  $-ow$  verbs, and chiefly in those in which the  $o$  of the stem is preceded by a vowel or a diphthong, the MSS. of the prose writers contain forms in which  $oo$ ,  $oov$ , and  $oe$  are apparently contracted to  $\epsilon\nu$ . Most of these peccant forms occur in Herodotos, all modern critical editions of whose text are disfigured by their adoption. To cite merely those examples which have the unanimous support of the MSS.<sup>2</sup>:

(1)  $oo, oov = \epsilon\nu$ . (A) A vowel precedes.  $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\nu\acute{\mu}\epsilon\nu\varphi$  Hdt. I 123,  $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\epsilon\nu\acute{\mu}\alpha\iota$  V 106,  $-\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  IX 26,  $-\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  I 199, VII 16 (init.), IX 111,  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\nu\acute{\sigma}\iota$  I 133, II 47, III

<sup>1</sup> Johansson, *De derivatis verbis contractis* pp. 139 ff., but see *B. B.* XV 174.

<sup>2</sup> See Spreer p. 17, Merzdorf, *Studien* VIII 218.



8, IV 186, *-εὐντος* IX 42, *ἐδικαίειν* III 79, VI 73, 138, IX 19, *-εὐντο* III 29, *ἀντιεύμεθα* IX 26, *ἐξομοιεύντες* III 24, *δμοιεύμενοι* VII 50, *οἰκηιεύμενος* IV 148, *ἀποσιεύμενοι* IV 203. Variations in favour of *ευ* are found in the case of *δηιόω* (V 89 in *r*), *παρισόδομαι* (VIII 140 *a* in *R*). (B) A consonant precedes. In Hdt. VIII 78 *Pz* have *περικυκλῶντο*, the other MSS. *-έοντο* (*ABCD*), or *-εὐντο* (*R*), and in VIII 16 *R* has *ἐκυκλέοντο*, the other MSS. *-εύοντο*; III 131 *μισθεῖνται* in *CPdz*, VIII 59 *στεφανεύνται* in *R*. On *σταθεύμενος*, *ξυρεύμενος*, see § 688, 4.

(2) *οε* = *ευ*. A vowel always precedes in Hdt. An attempt has been made in certain MSS. to contract *οε* to *ευ*: *ἐδικαίειν* I 100 (*-ου* in *A*), III 52 and 148 (*CPdz*, *-ου* *ABR*), 118 (*C?*, *z*), IV 154 (*sz*), *δικαίειν* VI 82 (*dz*). No form has the support of all the MSS.

In Hippokrates we find *δικαίεουσι*, the vulgate reading, III 524 and 526 (*-οῦσιν* in 10 MSS.), *ἀποπληρέουσιν* IV 192 (*-οῦσιν* gloss *FG*), *πληρεύμενος* I 624 (*-ου* *A*), VI 84 (Galen *-ω*). Perhaps these forms are from *-εω*. In VIII 78 Littré edits *πλαγιεύμενον* where *θ* has the *ου* form.

In the pseudo-Ionists we find *δικαίειν* *Syr. dea* 54, *ἀξιεῖσι* Euseb. Mynd. 17, 29, *ἀξιεύντας* 42, *δμοιεύμενοι* 63.

All of the above mentioned forms are the result of hyper-Ionizing tendencies which affected even the archetypal MS. of Herodotos. This is certain from the following reasons: (1) Of the verbs in question almost all have many forms, in other passages than those cited, in which *οο*, *οου*, *οε* contract to *ου* in all the MSS. The remainder show in the aorist or perfect that they are *-ωω*, not *-εω* verbs. (2) Even if some of these forms can be explained from *-εω* verbs, this would not apply to such cases as *ἐδικαίειν* (for *-οε*). (3) In the case where it is known that doublets in *-ωω*, *-εω* existed, we are prevented by other reasons from assuming the presence of an *-εω* verb. The rule of Thomas Magister (*κυκλέω τὸ στρέφω, κυκλόω τὸ περιλαμβάνω*) is not in place. (Cf. Hdt. III 76 and Anacr. 129.)

The forms in *ευ* instead of *ου* < *οο*, *οου* are due to the ignorance of grammarians who did not distinguish between Ionic *ου* < *οο*, *οου*, *οε* and Attic *ου* < *οο*, *οου*, *οε* and *εο*. *ευ* thus seemed specifically Ionic. That *ου* < *οε* was not changed to *ευ* in the archetype of Hdt. is evident from the fact that the comparison of an *-εω* verb<sup>1</sup> deserted the theorist. *ἐδικαίου* had to be compared with *ἐποίει* (*-εε*), *δικαιοῦν* with *ποιεῖν* (*-εειν*) and not with *\*ἐποίειν*, *\*ποιεῖν*. The forms in those MSS. in which *οε* is contracted to *ευ*, are merely analogues of those in which *οο*, *οου* became *ευ* in the archetype.

<sup>1</sup> *ποιεῖν* (*ἐποίειν*) : *ποιεῖν* (*ἐποίειν*) : *δικαιοῖν* (*ἐδικαίου*) : *δικαιοῖν* (*ἐδικαίου*). The confusion may have been assisted by the knowledge that there did exist verbs in both *-ωω* and *-εω*. Examples are: *κοινέω, κοινόω*, § 682, *ὀγκέω* Hippokr. IV 248, *ὀγκόω* Hdt. VI 125, *μαστιγέω* Hdt. I 114, *μαστιγόω* III 16. *ρίγέω, -όω* § 687, 3. For other doublets (factitives) in *-εω*, *-ωω*, see von der Pfordten, *Denominativa* p. 121.

In three cases in Herodas *ευ* is written for *ου*: *χασκεύση* 412, *τεμεῦσα* 489, *δραμεῦσα* 554. This *ευ* stands for *εου* (*καλεῦσα* &c.). The confusion is thus between *ευ* (= *εου*) and *ου*, and is different from that discussed above.

### MI Conjugation.

In the following §§ attention is directed chiefly to the substitution of the *ω* inflection for that in *μι*. This substitution does not occur in the first person present indicative, and in general is such that the older co-exists with the younger conjugation, never abandoning the field to its successor.

691.] **Indicative Present.** 1. Second Person Singular: *δίδοις* (Iliad I 164) Hdt. V 18, VIII 137. Theog. 1162 has the non-epic *δίδως*, according to the reading of Stobaios (*δίδου* Bergk). *δλλύεις* Archil. 27, (the uncompounded verb is poetical in early Greek, and occurs in the present only), *προσαπολλύεις* Hdt. I 207. *περνᾶς* is a conjecture for *περνάς* in Hipponax 52 (cf. frag. 46 and Hesychios' *περνᾶς*). On *ἐξεπίσται* Hdt. VII 104, 135, see §§ 605, 688, 1.

2. Third Person Singular: *τίθησι* (Δ 83) Sim. Amorg. 12, Theog. 589, Solon 434, 1362, 262. *τιθεῖ* (N 732) Mimn. 16, 57, Theog. 282, Xenophan. 12 (conj.), Hdt. I 113, 133, IV 73 (*παραιτιθεῖ* in *R*, other MSS. -*τίθησι* retained by Stein only), V 95, VII 35, Hippokr. I 622. Merzdorf's *τιθείει* is out of place in Hdt. and Homer never has *τιθείει*. An uncontracted form is unknown in those forms of *τίθημι* which represent the substitution of the *ω* for the *μι* conjugation.

*ῖησι* (η 130) Xenophan. 17, *ἀφίησι* Hippokr. II 38, 152, III 256, *μεθίησι* VIII 310; *ἀπίησι* Hdt. VI 42 in *ABCd* (*ἀπίει* Stein, Abicht, *ἀπιεῖ* Holder, Kallenberg). *ῖει* (*προῖει* B 752, *μεθιεῖ* or *ῖει* K 121) occurs in Hdt. as follows: *ἀνίει* II 113, III 109, IV 28, *ἀπίει* II 96, *ἐξίει* I 6, 180<sup>1</sup>, 191, II 17, VI 20, VII 124, *κατίει* V 16, *μετίει* II 70, VI 37, 59. This, the traditional accentuation, is retained by Bekker, Gaisford, Dindorf, Stein, and Abicht. Holder, and Kallenberg (except in II 113) circumflex the forms. The paroxytone accent is often found in the MSS. in the subjunctive. Hippokrates has *ἀφίει* I 616, VI 370, 474 (*ἀφίησιw C*), VII 56, 572, *ἐξανίει* VI 46, *δίει* II 34 (Littre *διεῖ*), 38 (*δίει vulgo, διεῖ E*, Littre; *ἀφίησιw* in the preceding line), V 492 (Littre *δίει*), *μεθίει* VII 474, 572 *ter.* *ῖστησι* Hdt. II 95, V 16, Hippokr. II 28, 32, V 608, 624, 710,

<sup>1</sup> Hence *ἀνίη*, Cauer 174, (Abu-Simbel), should not be changed to *ἀνίει* with Baunack, R. M. XXXVII 472, who sees in this form the verb *ῖω* = *εἶμι*.



VI 558, 560, 566, 574; ἰσῑῖ Hdt. II 143 (ἴσταται *ABCl*, Dindorf, Abicht), IV 103. Bredow would adopt only ἴστησι.

κίρνῃ (ἐκίρνα η 182) Hdt. IV 52, 66.

δίδωσι (ρ 287) Archil. eleg. 16, Solon 13<sub>69</sub>, Theog. 149, Hippokr. V 684, VI 556, Pherek. Leros 48 (?), Hdt. II 2 (-οῖ *Rdz*), 154, VIII 24. Against 70 occurrences of δίδοι, δίδωσι (Dindorf, Stein, Abicht, Holder) cannot maintain its ground in Herodotos<sup>1</sup>. δίδοι (I 519, δ 237, ρ 350<sup>2</sup>) Miletos 100<sub>7</sub>, Samos 221<sub>13</sub>, Mimn. 2<sub>16</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>51</sub>, Hdt. II 29, 48, III 119, and often, Hippokr. II 54, 676 (ἐπαναδίδοι *A*), VII 8, VIII 282, Pherek. Leros 44, Aretaios 6, 108, Lukian *Syr. dea* 8 (τίθησι in same chapter).

ρήγνυσι Hippokr. I 616, III 196, VII 486; πήγνυσι II 410, VI 574 (πηγνύουσι same page), ῥώννυσι IX 98. σβέννυσι Hippokr. VII 474 but σβεννύει II 342 (-υσιν *R*<sup>1</sup>, *S*<sup>1</sup>, Galen).

δεικνύει (Hsd. *W. D.* 451) Hdt. VII 37.

3. Third Person Plural<sup>3</sup>: τιθείσι (II 262, β 125, and *Agamem.* 465, ch.) Hdt. I 20, II 91, 96, III 53 (-έασι Stob.), IV 34, 67, VII 197; Attic συντιθέασι IV 23 (-τιθείσι *R* and the editors), προτιθέασι V 8 (-τιθείσι *r*). Hippokr. has τιθέασι II 66, 76, 84. In VI 12 *A* has ἀνατίθησι which suggests ἀνατίθεισι. Lukian *Astrol.* 7 has τιθέασι.

ἰεῖσι (Γ 152) Hdt. I 133, II 36, 87, IV 30 &c., Attic -ᾱσι in ἀπιᾱσι I 194 (*Rdz*) and II 41 in all MSS. (rejected by all later editors except Dindorf). Hippokr. VI 368 has ἀφιᾱσιν, 488 ξυρίασιν in θ, and so *vulgo* IX 332, Lukian *Syr. dea* 49 ἐνιᾱσι, 58 ἀπιᾱσι, 60 *bis* ἀπιᾱσι or ἀπίασι (in one case ἀπίασι in *r*, in the other in *Aa*; Jacobitz edits both forms). In 29 the MSS. have κατίασι. ἰσῑᾱσι (N 336) Hdt. I 167, II 65, III 24, IV 160, V 16, 27, VI 38, but ἀνιστέασι V 79, in all MSS. (now rejected). Hippokr. V 680 has ἐξισῑᾱσι, VI 374 καθισῑᾱσι (θ has καθίστασι). Ktesias, *Pers.* 6, has ἰσῑᾱσι, 52 ἀφισῑᾱσι (cf. *qz* in Hdt. III 24, *l* in VI 38) with the same transference to the -αω conjugation that we observe in παραπιτνῶσι Samos 220<sub>20</sub>. περνᾱσι Theog. 1215, Hippon. trim. 46<sub>1</sub> (περνῶσι *C*), cf. 52. On πιμπλάσι see below (note 4).

δίδοῦσι (T 265, α 313) Theog. 446, 514, 575, 591, 861, Hdt. II 30, 89 &c., Demokr. 13. The solitary case of -ασι in Hdt.

<sup>1</sup> Cobet, *Mnem.* XI 124, says that in compounds we always have -οῖ, but the uncompounded -σι is sometimes found. παραδίδωσι VIII 24 is one of the few cases of -σι, and that in a compound.

<sup>2</sup> δίδοι in Aischylos' *Supplices* 1010 is the only occurrence in Attic. Kirchhoff thinks the verse is interpolated.

<sup>3</sup> τιθείσι, δίδοῦσι, ξενγνύσι, ἰσῑᾱσι Choirob. 859<sub>28</sub> (Hdn. II 833<sub>31</sub>), 860<sub>18</sub> = An. Ox. IV 356<sub>22</sub>, 357<sub>24</sub>. Because of the open *ea* the Attic forms in -εασι are called Ionic by Et. M. 177<sub>16</sub>, Theodos. *Canon.* p. 84<sub>1</sub>, Hilgard (*Bekk. Anecd.* 1046<sub>5</sub>). This mistake was not made by Apollonios. Α ἰέασι is often assumed by the grammarians as Ionic.



(ἐκδιδόασι I 93 in all MSS.), in view of the occurrence of -οῦσιν nineteen times, should not have been retained by Dindorf. διδοῦσι is found in Hippokr. II 80 (ἀποδιδόασιν Littré), VI 6c (διαδίδουσιν *A*, -όασι *vulgo*), VII 14, but διδόασι is certain in II 240, VIII 480. The Κοινή frequently adopted διδοῦσι (Lobeck on Phrynich. p. 244).

δεικνῦσι Hdt. I 171, IV 8, V 45; δεικνύουσι I 209, II 86 *bi* (-ύασι *ABC*<sup>1</sup>), III 119 (*Rdz*), IV 168, V 45.

ἀπολλῦσι Hdt. IV 69 but προσαπολλύουσι VI 138. ἐσεργνῦσιν II 86 (-ύουσι *Rd*; cf. δεικνύουσι II 86), κατεργνῦσι IV 69 ὀμνῦσι Hdt. IV 105 (-ύουσι *Rz*), ὀμνύουσι IV 172, V 7. Cf. ὀμνύτω T 175, ὤμνυε Ξ 278. ὤμνον appears in an Attic inscription after 336 B.C., but ὀμνύναι is the regular form till the second century B.C. ὀμνυμι is the only -νυμι verb in Attic inscriptions before 200 B.C. that has passed into the -νω inflection πηγνύουσι Hdt. IV 72 (-ῦσι *R*, Dindorf), Hippokr. VI 574 ῥηγνῦσι (*P* 751) Hdt. I 80 (this accent in *CP* only), -ύουσιν Hippokr. V 632. Eurip. *Elektra* 1323 (anap.) has ζευγνῦσιν. Moiris and Thom. Mag. say that the forms in -ύουσι are Κοινή.

1. Reference has been made in § 585 to -αται, -ατο for -νται, -ντο, and τ-εαται, -εατο. After *ν*, Hdt. always has -νται, never -αται; -ατο is found once (ἐναπεδεικνύατο IX 58), elsewhere -ντο. ἀπόλλυνται is found in Hippokr. V 67 (*Syr. dea* 47, διασκεδαννύαται Euseb. Mynd. 63).

2. The accent of the 3 singular Present. In the above list of forms for post-Homeric Ionic the MS. accentuation has been retained. Barytone forms occur only in the compounds of ἵημι, as in Homer<sup>2</sup>, who has ἀνίεις E 880 μεθείεις Z 523, δ 372, προίει B 752 (and Hesiod frag. 202), μεθείει K 121 (*Ven.* &c.), but τιθεῖ α 192, N 732 (τίθει has slight support), διδοῖς I 164 (Aristarchos διδοῖ I 519, δ 237, δαμνῶ λ 221. Later modern editors, where they do not adopt the *μι* forms, edit -εῖς, -εῖ, except in the case of μεθείεις δ 372 (La Roche Ludwig).

Though there is no τιθῶ or ἰῶ, τιθεῖν in Theog. 286 and συνιεῖν in 565<sup>3</sup> show that both verbs have passed into the -εω inflection<sup>4</sup>. The perispomenon accent should therefore be introduced in Ionic texts in all cases, even in that of ἵημι, as there is no good reason why the present should be formed from ἵω, while the imperfect is formed from ἰέω. The paroxytone<sup>5</sup> form

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Et. M. 177<sup>17</sup>. Athenag. and Thom. Mag. support δεικνύασι here.

<sup>2</sup> La Roche on E 880, *H. T. K.* 225, *Zeitschr. f. oesterr. Gymn.* 1876, p. 584 ff. von Bamberg, *Zeitschr. f. Gymn.-Wesen* XXVIII 28, Ahrens, *Conjug. auf μι* § (= *Kl. Schr.* I 14), Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* 281, Monro, *Hom. Gram.* § 18.

<sup>3</sup> Also in 1237 by Lachmann's conjecture, adopted by Bergk.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also ἐτίθουν Gorgias 500 B (-ην is the better reading) and in late Greek

<sup>5</sup> G. Meyer, *Gram.* § 71, says merely that if ἀνίεις, ἀνίει are correct, the accents are due to those of φέρεεις, φέρει (cf. Modern Greek δίδω, δίδεις, δίδει. Blass, *Gram.* § 286, accepts only the paroxytone accent as correct, but his explanation is as faulty as that of Ahrens. That there should be any parallelism between τίθει, δίδοι and the Aiolic forms, the latter should be τίθη, δίδω (not τίθη, δίδω as they are reported) in which the long vowel could be shortened. And σι, assimilated from τι, does not lose its σ. If tl

may be explained as possibly due to one or more of several reasons, (1) Influence of the accent of *τίθης, ἴης* &c., supported by a misapplied reference to the fact of the late shifting between *η (ηι)* and *ει*. (2) Influence of the accent of *τίθεισι, ἴεισι*, supposing the survival of a knowledge of this original accentuation; see under 3 below. (3) The difference in the MSS. between the paroxytone accentuation of *ἴημι* and the perispomenon of other *μι* verbs might be explained as due to a mistaken tendency to equate the present with the imperfect; since these two tenses, in the case of *ἴημι* alone, are alike, apart from the quantity of the augmented syllable. Cf. *πρόει* A 326 and 336, B 752 and Γ 118, imperfect and present. (4) Confusion with *εἶμι*<sup>1</sup> may have assisted the vicious accentuation in the singular. In the plural we find cases of *-ίαςι* (*sic*) in Hippokrates (rarely), Lukian, and Athenaios. That the transformation of *ἴημι* to *ἴω* has been accomplished in late Greek is beyond doubt. Cf. *ἀφείομεν* = *ἀφίομεν* in the N. T. and on an inscription from Ampa, C. I. G. 2131 B 15. The difficulty lies in the substitution of *ἴω* for *ἴημι* in an early period of the language<sup>2</sup>. *ἰέω* for *ἴημι* would be parallel to *ἕω* for *εἶμι*, but *ἴω* lacks analogies. If genuine, *ἴω* took its rise in the indicative, not in the optative; for, in Ionic at least, *ἀφείοιτε* could suggest only *ἰέω*, not *ἴω* which might be sought in Attic *ἀφίοιτε*. At all events the existence of *ἴω* once assumed, *ξύνι* and *μεμετειμένος* (§ 701, 3) were constructed from the stem and eventually displaced the genuine *ξύνι* and *μεμετειμένος*. *ξύν-ι-ε-τε*, it may be remarked, could be analyzed as *ξύν-ί-ε-τε*.

3. The accent of the 3 plural Present. The original forms of the 3 plur. of *τίθημι* and *δίδωμι*, *\*τίθᾱτι* and *\*διδᾱτι* (cf. Skt. *dādḥāti* and *dādāti*), were supplanted in primitive Greek by *τίθεντι* and *διδοντι* (retained in Doric). Their direct descendants would be *τίθεισι* and *δίδουσι*, which may have been thus accented in Homer<sup>3</sup>. So too *ρήγνυσι* from *\*ρήγνυντι*. When *-νυ-ασι* < *-νυ-αντι*<sup>4</sup> had displaced the older ending of the verbs in *-νυμι*, *-ᾱσι* was transferred hence to *τίθεισι* &c., and *τιθέᾱσι*, *διδᾱσι*, *\*ιστᾱσι* came into existence. *ιστᾱσι* became *ιστᾱσι*, and in its train followed *τιθεῖσι*, *διδούσι*, *ρήγνυσι*, i.e. the accent of *ιστᾱσι* was adopted, the form of *τίθεισι* &c. retained. See Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 289.

Paroxytone forms are correct, I should find in *διδούσι* the cause of the perispomenon; for *διδούσι* is apparently = *δηλοῦσι*. Then *ἀνιέι* could follow as an analogue of *διδᾱι*.

<sup>1</sup> Frequent in cod. *C* of Hdt. in the imperfect. Cf. Hippokr. II 686 (*δίει, ἤει*), Hdt. V 107 (*ᾱπεί, ᾱπήει*) and in many other places. In the subjunctive the interchange of the forms of the two verbs is especially common in the MSS. The existence in late Greek of a present *ἴω* and *εἴω*, by-forms of *εἶμι*, also brought with it the possibility of confusion with *ἴημι*. Cf. the following losses of Hesychios: *προσίει, ᾱπεί, ὑπαπεί, ὑπεξεί, διέται, ἴεται, προσίεμεν* and *ρόσιμεν*; *ἐνείτο* (Cauer<sup>1</sup>, no. 30), *εἰσίεις* (C. I. G. IV 9540), *ἐνσείη* = *εἰσίη* (ortyna Code, V 36. Homeric *ἰέην*, though probably an analogue of *εἰδέην*, presents a resemblance to *ἰέην*. Scholars who accept *ᾱπεί* in the present indic. in Hdt., accept, as a rule, *ᾱπῆ* in the subj. But Bredow and Blass defend both *ᾱπεί* and *ᾱπῆ*.

<sup>2</sup> *ξύνιον* v. l. A 273.

<sup>3</sup> Holder adopts the proparoxytone accent even in Hdt. The MSS. of Homer (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Γ 152) and Hdt. have the circumflex forms. Traces of the acute are very slight. We are ignorant of the accent of the Homeric period, and when, if correct at all, *-εἰσι*, *-ουσι*, *-υσι* were changed to *ῖσι* &c.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skt. *-nux-anti*, and *nu-anti* = *νῦ-αντι*.



4. *πίμπλημι* has four sets of forms in Ionic. (1) *πίμπλημι* in *ἐμπίπλημι* Hippokr. VII 10, cf. Hesiod frag. 173<sub>2</sub> and *W. D.* 301 (MSS.) where *πιμπλημι* is now unnecessarily read; *ἐμπιπλεῖς* Hippokr. VII 26, *πιμπλεῖσαι* in Hesiod *Theog.* 880 is the preferable reading (*MC* to *πιμπλεῦσαι* (*Va*) = -έουσai. *ἐμπ. πληθι* or *ἐμπίμπληθι* Φ 311 is formed like *δίδωθι*. *πίπλη* was Doric and Attic (cf. Suidas s. v.). Forms containing *πλᾶ*, weak ablaut form of *πλη*: *ἀναπίπλαμεν* Hdt. VI 12, *πίμπλαται* Hesiod, *Scut.* 429, Hippokr. VII 8, 22, 30, 190, 244, Hdt. II 93, Aret. 111, *ἐπίμπλατο* Hdt. III 108 (-έeto *PRz*) as *πίμπλαντο* δ 662, κ 248, υ 349. (*ἐπιμπλέατο* for *-πλαντο* occurs in Hdt. III 88; Dindorf Abicht -*πλατο*). *ἐπιμπλάσθω* Hippokr. VII 30, *πίμπλασθαι* Hdt. II 93, *ἐμπιπλεμενοι* I 212, VIII 117. Cf. *πιμπλάνεται* Iliad I 679. (2) *πίμπλᾶμι* in *πιμπλᾶμι* Φ 23, Hdt. II 40, *ἐμπιπλᾶσι* IV 72, *ἀποπιμπλάναι* II 129. (3) *πιμπλᾶω* i *ἐμπιπλῶντα* Hippokr. VII 20 (-άντα in θ; cf. *Republic* 586 B), *πιμπλῶσαι* V 34. Cf. *πιμπλάω* in Plutarch, Diodoros, Dio Cass. (4) *πιμπλέω* in *ἐμπιπλεῖ* Hdt. VII 39 (-έει *R*, -πίπλα Stob., -πιπλᾶ Maximus), Hippokr. VII 18 (-πιπλᾶ *J sur lin.*), the same treatise as that containing *ἐμπιπλεῖς*, *ἐμπιπλῶντα* or -άντ. Some forms cannot be referred positively to one of the above classes, e. *πίμπληται* Hdt. VII 37 (-ῆται *P corr.*, *z*), *ἐμπίπληται* Hippokr. VII 30 (θ, -ῆτ Littré), *πιμπλῶνται* VI 202.

Whatever the relation of *πίμπλημι* (with pan-Hellenic *η*) and *πίμπλᾶμεν* i Skt. *pīpāmi*, *pīpāmās*, and the probability or improbability of the existence i Indo-European of an inflection -*ημι*, -*ᾶμεν*<sup>1</sup>, there is no doubt that *πίμπλαμε* *ἐπίμπλατο* &c. were regarded as parallels of *ἵσταμεν*, *ἵστατο*. Hence *πίμπλημι* *ἵστημι*, with Ionic-Attic *η*, and *πιμπλάω* (*ἵσταῖ*). Dindorf indeed would adopt in Hdt. only the forms from -*ᾶμι*, -*αω*. The analogy with *τίθημι*, on the other hand, led to the type *πιμπλέω* (*τιθεῖ*). The coexistence of *πιμπλέω* and *πιμπλᾶω* is therefore not to be explained on the principle mentioned in § 688, 1.

5. *πίμπρημι* is inflected like *ἵστημι* in *ἀντενεπίμπρασεν* Hdt. V 102, *ἐμπιπρη* VIII 109, *ἐμπιπραμένον* I 19. *ἐνεπίμπρη* I 17 recalls the v. l. *ἐμπιπρεῖς* (*AB* VIII 109 and *ἵστη*, which is not above suspicion. Dindorf (*Praefatio* XXXVII) would read *-πίμπρα*.

692.] Imperfect. 1. *ὑπερετίθεα* (1 Person) Hdt. III 15. 2. Improper 'uncontracted' forms of the 3 Person are *προετίθω* Hdt. I 206 (*R* alone has a different reading: *προετίθετο*), VII 49. Following Bredow, the recent modern editors (Stein, Abicht, Kallenberg, and Holder) wrongly edit *περιετίθεε* in VI 69 again all the MSS. (*περιετίθει*: adopted by Dindorf). Homer has *ἐτίθει*, never -*εε*. *ἀνίεε* is found in IV 125 (*R* correctly *ἀνίε* and so the editors), *ἀνίει* IV 152, *ἀπίει* IV 157, V 42, 10, *ἡνίει* Hippokr. V 414, *ἡφίει* V 228 (cf. *ἀφίει* C. I. A. II 306<sub>15</sub> 287 B.C.).

*ἵστα* Hdt. II 106 (*R* *ἵστη*), VI 61, *κατίστα* VI 43, but *ἀρίστω* I 196, *ἐνίστη* II 102. Dindorf edits *ἵστα* throughout, Stein Abicht (except in II 102), Kallenberg, Holder (*ἵστη* in II 10), retain the MS. readings. Bredow would adopt *ἵστη* throughout.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *M. U.* I 44, *Gram.* § 115 c, *Grundr.* II, p. 935, Bechtel *Lautehre*, pp. 191, 242, Fröhde, *B. B.* IX 119, Collitz, *B. B.* XVIII 2 note.



Homer has ἀνίστη, but ἴστη and καθίστα in the imperative. A like variation is not to be denied to Herodotos.

ἐδίδουν Hdt. VI 86 a (first person), Hippokr. V 126, VIII 446 (third), ἐδίδου Theog. 916, Hdt. I 208, III 128 &c., Hippokr. V 158, IX 380, as C. I. A. II 811 C 110, 323 B.C. Homer has ἐδίδους, ἐδίδον.

ἐδείκνυε Hdt. I 112, II 162, IV 150, cf. § 699; ἐξεύγνυε (cf. I 393) Hdt. IV 89. The third plural has ἐτίθεσαν Hdt. I 144, ἔσαν IX 135, Hippokr. III 94 &c., ἐδείκνυσαν Hdt. I 30, II 144, IX 80, not ἐδείκνυον, ἐξεύγνυσαν (Ω 783) VII 33, 36, ἐπεξεύγνυον VII 36, ἀπώλλυον Hippokr. VII 576.

693.] Aorist. 1. Forms with κ<sup>1</sup> are ἔθηκα Archil. 74<sub>3</sub>, Solon 32<sub>2</sub>, 36<sub>13</sub>, Theog. 196, Sim. Keos 120<sub>4</sub> &c., Hdt. I 113, IV 196, ἐνέθηκον Olbia 129<sub>11</sub> (late), Naukratis 139 C 3 (fourth century); θήκαο Hdt. VII 15, -ατο I 26, V 69 (Lukian, *Syr. dea* 25), -ατο Hdt. II 160, IV 65, VI 21, 108, VII 125, IX 53, θηκάμενοι Theog. 1150. Cf. θήκατο K 31. ἐξυνήκεν Anakr. 146; cf. Alkaios ἐσυνήκε; ἐπήκον Hdt. VII 176 &c., μεθήκε Hippokr. VII 570, μετήκον Hdt. V 120. ἔδωκον Hdt. I 89, Sim. Amorg. 22, Theog. 813, 1057.

2. Second Aorists are ἔθεσαν Archil. 9<sub>6</sub> eleg., Bechtel no. 261 f uncertain provenance, Miletos 93, 94, Keos 40 (ἀνΗΘΗσαν), Hippokr. VI 486, ἀνέθεν (poetical) Sim. Keos 134<sub>2</sub>. ἔδοσαν Theog. 72, 463, Iasos 105<sub>8</sub>, Hdt. VI 21. Middle ἔθεν Hdt. VII 209.

3. Aorist Passive: ἐθέθην Kumai, Roberts I 174 = ἐτέθην Hdt. V 45, μετείθη I 114, ἀπείθην VII 122.

694.] Perfect. προέστατε Hdt. V 49 (-έατε z). ἐστᾶσι occurs ver 20 times in Hdt. without any variant; hence we may correct ἀνεστέασι III 62, κατεστέασι I 196 (CP, other MSS. εστέαται for -εστανται<sup>2</sup>), II 70 (-εᾶσι z), II 84 (-εᾶσιν C), IV 63 (-εᾶσι d). Mimm. 12<sub>10</sub> has ἐστᾶσι (-εστήκασι 2<sub>5</sub>) Pluperfect ἔστασαν Hdt. IV 79.

τέθειμαι (by analogy with εἶμαι) is foreign with Attic inscriptions; but in a Smyrnaian inscription (Dittenb. *Syll.* 171), we find ἐντέθειμαι l. 62, 71, 93, with which cf. Kretan προεκτεθείμεθα. The Smyrnaian inscription cannot be regarded as Ionic evidence, though it contains not a few non-Attic forms.

ἀνέωνται<sup>3</sup> Hdt. II 165 contains the ω(η) ablaut of ἔημι trans-

<sup>1</sup> Attic inscriptions employ, with rare exceptions, till 300 B.C., the forms without κ in the dual and plural.

<sup>2</sup> ἔσταμαι is very unusual (Plato, Polybios).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hdn. II 236<sub>2</sub> = Et. M. 176<sub>15</sub>. The Et. M. and Et. Gud. 96<sub>11</sub> call the εω forms Attic. Suidas (s.v. ἀφείκα) says that ἀφέωκα is Doric, but also used by the Ionians (Herodotos). Bekk. Anecd. 470<sub>11</sub> calls ἀφέωκα Doric, ἀφείκατο Attic. Hdn. compares πέπτηκα πέπτωκα with ἔηκα ἔωκα. ἔωκα would be paralleled by τέθωκα, which might have been the exemplar for πέπτωκα.

ferred from the active *ἔωκα* to the middle. Cf. *ἀνέωσθαι* Herakl. Tables I 153, *ἀφρώσθω* Arkadian C. D. I. 1222<sub>14</sub>, *ἀφέωνται* in Matthew IX 2, 5, Mark II 5, Luke V 23.

Hdt. has elsewhere *-ει-*: *ἀνείται* II 65 (Hrd. 436), *ἀπείτο* VIII 49, *ἀνειμένος* II 167, VII 103, *μετείσθω* IV 98 from \**έε-ται* &c., but *μεμετιμένος* (§ 701, 3). Bredow regarded *ἀνέωνται* as a Dorism and wished to read *ἀνείνται*.

**695.] Subjunctive Present.** 1. Singular. The MSS. of Herodotos have *-ίη*, not *-ιῆ*, in the 3 sing. of *ἔημι* (*ἀπίη* IV 190 *ἐπίη* VII 161, *παρίη* III 72), and Hippokr. has *ἀφίη* VI 24 *μεθίη* VI 222, VII 474, *ἀνίη* VII 56 (*-ίη* *E H θ*, *-ῆ* *vulgo*). The perispomenon accent is correct, since the plur. is *ἀπιέωσι*. In Attic there are a few instances of *-ίη* in the books. In Theog. 94 the MSS. have *ἔησι*, for which we substitute *ἔησι* with Bekker not *ἰῆσι* with Bergk. Homer has *μεθίησι* N 234. *ἴστημι* yields *ἀνιστῆ* Hdt. VII 53. From *δίδωμι* we have *διδῶ* Theog. 186 Hdt. II 13 (MSS. *-οῖ*, cf. Hrd. 259, Aret. 26 where the analogy of the *-όω* verbs gives us *διδοῖ*), Hippokr. II 142, 260, *ὀμνύ* Thasos, *J.H.S.* VIII 402, 15.

Middle: *ἐνίστηται* Hdt. VI 59, *παραδίδωται* III 117 (*-δίδωτα R*)<sup>1</sup>. For *ῥηνύηται* Hippokr. VII 26, the older form is *ῥήγνυτα* Hipponax 19<sub>4</sub>, the plural of which is *ῥήγνυνται* Hesiod *Scutum* 377. See § 618, 1, *a*.

2. Plural. *ἀπιέωσι* Hdt. VII 226 (*ἀφίωσι R*). Dindorf's *ἀπίωσι* is wide of the mark. *διδῶσιν* Theog. 45, Hdt. III 45 &c.

Middle: *προτιθώμεθα* Hdt. V 18 in all MSS. (*-εω-?*), *ἀναπτῆσθ* IV 132 (*ἀνάπτ-* Holder), *ἐπιστέωνται* III 134, *ἀφιστέωνται* Hippokr. VIII 280, but *καθιστῶνται* in *θ*, same page. On *δυνεώμεθα*, see § 618, 1, *b*.

**696.] Subjunctive Second Aorist.** 1. Singular. (1) *προσθέω*<sup>2</sup> Hdt. I 108, Hippokr. II 346, 358 (*θῶ* in Hrd. 513, 7113 (should be *θέω*), *ἀφέω* Hipponax 75, Hrd. 574, *παραδῶ* Hdt. V 106 (2) *θῆς* Theog. 276, Hrd. 513, *ἀφῆς* Hippokr. VII 30, *βῆς* Theog. 244, *δῶς* Hdt. III 53. (3) *προσθῆ* Teos 158<sub>7</sub> (late), *προσθῆ* Hdt. VI 109, *μεθῆ* Hippokr. VII 570, 572, *ἀφῆ* 572, VIII 112, *-στ* Hdt. VII 53, VIII 130, Hippokr. VI 368, *-βῆ* Theog. 974, 101. Hdt. II 13, 68, VII 209, *δῶ* Theog. 1385, *γνῶ* 990, *ἀλῶ* Hdt. I 84. For *ἦν* ... *δῶη* Hippokr. II 256 (cf. 318) read *εἰ* ... *δοίη*.

(4) Middle: *-θέωμαι* Hdt. V 24 &c. (and so to be read Hrd. 8<sub>9</sub> for *θώμαι*), *-θῆ* VI 109, *-θῆται* Halikarn. 238<sub>33</sub>, Hdt. I 29, &c. *-δῶται* Erythr. 204<sub>5</sub>.

2. Plural. (1) *θεώμεν* Hdt. III 81, *στέωμεν* Hdt. IV 11.

<sup>1</sup> In this accent nothing Ionic is to be sought: it is the ordinary variation from Herodian's rule.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hesychios s. *v*.

Hippokr. VI 112, -βέωμεν Hdt. VII 50, -δῶμεν V 91. (2) -δῶτε IX 87. (3) θέωσι IV 71, -στέωσι I 155, III 15 (but φῶσι IV 68), ῶσι Solon 139, Hdt. VI 133, &c., ἄλῶσι II 93.

(4) Middle: θῶμεθα Theog. 983 should be θεώμεθα; -θέωνται Hdt. I 194, VII 191, VIII 4.

697.] **Subjunctive Aorist Passive.** εω is left open in the 1 and 3 plural (exceptions are to be corrected, § 634, 2), while η is always contracted in prose and poetry. Hippokrates agrees with Herodotos.

698.] **Optative.** διδοίη Hdt. I 86, Hippokr. II 168, VIII 480, -διδοῖ VII 562; δοίην Hdt. IX 111, δοίη IX 94, δοίητε (not δοῖτε) VII 135 (cf. φθαίητε VI 108), δοῖεν Hippokr. II 240 but δοίησαν Hrd. 31, γνοίη Hdt. I 134, IV 74, γνοίησαν Hippokr. I 622; ἐπέιη Hdt. III 113; ἀποδεικνύοιμεν II 15; καθεστήκοι Hippokr. IX 380.

τιθείμην Tyrt. 121; προθείτο Hdt. III 148 is opposed by προσθείτο I 53 *bis*, ὑποθείτο VII 237. In III 41 Aldus' ὑποτίθοιτο was adopted by Bredow, Dindorf, and Abicht. προθείτο is abandoned by Bredow, Krüger, Abicht, and Kallenberg, retained by Bekker, Dindorf, Stein, and Holder, but not to the exclusion of -θείτο. The latter's εοι recalls Hom. εἰς, εἰ, and νέοι in Hdt. VII 6, where οι from the ω verbs is added to the stem. If Attic -θοίτο, &c. are formed, as Curtius, *Verbum* II 107, maintains, by the substitution of ο for ε, Attic and Ionic adopted different methods of breaking down the μι inflection. Rather than accept such a conclusion, we prefer to explain the Attic forms as arising from εοι.

ξυνιστῶτο occurs in Hippokr. VI 82. In Hdt. IV 166 Schweighäuser read ἐπανίσταιτο (for -έαιτο *AB*, -έαιτο *CPR*).

699.] **Imperative.** 1. Present. τίθει (*A* 509) Archil. 561 (*vulgo*), Hippokr. VII 440, VIII 170, 380. Archil. 43 has ἴστη as Φ 313 (καθίστα I 202); δίδου Theog. 4, 1303, Hdt. III 140. As if from ἴω, ξύνιει Theog. 1240 (better ξυνίει, as α 271, Buttmann, *Gram.* I 523), but ξυνίετε<sup>1</sup> Archil. 50, as Kratinos I 123, *Peace* 603. ὅλλυ' Archil. 27<sub>2</sub> shows that the μι form may be abandoned even before a short vowel<sup>2</sup>.

Middle: τίθεσο Theog. 1096, ἐπίστασο Hdt. VII 39, 209.

2. Second Aorist. στήθι Theog. 1366, ἐπίβᾱ 847, μέτεες Hdt. I 37, 39.

<sup>1</sup> The long ι is due to the confusion, which began as early as Homer (Δ 234) with *ἴεμαι* (Hdt. II 70, IX 78).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. δείκνυε Hesiod, *W. D.* 502, Plato, Xenoph., Demosth., ἐδείκνυε, ἐξεύγνυε 692, 2, ἐδείκνυν Babrios 50, 10, Antiphon, &c., ὀμνύτω T 175, ὀμνύοντων Attic inscriptions (ὀμνυθι Theog. 1195), ὠμνυον μ 303, ο 437, σ 58, Thukyd., Attic inscriptions, ὠμνυε κ 345, τ 288, Lysias, Babrios 50, 6.



Middle: *ἐνθεο*<sup>1</sup> Theog. 1321, *ἐξεο* Hdt. V 39.

3. Perfect. *ἐστάτω* Tyr. 11<sub>28</sub>, *μετείσθω* Hdt. IV 98.

700.] Infinitive. 1. *-ναι* is the termination of the (a) *Present*. e.g. *εἶναι* (§ 709), *τιθέναι*, *ιέναι*, *ιστάναι* &c., *σβεννύναι* Hdt. II 66, *μυγνύναι* Hippokr. VII 142, VIII 502, *ὀμνύναι* Hdt. IV 68, *ζευγνύναι* IV 189, *δεικνύναι* II 148, Theog. 771, *κιρνάναι* Hippokr. VIII 244 (*-ânai* C G K). (b) *Second Aorist*. *θεῖναι* Hdt. IV 179, Theog. 577, *κατεῖναι* Hdt. VII 35, *δοῦναι* Theog. 561, 861 (from *θεφεραι*, *έφεναι*, *δοφεναι*)<sup>2</sup>; *-δρῆναι* Aret. 112. (c) *Aorist Passive* *τεθῆναι* Hdt. II 42, Iasos *Mitth.* XV 154, l. 2, 4, *φανῆναι* Hippokr. I 624. (d) *Perfect*. *ἐστηκέναι* (rare) Hippokr. VIII 498, in Demosthenes and Attic inscriptions (C. I. A. II 812 C 149). Older forms are: *ἐστάναι* Hdt. I 69, &c., Hippokr. III 324, *-βεβάναι* Hdt. III 146, V 86, *τεθνάναι* I 31, Sim. Amorg. 3. (the trimeter ends *τεθνάναι χρόνος*), Amphipolis 10<sub>10</sub>.

In Mimn. 2<sub>10</sub> the MSS. have *αὐτίκα δὴ τεθνάναι βέλτιον ἢ βίotos*. Bergk following Bach, read *αὐτίκα τεθνάμεναι*, Cobet (*Var. Lect.* 390, cf. *Mnem.* XI 124) suggested *αὐτίκα δὴ θάνατος*—not a felicitous emendation (cf. Tyr. 10<sub>1</sub>) Stephanus conjectured *τεθνᾶναι*. It is, however, possible to retain the MS reading, since, though *θν* usually makes position, it need not do so. Cf. Sim. Keos 99<sub>3</sub> (eleg.): *οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεὶ σφ' ἀρετῇ καθύπερθεν ἀν τεθνᾶσιν* Septem 805. Cf. Fick, *B. B.* XIII 175. *τεθνᾶναι* is well supported in Theog. 181 (*dehln*, *-ânai* *bcfgm*, *-άμεναι* A), and by a passage in the *Agamemnon* (539)<sup>3</sup>. (We demur to Fick's displacement of *τεθνάμεναι*, Tyr. 10<sub>1</sub>, by *τεθνᾶναι*. See below 3, note.) The evidence of the grammarians<sup>4</sup> in favour of *τεθνᾶναι* is all late and therefore untrustworthy, but the form is nevertheless correct. *τεθνᾶναι* is from *τεθνᾶ-φεναι* (as *ᾄναι* from *ᾄη-φεναι*), not from *τεθνᾶ-ναι* (Renner) or *τεθνη-εναι* (Paley), both of which had given *-ῆναι* in Ionic. *τεθνᾶναι* is a younger form, since it contains the ending *-ναι*, which was abstracted from the forms containing *-φεναι*. No form in *-ναι* (present aorist, or perfect) is archaic. *-ναι* usurped the place of the older *-μεν*.

2. *-ειν*<sup>5</sup> (by transference to the *ω* conjugation): *τιθεῖν* Theog. 286, Oropos 18<sub>26</sub>, 41-42, *συνιεῖν* Theog. 565, and 1237 by Lachmann's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tzetz. Exeg. II. 118<sub>9</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> From these aorists and from *ιέναι*, the *-ναι* form spread, usurping the place of the older *-μεν*. Thus *τιθέμεν* preceded *τιθέναι*; otherwise we should have had a form *τιθήναι*.

<sup>3</sup> *χαίρω τι τεθνᾶναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ θεοῖς*, where Hermann has *χαίρω θεοῖς τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ*, Dindorf *χ. τι τεθνάναι δ' οὐκέτι ἀ. θ.*; Enger *χ. γε* &c. Ahrens, *Philologus*, Suppl. I 539, defends the genuineness of the MS. reading which is not to be impeached because of the presence of this archaism.

<sup>4</sup> Et. Gud. 637<sub>7</sub> (appendix), schol. *Frogs*, 1012, Thom. Mag. 355, Hort. Adon 186, Drakon 39<sub>13</sub>, 108<sub>25</sub>. See Hermann on *Agam.* 517=539.

<sup>5</sup> Whatever the relations of the inf. in *-ειν* to that in *-εν*, the suffix *-ειν* did not hold over into a later period of the dialect. Johansson's defence (*D. V. C.* 202) of I. E. *en* in Thasian *ΟΦΕΙΑΕΝ* (Bechtel, no. 71<sub>11</sub>) is vitiated by the parallel *ΑΦΟΔΩΞΕΝ* C. I. A. II 804 A 33 (334-33 B. C.), the last Attic inscription containing *E=ei*.

conjecture for *συνιδεῖν*; *καθιστᾶν* Hippokr. VIII 498 (cf. *ιστᾶν* in Eust. on N 745), *διδούν* Oropos 18<sub>21, 33</sub>, Theog. 1329 (*διδόντ'* MSS., *διδούν'*<sup>1</sup> Hermann). *ζωννύειν* Hippokr. VIII 144, *σβεννύειν* Ierakl. 103 (*-ύναι* Cobet) and in Diogenes' (IX) *Life of Herakleitos* 2 (*-ύην* L, *-ύναι* M, Cobet). In the aorist we have *μεταδοῦν* Theog. 104 (Buttmann). We do not accept the elision, though it is indicated in many MSS. and attested elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. When *διδούν* was substituted for *διδόναί*, *δοῦναι* gave way to *δοῦν* (cf. *δόμεν*, *δόμεναι*). *οῦν* has been emended to *δοῦν* in Phoinix of Kolophon (I<sub>20</sub>). Parmenides (66) has *φῶν*, an Erythraian inscription (*Berichte der Wiener Akademie* 1872, p. 335 f.) *προστᾶν*, Isyllos of Epidauros [πi]θῆν, Hesychios *φᾶν* λέγειν<sup>3</sup>. ΕΙΔΕΙΝ, Epidauros C. D. I. 325<sub>118</sub>, is regarded by Prellwitz as = *εἰδέναι*. We expect the aorist however. Cf. the Aiolic inf. pass. *ἀντέθην*, &c.<sup>4</sup> On *εῖν* see § 709.

3. *-μεναι* is foreign to classic Ionic prose.

*-μεναι* is found occasionally in MSS. of Hdt., e. g. *ἐστάμεναι* I 17 (in all MSS. except A), *ἀπιστάμεναι* I 76 (Cd2), IV 189 *συζευγνύμεναι* (d). The pseudo-*Ionists* affect the form, e. g. Aretaios *ἀπελθέμεναι* 10, *ἀνελθέμεναι* 45, *οἰδαλεηθέμεναι* 207, and in *θέμεναι* 332, where its appearance would be more justifiable. From *εἶμι* we have *ἔμεναι* 68, 75, *ἔμμεναι* 11, 37, 38, 39, 47, 53, 97, 151, and Lukian, *Syr. dea* 4, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 33, 35, 46, *Astrol.* 26. In fact, while Arrian refuses to adopt *ἔμμεναι*, both Aretaios and Lukian prefer it to *εἶναι*; thus making of it one of the most strongly marked hyper-Ionisms of the late Ionic literature. Apart from these traces in Ionic, *-μεναι* scarcely exists in prose: *ἀλεξέμεναι* in the Spartan treaty preserved in Thukyd. V 77 is a poetical, not a Lakonian prose form. Hesychios has *γισάμεναι*· *εἰδέναι* for which *γισάμεν* should be read. *εἶμεναι* in *Acharn.* 775 is not a Megarian prose form, whatever else it may be.

In the lyric (but not iambic) poets of Ionic birth *-μεναι* occurs rarely: *ἔμμεναι* Phokyl. 9, 14, 16 (*εἶναι* 12), *ἔμεναι* Evenos of Paros 9<sub>1</sub> (*μείναι* Fick) with *εἶναι* in verse 2, *τιθέμεναι* Anakr. 91<sub>2</sub> (*-μενοι* Götting, Hiller). Of the non-Ionic poets, Theognis uses *μεναι* in *θέμεναι* 152, *ἴδμεναι* 221, *φυλασσέμεναι* 806, *τεθνάμεναι* 81 (in A only). [Solon] 13<sub>39</sub> has *ἔμμεναι*. In 22<sub>1</sub> Bergk edits *ἐπέμεναι*, following the scholiast and Proklos on *Τίμαιος* 25 F. Aristotle, *Rhet.* I 15, who also quotes the passage, has, however, *ἐπείν μοι* (cf. Hdt. VIII 68 a), and this is correct. The longer form was taken from Ξ 501 (*εἰπέμεναι μοι*) and the pronoun

<sup>1</sup> *διδούναι* is an uncouth form handed down in Ω 425, where see Leaf. A parallel instance appears to be *διδεῖναι*· *δῆσαι* in Hesychios (*διδεῖν*?) ; but cf. *διδέουσai* Delphi, Cauer 220<sub>13</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. H. XIII 315, no. 226 (Paphlagonia) : *θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀποδοῦναι*, οἱ ἐμὸν ὅτμον γοδῶντες. In l. 5 *ἰδέσθαι*. Hesychios has *ἀποδοῦν*· *ἀποδοῦναι*.

<sup>3</sup> On the range of these inf. in -ν, see Nauck *Mél. gréco-rom.* IV 29.

<sup>4</sup> Brugmann, *Grundr.* II 2, p. 1417, thinks that *δοῦν*, *εῖν*, Aiolic -*θην* were originally locatives in -*φεν*.



omitted. Tyrtaios 10<sub>1</sub> has *τεθνάμεναι*, a conjectural form in Mimn. 2<sub>10</sub>. Wherever *-μεναι* occurs it is an epic reminiscence<sup>1</sup>.

According to Fick (*B. B.* XI 252, XIV 253, cf. *Class. Rev.* 1889, pp. 37, 91) *-μεναι* does not occur in the Ionic and Attic lyric before 540 B. C. This is true only if we expel *τεθνάμεναι* from Tyrtaios. See on *τεθνάναι* § 700, 1 (d).

4. *-μεν*<sup>2</sup> is not found except in poetry<sup>3</sup>: Theognis has *ἐνθέμεν* 430, *θέμεν* 845, 846, *δόμεν* 919. In 960 Bergk reads *εἶμεν* despite the fact that *Δ* has the more usual *ἦμεν*, a Doric form which reappears in the *Acharnians* 741, 771, though in the inscriptions the Megarian dialect has always *εἶμεν*. Dindorf has adopted *εἶμεν* in Aristophanes. *διδασκέμεν* seems sufficiently well attested, Phokyl. 13. Sim. Keos 31<sub>2</sub> has *μινγύμεν*. In Doric *-μεν* is widely used, but in the above mentioned poets it is an epic reminiscence.

701.] **Participle.** 1. *Present.* *τιθείς, ιείς* (*διείς* Hippokr. VIII 434, *διέντα* VIII 170, IV 162 are second aorists<sup>4</sup>), *ιστάς, διασκιδνός* Hdt. II 25, *κιννός* Hippokr. VII 256, *ρήγνύς* Hdt. II 14, *ζευγνύς* I 206, but *-ύων* I 205, *δεικνύς* II 78 (*-δεκνύντες* Chios 174 B 14), but *-ύων* III 79, *-σβεννύων* Hippokr. VIII 162, *μινγύς* VIII 504, *-μινγύων* VIII 340, *-αγνύων* VII 530; *ὁμοῦντες* Hdt. I 153 should be *ὁμνύντες* (cf. II 118), and *ἐκκρεμανύντο* Hippokr. VIII 482, *-αννύντα*. 2. *Aorist.* *θείς, εἷς, στάς, ἀποκλός* Anakr. 17<sub>1</sub> (only case of the second aorist of *κλάω*. Cf. *δύω, δύς*). *ἀνασταθείσα* Hrd. 6<sub>2</sub> = *ἀναστᾶσα*, a use alien from prose. 3. *Perfect.* *ἔστεώς* from \**ἔστηFώς* (Attic *ἔστώς* from \**ἔσταFώς*) Hdt. I 132, &c., Ion of Chios I, *ἔστεωτος* < *-ηφότος*, Hdt. II 38, &c., Hippokr. III 288, *ἔστεωτα* Hdt. I 65, &c., Hippokr. VIII 50. Attic forms are found occasionally in the MSS., *e.g.* Demokr. 205. Neuter *ἔστεός* Hippokr. IV 298. Fem. *ἔστεωσα* Hdt. V 92 (δ) is probably an analogue of *τιμῶσα*. *ἑσταότες* Aret. 121 is one of the epic<sup>5</sup> forms of late Ionic literature. On *τεθνεώς* (also Attic) and *τεθνηκώς*, &c., see § 604. The later perfect participle<sup>6</sup> with *κ* is found in Halikarn. 238<sub>28</sub>, Teos 158<sub>5</sub>, Hdt. VI 140, VIII 79 (*-κότων*), II 126 (*-κυῖαν*), Hippokr. II 44 (*-κυῖων*, not *-κουσῶν*<sup>6</sup> *vulgo*).

The perfect middle of *ἵημι* is regularly formed with *-ει* < *εε* in all cases but two: *ἀφείωνται* § 694, and *μεμετιμένος* = Attic

<sup>1</sup> Ionic: An. Par. IV 145<sub>13</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> The grammarians called *-μεν* either Ionic and Doric (An. Par. III 346, Et. Gud. 383<sub>17</sub>) or Ionic and poetic (An. Ox. I 132<sub>7</sub>, cf. 131<sub>33</sub>, Et. Gud. 220<sub>16</sub>).

<sup>3</sup> *εἶμεν* in Bywater's Herakl. (81) cannot be the original reading. *εἶναι* in frag. 1 is a correct conjecture.

<sup>4</sup> So *διέσθαι* VIII 504 (Littré *διέσθαι*).

<sup>5</sup> Ionic: Choirob. 829<sub>12</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> Older Ionic did not develop a present *ἐστήκω*. Note *ἐνστήκη* Aret. 282.



μεθειμένος, Hdt. V 108, VI 1, VII 229. Apart from the irregular reduplication<sup>1</sup>, μεμετιμένος is difficult because of the form of the radical. In view of the existence of ἀρειμένους (II 167, VII 103) we are tempted to read -ειμένος with *A B C* in V 108. But this form is not elsewhere directly supported (-ημένος *Ppr. dr* V 108, *Rd* VI 1, where *A B C P corr.* have -ίμενος, *d* VII 229). As it stands therefore, the form in -ειμένος is from the perplexing ἴω (§ 691, note 2).

702.] οἶδα. οἶδα Archil. 77<sub>2</sub>, Hdt. I 209; οἶδας (*a* 337) Theog. 491, 957, Hippon. 89, Hdt. III 72 (*R*), Hippokr. II 370; οἶσθα (*A* 85, &c.) Theog. 375, Hippokr. IX 332; οἶσθας<sup>2</sup> Hrd. 2<sub>55</sub>; οἶδαμεν<sup>3</sup> Hdt. II 17, IV 46 (same chapter as ἴδμεν), VII 214, IX 60, Hippokr. I 622, V 196, VI 120; Antiphon II *A* 3 an Ionizing tetralogy. ἴδμεν (Hom.), Hdt. I 6, 142, 178, IV 46, &c. (over 30 times, with an occasional *v. l.* ἴσμεν, *e.g.* II 12); ἴστε Tyr. 117, Hdt. IX 42; οἶδασι<sup>4</sup> Hdt. II 43; ἴσασι (Hom.) Theog. 598, Sim. Keos (?) 85<sub>11</sub>.

*Subjunctive.* εἰδέω<sup>5</sup> Hdt. III 140 (correct -ῶ II 114 to -έω), εἰδῆς Theog. 963, εἰδέωσι Halikarn. 238<sub>21</sub> (fifth century), Demokr. 87. The Attic contraction appears in εἰδῶσιν Ephesos 147<sub>17</sub>, 300 B.C., and perhaps εἰδῶ Hrd. 6<sub>95</sub> (Crusius, -ήσω Bücheler). *Optative.* εἰδείης Theog. 641, Hdt. I 206, εἰδείη Theog. 770, Hippokr. I 624 (not -οίη with Littré), εἰδέειν Hdt. IX 42 (-οίεν *z*), -είησαν III 61 (-οίησαν *z*). *Imperat. &c.* ἴσθι Anakr. 75<sub>3</sub>, Hdt. VII 159, εἰδέναι Anakr. 75<sub>2</sub>, Hdt. III 21, Hippokr. I 622 (ἴδμεναι Hom., Theog. 221), εἰδώς Theog. 193, Hdt. VIII 13. *Pluperfect.* ἦδεα<sup>6</sup> (Hom.) Theog. 853, Hdt. II 150. ἦδew is Attic in Theog. 667 (unless we read ἦδεα, or ἦδη since *A* has ἦδη) and Hippokr. III 500. ἦδεε<sup>7</sup> (Hom.) Hdt. II 100, IX 94, &c. (ἦδει?). Later Ionic does not use the Homeric forms in ἦειδ- (*v. l.* Hdt. I 45). συνῆδέατε Hdt. IX 58; ἦδεσαν Theog. 54, Hdt. VII 175, VIII 78.

<sup>1</sup> ἐμετίετο *v. l.* I 12, ἐμετείθη *v. l.* I 114 are accepted by none.

<sup>2</sup> Hesychios calls both οἶσθας and οἶδας Attic. Moiris calls οἶσθα Attic, οἶδας Hellenic. Cf. Rutherford's *Phrynich.* 227, and above § 584, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Kirchhoff thinks οἶδαμεν in Hdt. is an importation from post-classical Greek. οἶδας occurs in tragedy, comedy, and Xenophon.

<sup>4</sup> κοινῶς Moiris.

<sup>5</sup> In Homer we should read, with Tyrannio and Fick, *Feidw*, -ης, -ωσι &c., not the forms with the circumflex, because *ew* is not contracted after consonants. See W. Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 251.

<sup>6</sup> Apoll. *Adv.* 1917 Schn., Hdn. II 310<sub>16</sub> = Choib. 561<sub>18</sub> (cf. 602<sub>14</sub> = An. Ox. IV 417<sub>18</sub>), II 326<sub>7</sub>, Et. Gud. 236<sub>26</sub>, An. Ox. I 68<sub>29</sub>, An. Par. III 297<sub>8</sub>, 326<sub>2</sub>, Eust. 50<sub>30</sub>, 718<sub>17</sub>, 881<sub>62</sub>, 1946<sub>22</sub>. ἦδεες is a figment in An. Ox. I 68<sub>31</sub>, An. Par. III 297<sub>8</sub> (cf. ἦδεις *a* 237 Zenodotos, and now removed from Attic poets to the advantage of ἦδησθα. Demosthenes has however ἦδεις).

<sup>7</sup> Hdn. II 310<sub>19</sub> = Choib. 561<sub>27</sub>, II 326<sub>7</sub> = Choib. 562<sub>26</sub>, An. Ox. I 69<sub>2</sub>, IV 186<sub>26</sub>.

$\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$  is generally explained with Brugmann, *M. U.* III 16 ff., as an aorist =  $*\eta\phi\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\alpha^1$ , of which  $\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega < * \phi\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$  is the subj. (cf. *videro*),  $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\eta\nu < * \phi\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\iota\eta\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu < * \phi\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$  the optative (cf. *viderimus*). This explanation supposes that the  $\epsilon$  before  $\sigma\alpha$  is the minimum (*schwa*) vowel. A simpler means of dealing with the form is to hold to its pluperfect character. In Homeric  $\iota\sigma\alpha\nu < * \phi\iota\delta\sigma\alpha\nu$ ,  $-\sigma-$  was added directly to the weak stem, in  $\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$   $-\epsilon\sigma-$  was added, as in the 3 sing. of the pluperfect ( $-\epsilon\iota < -\epsilon\sigma-\epsilon$ ).  $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$  is from  $*\eta\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$ , and as its analogue appears  $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$  for original  $*\eta\delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$ .  $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$ ,  $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  have their  $-\epsilon\iota\nu$ ,  $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  as the rest of the pluperfects. Cf. Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXV 266, XXIX 126.

To the above may be added the formations from the stem  $\phi\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon-$ , *Future*  $\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$  (Hom.) Theog. 814, Hdt. VII 234, Hippokr. VII 476, VIII 430, Herodas 578 and *Aorist*  $\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\sigma\alpha$  Hippokr. II 436, V 352, IX 230.  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  (Hom.) is also Hippocratic (I 622, 626).

703.]  $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ . I. 1. *Present Indic.*  $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$  (Hom.) Theog. 579, 1203, Anakr. 34;  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  not attested in later Ionic (Hesiod *W. D.* 208,  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$  Hom.);  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$  (Hom.) Sim. Amorg. 774, Theog. 1204, Hdt. VII 197, Hippokr. VIII 148, Hrd. 278:  $\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ <sup>2</sup> in  $\epsilon\pi[\epsilon]\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota[v]$  Hrd. in *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 64;  $\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$  (Hom.) Theog. 844, Hdt. IX 42,  $\iota\alpha\sigma\iota$ <sup>3</sup> (Hom.) Hdt. VIII 60, for  $*\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota < * \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$  = Skt. *y-ánti*.  $\iota\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  is  $-\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota$  plus the  $\iota$  of  $\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\iota\tau\epsilon$ .  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$  *eunt*, Hesiod *Scutum* 113, Theog. 716, is too uncertain to be made the basis of conjectures as to the primitive form of the 3 Plur. in Greek (Osthoff. *M. U.* IV 288 ff., Schmidt *K. Z.* XXV 591). 2. *Subj.*  $\iota\omega$  (Hom.) Theog. 912, instead of  $*\epsilon(\iota)\omega$  (cf. Skt. *áyāni*).  $\iota\omega$ , with the  $\iota$  of  $\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ , follows the thematic conjugation;  $\iota\eta\varsigma$  Theog. 566;  $\iota\eta$  Olynthos 8 A 6, B 17, Hdt. II 41, &c., Hippokr. IV 268, poetical  $\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$  (Hom.) Solon 25;  $\iota\omega\sigma\iota$  Samos 221<sub>20</sub>, Hdt. I 67, &c. 3. *Optat.*  $\iota\omicron\iota$  (Hom.) Hdt. II 108, &c. (for old  $*\iota\eta$ :  $*\iota-\iota\eta-\nu$  = Skt. *-iyāmi*);  $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\xi\iota\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$  IV 120. 4. *Imperat.*  $\iota\theta\iota$  (Hom.) Hippon. 152, Hdt. VII 234. 5. *Infinit.*  $\iota\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$  (Hom.) Theog. 352, &c., Hdt. VI 134 &c. 6. *Particip.*  $\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$  (Hom.) Tyr. 11<sub>29</sub>, Theog. 71, &c. Hippon 44<sub>2</sub>, Hrd. 441, 45, Hdt. III 25.  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\iota\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$  Hippokr. IX 340 is a mistake for  $-\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$  (in many MSS.). Cf. Herodas'  $\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ , &c.

## II. Imperfect<sup>4</sup>.

1 **Sing.**  $\eta\acute{\alpha}$  (Attic) Hdt. I 111 ( $\eta\iota\alpha$  A B,  $\eta\acute{\iota}\alpha$  C), IV 82 ( $\eta\iota\alpha$  A B,  $\eta\acute{\iota}\alpha$  C d), I 42 ( $\eta\iota\alpha$  B). In V 62 all MSS. have  $\eta\iota\alpha$ , which is the

<sup>1</sup>  $\eta\phi\epsilon\iota$  contracted to  $\eta$  as  $*\epsilon\pi\acute{\eta}\phi\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon$  to  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon$  Hdt. IX 93 A B C, Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 252.

<sup>2</sup> On  $\epsilon\iota\omega$  for  $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ , see Baunack in Curtius' *Studien* X 97, *R. M.* XXXVII (1882) 472.

<sup>3</sup> An. Ox. I 128<sub>30</sub>, Et. M. 301<sub>24</sub>, Ionic for  $\iota\sigma\iota$  (cf. Hdn. II 828<sub>12</sub> = Choirob. 849<sub>11</sub>). Bruck and Hermann read  $\iota\sigma\iota$  in Theog. 716.

<sup>4</sup> See Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXV 265, *Philol. Anzeiger* XVII 239, Brugmann, *Grundr.* II 2, § 836.



reading in I 42, 111 of the MSS. not mentioned above. The editors read ἦια, the form found δ 427, 433, 572, κ 309<sup>1</sup>. ἦειν Hippokr. IX 350. ἦιον *Syr. dea* 25 (ἦιον *E*, ἦον *A*, ἦον *a*). Cf. ἀνήιον κ 146, 274, 446, a form for which Nauck<sup>2</sup> substitutes ἦια.

**3 Sing.** ἦε (M 371, σ 257, ἦεν σ 253, τ 126, υ 89), though the correct form in Hdt., is but poorly supported: I 111 (ἦιε *A B*, ἦε *C*), VIII 37 (*C*), V 12 (-ἦιε *B*). ἦει (θ 290, K 286, N 247) Archil. 89<sub>3</sub>, though ἦε would suit the verse, Hippokr. V 388, διῆει II 686, 688, 692, 694, 704, III 94, 128, 142, 144, V 164, ὑπῆει V 232, -ἦει Hdt. I 116 (-ἦiei *CP*, -ἦει *z*, -ἦει *AB Rd*), 192 (-ἦiei *CP* according to Stein, -ἦei *reliqui*, -ἦie Holder) and *v. l.* in some other places (I 109, III 90, 91, 96, V 12 (Suidas), 32, VI 46). ἦie (*A* 47 and very often) Hdt. I 119, II 26, V 51, &c. (about 50 times without *v. l.*), ἦien *Syr. dea* 24 (ἦien *E*, ἦεν *A a*, ἦie *reliqui*). The editors of Hdt. adopt ἦie everywhere.

**3 Plur.** ἦσαν (ἐπηῆσαν τ 445, μετῆσαν *Knights* 605) is the correct form in Archil. 81 (Meineke, ἦσαν *vulgo*). In Hdt., though in the MSS. of the latter it occurs (in exactly this form) only in II 163 (in all MSS. except *AB*, which have ἦισαν). ἦσαν is found in all MSS. I 62, III 19, VIII 129. In III 14 all have -ἦσαν except *R* (-ἦεσαν), and in IV 123 ἦσαν is found in *BR*. Elsewhere<sup>3</sup> support for the genuine form may be sought in the reading ἦισαν (or ἦισαν) varying with ἦσαν. We cannot believe with Bredow that the latter reading is due to a confusion with the imperfect of εἶμι (*constructio praeagnans*). ἦσαν also occurs in the MSS. of Attic writers (Thukyd. I 1). ἦεσαν<sup>4</sup> Xenophan. 3<sub>3</sub>, where Bergk adopts ἦισαν with Meineke and Renner; ἐπεξῆεσαν Hippokr. II 226 in many MSS., ἦεσαν IX 340, as Arrian 36<sub>9</sub>, ἐπῆεσαν Arrian 247. Attic ἦεσαν (or ἦισαν) is a *v. l.* in Hdt. (I 80, 158, 191, III 14, 76, IV 201, 203, V 92 (*η*), 108, VII 210, 211, 223, VIII 130, 138, IX 5). ἦισαν (τ 436 and in 7 other passages) Hdt. I 43 (in over 10 passages without *v. l.*), Hippokr. III 212 (*vulgo* εἶσαν, Scaliger εἰσέσαν, Littré and Ermerins ἦισαν). The editors of Hdt. adopt ἦισαν<sup>4</sup> throughout. ἦεσαν *Syr. dea* 28 (cf. cod. *d* Hdt. IV 123, VII 211, 223, 233).

The original inflection (*A*) in the 1 Sing. was ἦα = I. E. *éim*, whose direct descendant would have been \*ἦια. This, after passing into \*ἦα, regained its *i* from that of the plural<sup>5</sup>. ἦ, the 3 Sing., has been lost and in its stead we have ἦε, inflected like a thematic verb. ἦσαν from augment + εἰ + σάν, is the

<sup>1</sup> For ἦειν, by Ionic διάλυσις Eust. 50<sub>29</sub>. Suidas s. v. ἦα calls ἦια Ionic, and s. v. τριτημορίης cites Hdt. VII 121 with ἦie.

<sup>2</sup> *Mél. gréco-rom.* III 255.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I 105, III 28, IV 140, VII 71, 178, VIII 130, 138, IX 5, 56. Here *AB* generally have ἦισαν, *C* (sometimes *P* and *d*) ἦσαν.

<sup>4</sup> Suidas s. v. ἦα, calls ἦεσαν and ἦισαν Ionic.

<sup>5</sup> On the *η* of ἦμεν, see Brugmann, *Grundr.* II 2, § 481, note 1.



most ancient form of the 3 Plur. As old as Homer is (B) a second formation of a pluperfect (or aoristic)<sup>1</sup> character, the mark of which is -εσ-α added to the verbal stem: ἦεα (or perhaps ἦεα &c.) from augment + ε(ι) + ε.σ)α, ἦεε (ἦει), ἦεσαν. Of these forms one only (ἦεε, in ἦει) has been preserved. (C) ἦιον in Hom. 1 Sing. 3 Plur. has passed into the thematic conjugation. ἦια, ἦιε, ἦισαν in Homer, Herodotos and elsewhere<sup>2</sup> are vicious forms. Augment + the verbal stem εἰ cannot become ἦι, because an hiatus is thereby created which is opposed to the laws of the language<sup>3</sup> (ἦια &c. would be conceivable only if the present were εἶμι, a form as impossible as Herodian's ὄϊδα). For the misshapen words ἦια, ἦιε, ἦισαν in the text of Homer we must substitute, when we need trisyllabic forms, ἦεα (or ἦεα &c.) ἦεε (= ἦει N 247), ἦεσαν (and ἦεον for ἦον). For these archaisms<sup>4</sup> were substituted in course of time ἦα, ἦε, ἦσαν, which, to conform to the verse, suffered a 'distraction' that had the advantage of apparently restoring the radical vowel ι (ἦ-μεν &c.). The text of Hdt. with its ἦα, ἦε, ἦσαν was then equated with that of Homer, διαλυσίς being a chief feature of the later, as of the older, dialect according to the grammarians<sup>5</sup>. A similar case of the disturbance of tradition is that of ἐπήισε Hdt. IX 93. Here the genuine reading (in ABC) is ἐπήσε which was lengthened to -ηισε in order to show Ionic diaeresis. Just so Apoll. Rhod. I 1023 &c. introduced diaeresis in ἐπήισα<sup>6</sup>.

ἦει and ἦεσαν, having apparently pluperfect endings, ἦειν and ἦεισαν were constructed to fill out the type.

**704.] φημί.** This verb presents few noteworthy forms. φῆς (Hom.) occurs in Hdt. I 39, where AB have φῆις; Hrd. I<sub>46</sub> φῆ[ς]? Anakr. 41 has φῆ (sic)<sup>7</sup> for φησί (Hdt., Hippokr. e.g. IX 360); subj. φῆσι sic Hrd. 2<sub>44</sub> = φῆ Hippokr. VII 422; φῶσι Hdt. IV 68; φαίεν Hippokr. II 242; φάναι Hdt. I 27, &c., Hippokr. VII 222, φάς (Hom.) Hdt. I 111, &c., Hippokr. IV 78, Zeleia I 13<sub>18</sub>; ἔφασαν Hdt. II 118; φήσω II 49; ἔφησαν Hippokr. IX 358, subj. φήσω VI 36; φάσθαι Xenophan. 6<sub>3</sub>, φάμενος (Hom.) Hdt. II 18, Hippokr. VI 342, ἐφάμην<sup>8</sup> (Hom.) Hdt. VI 69.

### εἰμί.

**705.] Present Indicative.** εἰμί Archil. I<sub>1</sub>, Hippon. 83<sub>2</sub>, Anakr. 15, Theog. 314, &c., Hdt. VI 86 (a), &c. εἶς<sup>9</sup> (Hom.)

<sup>1</sup> The type is represented by ἦδεα < \*ἦφέιδεσα; cf. § 702, note. Hdn. II 794<sub>30</sub> called ἦα perfect, ἦειν pluperfect.

<sup>2</sup> EIE, Gortyna Code II 47, is either ἦε or ἦει, not ἦιε. ἦια is even found in the MSS. Xenophon, *Kyrop.* V 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXIV 304, note.

<sup>4</sup> ἦει was retained because of its (apparently) modern look. Nauck would displace ἦει, which occurs at the verse end, by ἦειν.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eust. 50<sub>29</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> See Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX 252.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Apollon. *Adv.* 133<sub>6</sub> Schn., Hdn. I 43<sub>19</sub>, II 210<sub>8</sub> (Joh. Alex. 21<sub>4</sub>).

<sup>8</sup> ἔφας Ionic: Choirob. 88<sub>25</sub> = An. Ox. IV 378<sub>23</sub>; so too imperat. φάο An. Ox. IV 213<sub>18</sub>, Choirob. 88<sub>26</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> In Hrd. 37<sub>4</sub> the grave accent appears in the papyrus. On this accentuation in Homer, cf. Hdn. II 131<sub>17</sub>, 140<sub>15</sub>, La Roche, *H. T. K.* 241. In Hamer εσσ' can be read everywhere except in ρ 388.

Archil. 107 (MSS. εἶς), Hrd. 1<sub>5</sub>, 3<sub>74</sub>, 7<sub>95</sub>, Hdt. III 71, &c., and perhaps in Anakr. 7 (MSS. ἦς).

Attic εἶ (morphologically an older form than εἶς; cf. φῆ-ς for \*φησι) has been introduced into Theog. 456, Anakr. 57, Hrd. 5<sub>20</sub>, Hdt. III 140, 142 &c., Hippokr. IX 338, Ion 1.

ἔσσι Homeric and Syrakusan, not later Ionic, Theog. 875 (epic reminiscence). ἐστί Archil. 39<sub>1</sub>, Anakr. 92, Theog. 376, &c. εἰμὲν Hdt. VII 9, &c., Hrd. 6<sub>70</sub> (εἰ[μ]έν). Attic ἐσμέν is to be displaced in Archil. 59<sub>2</sub>, Diog. Apoll. 6. ἐστέ Tyrt. 11<sub>1</sub>, Anakr. 84, Hrd. 2<sub>1</sub>. εἰσί (Hom.) Hipponax 29<sub>1</sub>, Hrd. 1<sub>10</sub>, Archil. 34, Theog. 163, Phokyl. 15<sub>1</sub>, Hdt., Hippokr., &c. ἔασι<sup>1</sup> (Hom.) Xenophan. 7<sub>1</sub>, Theog. 623, Hrd. 4<sub>84</sub> (the only example in Hrd., and that in the prayer of the temple custodian), not in Hdt. (c. l. I 125), but often in the pseudo-Ionists (Aretaios at least 12 times, Euseb. Mynd. no. 58).

706.] Subjunctive. ἔω (Hom.) Hdt. IV 98. ἦς Theog. 1208, Hdt. VIII 102, Hippokr. IX 338. ἦ (ἦσι Hom.) Kallin. 1<sub>13</sub>, Xenophan. 1<sub>20</sub> (conj.), 5<sub>4</sub>, Phokyl. 10, Theog. 154 and 10 times elsewhere, Solon 4<sub>30</sub>, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>69</sub>, Sim. Keos (?) 85<sub>10</sub>, Ananios 5<sub>6</sub>, Hrd. 2<sub>7</sub>, 3<sub>45</sub>, 88, 7<sub>92</sub>, Hdt. IV 66, &c., Hippokr. II 14, 368, III 236, 240, 506, IX 480, &c., Aret. 35, 36, 46, 59. Always in the inscriptions: ἦι Halik. 238<sub>37</sub>, εἶ Oropos 18<sub>26</sub>, 34 (εἶ < ἦι < ἔηι, cf. § 239), παρ(ἦ)ι Chios, Paspates 9<sub>11</sub>. ἐη in the subjunctive was contracted in all branches of the later Ionic. The uncontracted form ἔη (Hom.) is found in Theog. 466, 1354, as an epic reminiscence. It has been wrongly introduced into Hippokr., e.g. I 606, IV 80, V 482, VI 62, and Aret. 5, 158 (ἦ same page) and very often elsewhere. ὦμεν Theog. 595, 597, 1243 (ἔωμεν?). ἔωσι (Hom.) Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292, l. 4, Hdt. II 39, IV 66, &c., Demokr. 205, Hippokr. II 18, 20, 58, 66, 74, 142, 156, 232, 266, 730, III 236, V 730, Aret. 37, 74, 106, 158. For ὦσι (Hom.) in Hdt. II 89 read ἔωσι. ὦσι occurs in pseudo-Hippocratic treatises (VII 422, ἔωσι same page).

707.] Optative. εἴην (Hom.) Theog. 653, εἴης (Hom.) Theog. 1177, εἴησθα Theog. 715, εἴη (Hom.) Xenophan. 2<sub>6</sub>, 19, Tyrt. 12<sub>5</sub>, Theog. 349, 979, 1153, &c., Archil. 58<sub>3</sub>, Hdt., &c., but ἐρέοι Hdt. VII 6 (the only case in Hdt.), ἔοι Aret. 169 (cf. Hom. ἔοις, ἔοι), εἶεν (Hom.) Theog. 327, Hdt. I 63, 170, &c. εἴησαν Hdt. I 2, II 6, 102, IV 46, &c., Hippokr. II 16, 88. The -ησαν form becomes more frequent after the time of Hdt. In early Attic poetry it is nowhere metrically certain.

708.] Imperative. On Hekataios' ἔσθι, see § 144, 1; ἴσθι

<sup>1</sup> An. Ox. I 130<sub>10</sub>, 162<sub>3</sub>, Choroib. 860<sub>20</sub> = An. Ox. IV 357<sub>24</sub>.

Theog. 301, Hdt. I 118. *ἦτω* appears in Hippokr. VIII 340 (where *θ*, *C*, *H* have *ἔστω*) and Aretaios 203. It is not Ionic, only late Greek (N. T., &c.). Curtius, *Verbum* I 177, regarded it as contracted from \**ἐάτω*<sup>1</sup>. It is rather a 'springing' analogical form (cf. *ἦτω*, *ἔστω* with *ἦστην* or *ἦτην*, *ἐστόν*). *εα* would not have been contracted in Ionic. *ἔστω* Olynthos 8 B 1, Chios 174 A 15, *ἔστων* Chalkidian 137, Chios 174 A 21, Thasos *J. H. S.* VIII 402, 6, 9. Attic *ἔστωσαν* appears in the MSS. in Hdt. I 147, Hippokr. VII 222.

**709.] Infinitive.** *εἶναι* Eretria, 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1890-1, pp. 195-6, Erythr. 199<sub>5</sub>, 10, Amphip. 10<sub>12</sub> and often, Mimn. 5<sub>3</sub>, Phokyl. 4<sub>1</sub>, Anakr. 73, Solon 27<sub>9</sub>, Theog. 129, 405, 1283, Hdt., &c. *εἶν* in Eretria, 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, p. 77, l. 10, Olynthos 8 A 3, *ἐξείν* Oropos 18<sub>50-31</sub> (*εἶναι* l. 32). For *εἶναι* *πεφυκέναι* in Hesychios, Baunack in his *Studien* I 176 happily suggests that we read *εἶν*. This form is an analogue of *δοῦν*, &c., § 700, 2. On *ἔμμεναι*, see § 700, 3; on *εἶμεν* § 700, 4.

**710.] Participle<sup>2</sup>.** 1. *Inscriptions.* *έών* Arkesine 35 twice (metrical), Paros 58, *έόντος* Oropos 18<sub>12</sub>, 24, Halikarn. 238<sub>28</sub>, *έόντι* Zeleia 114 C 3, *έόν[τα]* Halikarn. 238<sub>35</sub>, *έόντες* Chios 174 B 26, *έόντας* Thasos 718; *έούσης* Mylasa 248 C 5.

Attic *ών* appears in Thasos 724 (after 300 B. C.), *όντι* Mylasa 248 A 6 (367-66 B. C.), *όντας* Halikarn. 240 A 6 (fifth century<sup>3</sup>); *οῦσα* Erythr. 206 C 40 (after 278 B. C.).

2. *Lyric Poets.* *έών* Kallin. 1<sub>21</sub>, Tyrt. 10<sub>30</sub>, 12<sub>32</sub>, Mimn. 3<sub>1</sub>, 7<sub>2</sub>, Solon [13<sub>39</sub>], 27<sub>1</sub>, 18, Theog. 28, 122, 570, 866, &c. *έών* Xenophan. 2<sub>11</sub>, Hrd. 2<sub>33</sub>; *έόντος* Theog. 21; *έόντι* Theog. 1060; *έόντα* Archil. 80, Phokyl. 13, Solon 4<sub>15</sub> (neuter), Theog. 502, 1368, Hrd. 7<sub>109</sub>; *έόντες* Phokyl. 9<sub>2</sub>, *έόντες* Hrd. 2<sub>31</sub>, the only case in Hrd. of the writing *εο* when *εο* is closed (elsewhere *ευ*), *εύντων* Hrd. 2<sub>85</sub>, 6<sub>35</sub> with an unusual *ευ*; *έοῦσα* Archil. 31, Theog. 267, Hrd. 6<sub>32</sub>; *έοῦσαν* Theog. 193.

Forms from the monosyllabic stem: *ών* Theog. 92, 102, 407, 516, 666, 668, 916, 1118, 1380, Hrd. 5<sub>46</sub>, 7<sub>8</sub> (read *έών*)<sup>4</sup>; *όντα* Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>51</sub>, Theog. 98, *όντων* Theog. 515, 517; *οῦσι* Theog. 1133, *εῦσαν* Hrd. 1<sub>6</sub> (?), 5<sub>16</sub>, *οῦσας* Solon 49. Homer has only two cases of the shorter form: *όντας* η 94, *οῦσης* τ 489.

<sup>1</sup> So too Brugmann in Curtius' *Studien* IX 310 (1876).

<sup>2</sup> Greg. Kor. § 17, Tzetz. Ex. II. 115<sub>15</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger (no. 6) places this document only slightly later than the Lygdamis inscription (Bechtel 238) which is earlier than 454 B. C. Other scholars do not regard no. 240 as so old. In any case this instance of *όντας* is the earliest in the inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> *ών* in Hrd. VI is now shown to be wrong (cf. 1<sub>15</sub>).



3. *Prose.* ἔών, ἐόντος, ἐούσα &c., are the proper<sup>1</sup> forms in Hdt. (cf. Lukian *de Domo* 20), Herakl. 2, 7, 62, 92, Anaxag. 1, 4, 6, &c., Melissos, 1, 2, &c., Diog. Apoll. 2, 6, Demokr. 20<sub>7</sub>, 12, 21, 31, 214, Hekat. 362, Ion 1, Hippokr. II 68, 78, 238, 256, 334, 626, 690, 698, III 36, 50, 72, 190, 222, Menekrates (Dion. Halik. I 77). In the pseudo-Ionists we find the same forms: Lukian 33 times, Arrian 13, Abydenos 2, Eusebios once, Euseb. Mynd. 17, *Vita Hom.* 18, Aret. very often. Attic ὦν in Lukian 7 times, Arrian 11, Euseb. Mynd. 2, *Vita Hom.* 2.

711.] **Imperfect.** 1. ἔα<sup>2</sup> (Hom.) Hdt. II 19 is derived from Hom. ἦα (= I. E. *ēs*<sub>η</sub>) by shortening of the latter's η, not by *metathesis quantitatis*, though in Hom. the α of ἔα appears to be long (Δ 31, E 887, ξ 222<sup>3</sup>, 352). Contracted from ἔα is Attic ἦ which appears in Hrd. 5<sub>14</sub>, where we may read ἔα, perhaps the original reading in the intention of the copyist. 2. ἔας Hdt. I 187 and ἔατε are later forms constructed from ἔα. Cf. ἔχεας, ἐχέατε. ἦς Anakr. 7 (εἰς?). ἦσθα (Hom.) Theog. 1314 is a perfect form. 3. ἦν Theog. 700, 788, 900, Archil. 32<sub>2</sub>, 115, 126, 139, Sim. Amorg. 16<sub>2</sub>, Hippon. 38, 51<sub>4</sub>, Hdt., &c. ἔην<sup>4</sup> in an epigram of the fifth century, Chios 175<sub>1</sub>, is a poetical (Homeric) form which was adopted in the late Ionic, *e.g.* Lukian *Syr. dea* 18, Aret. 43; it is out of place in Hdt., though found in all MSS. VII 143. Hom. ἦεν is also foreign to New Ionic. ἔσκε<sup>5</sup> (Hom.) Mimn. 14<sub>10</sub>, Hdt. 4. ἦμεν Hippokr. IX 340, 350. 5. ἔατε Hdt. IV 119, V 92 (α). 6. ἦσαν (Hom.) Xenophan. 3<sub>2</sub>, 7<sub>3</sub>, Anakr. 85, Hdt. (Hom. ἔσαν often in Aldus). ἔσκειν Hdt.

712.] **Future.** ἔσομαι Theog. 872, 878; ἔσση (cf. Hom. ἔσσειαι) Theog. 239, 252, ἔσειαι<sup>6</sup> (Hom.) 884, Hdt. II 5, 78, &c., Lukian *V. A.* 4, 5, Euseb. Mynd. 63; ἔση (Hom.) Theog. 1106, 1242; ἔσται (Hom.) Kumai, Roberts I 173, Hdt. III 134, Theog. 659, 1048, Solon 13<sub>38</sub>; ἔσσεται (Hom.) Kallin. 1<sub>8</sub>, Tyrt. 10<sub>7</sub>, Theog. 801, 1280, Archil. eleg. 3<sub>3</sub>, Hrd. 2<sub>101</sub>, *Syr. dea* 20; ἔσεται 19, 25; ἔσσόμεθα Theog. 1246; ἔσονται Hdt. III 134, Theog. (Mimn.) 877; ἔσοιτο Hdt. VII 226; ἔσεσθαι VII 219, Hippokr. II 42, Theog. 1077; ἔσσομένοισιν (Hom.) Theog. 251.

713.] κείμαι.

1. **Present (Perfect) Indicative.** From the analogy of Sanskrit

<sup>1</sup> Attic forms occur as *v. l.* in Hdt. I 20 &c., Hippokr. III 88, VII 450 (next line ἐοῦσιν). ὄντων is cited from Protagoras.

<sup>2</sup> Hdn. II 53<sub>35</sub> (Schol. Ven. A on E 887), 326<sub>30</sub>, cf. Choirob. 60<sub>13</sub> and 564<sub>19</sub>, 602<sub>23</sub>, 866<sub>25</sub>; Eust. 618<sub>13</sub>, 1759<sub>10</sub> ff. (Herakleides), 1761<sub>31</sub> and 477<sub>1</sub>, 883<sub>18</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> See Monro, *H. G.* § 12.

<sup>4</sup> Of obscure origin: generally compared with *eram*. Brugmann, *Gram.* p. 164, derives it from ἐσησ-.

<sup>5</sup> An. Ox. I 159<sub>29</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> Et. M. 381<sub>21</sub>.

we expect in Greek two types of inflection: (1) κείται = *çêltê*, with a surprising retention of the strong stem, (2) κέεται < κε(ι)εται = *çáyatê*. Whether Hom. κέονται (= Vedic *çáyantê*) and the New Ionic forms with *εε* are a direct inheritance representing the second type of inflection, or whether they are innovations within Greek itself, cannot be determined beyond doubt. The fact that Homer rejects κέεται<sup>1</sup> and κέεσθαι makes for the view that these two forms at least are late analogues of κέονται. κέονται itself is suspicious for the additional reason that it occurs only at the verse end<sup>2</sup>; but it will have to stand. Cf. *ἔοι, ἔων* with thematic vowel. Nauck's κέενται occurs in Aretaios 141, but it is there a *vox nihili*, made from κείνται to match κέεται and show Ionic *διάλυσις*. After its appearance in Homer, κέονται does not occur again until Hippokrates.

1 Singular: κείμαι Hdt. IV 11.

2 Singular: κείσαι (Hom.) Hrd. 4<sub>17</sub>, 5<sub>3</sub>. πρόκειαι epist. Thales is an error for -κειαι or -κεισαι. In the Hymn to Hermes 254 all MSS. have κατάκειαι, which Gemoll emends to -κεισαι.

3 Singular: κείται (Hom.) Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>4</sub> (cf. Sim. Keos(?) 85<sub>11</sub>), Hrd. 7<sub>12</sub>, and without a variant in the following chapters of Hdt.:—I 9, 50, 51, II 123, IV 18, 22, 99, VII 198, 200, 216, VIII 60. In II 149, 155, III 57, VII 11 κείται is supported by *ABR*, in VIII 135 by *ABCD*, in IV 45, 59, VIII 138 by *AB*, in IV 62 by *R*, &c. In Hippokr. III 190, V 674 Littré and Ermerins adopt κείται. In the letters IX 322, 338, 416, 418, 422, 424 κείται may be Attic.

κέεται occurs in the MSS. of Hdt. over 30 times without a variant, *e.g.* I 14, 118, 142, 178, 181 *bis*, 183, II 17, 34, 38, 83 *bis*. Littré adopts it in Hippokr. II 12, 14, 54, 70, 90, &c. But in II 14, 54, 70 (L.) Ermerins reads κείται. κέεται occurs in Lukian *Syr. dea* 39 (*v.l.* κέαται), Arrian 31<sub>1</sub>, Aret. 3, 15, 60, 251, 282.

κέαται in the 3 Sing. is a mistaken form, found in the MSS. of Hdt. (I 183, II 83, III 31, IV 62, 64)<sup>3</sup>, and frequent in Lukian: *Syr. dea* 6, 8, 27, 30; in 28, 29, 35, and 45 there is found the *v.l.* κέεται. In 10, 28, 51 a neuter plural is the subject.

3 Plural: κείνται, the original and Attic form, does not appear in Ionic until Hippokrates, where in II 24 codex *E* and the vulgate adopt it (Littré κέονται). Cf. VII 442, IX 406 epist. (*v.l.* κέονται). It also occurs in Hrd. 320, 460.

<sup>1</sup> The indicative κείται never has its penult in the thesis. The only possible occurrence of *εε* in Homer is where, for κῆται or κείται of the MSS., κέεται may be read. This is however the subjunctive; see below. κέσκετο is not from κέεσκετο according to Schmidt, *K. Z.* XXVI 381.

<sup>2</sup> X 510, λ 341, π 232.

<sup>3</sup> κέεται is even written for κέαται (plural) in *R* in Hdt. VIII 27; and in Hippokr. II 22 one MS. has κείται for the plural.

κέαται = κε(ι) + αται for -νται (§ 612) appears in Homer, Archil. 69, Hdt. I 14, 105, 133, VI 58, VIII 27, Lukian *Astrol.* 3, Aretaios 295 (276?), Euseb. Mynd. 63.

κέλαται (Hom.) is found in Mimn. 11<sub>6</sub>. It is a later form than κέαται, its ι having been reinstated from the analogy of εῖται, κείμεθα, κείσθε.

κέονται (Hom.) Hippokr. II 18, 22 *bis*, 24, 48, Aretaios 51, 31. Ermerins reads κέαται, not κέονται, in Hippokrates.

False forms are κέανται *v. l.* Hdt. I 133, a supposed plural to έαται (cf. § 585), and κέενται Aretaios 141 (see above).

2. **Subjunctive.** κήται<sup>1</sup> occurs in Hippokr. VII 40, 206, but εῖται in IX 40, 50 as in T 32, Ω 554, β 102, τ 147, ω 137, and according to Hermann in ε 395. Here κήται is usually read since the time of Wolf, except by Ludwig who adopts κεῖται. κήται has the support of Ven. A in the passages from the Iliad, but is not well attested in those from the Odyssey. Curtius regarded κεῖται as contracted from κέεται (*Studien* VII 100, *Verbum* II 85; cf. Hartel, *Hom. Stud.* III 11). It is better to explain it as representing an older κέεται. κέετ' would seem to be required in Ω 554, where the verse begins with κεῖται ἐνί. Its position here is however due to a late shifting of the word from the place in the verse where it might stand with propriety.

κέωνται<sup>2</sup> Hippokr. III 438, Aretaios 19, 147. In 220 Aretaios has κήνται (*G V*, κήται *H*).

3. **Optative.** κέοιτο<sup>3</sup> Hdt. I 67, Hippokr. IV 122.

4. **Imperative.** κείσθω Hdt. II 171 *bis*.

5. **Infinitive.** κείσθαι (Hom.) Hdt. II 127, IV 22, VI 57, X 105 in all MSS., and to be adopted in II 2 (so *R d*), III 34 (?), IV 11, 195 (*A B R*) where κέεσθαι is found in some MSS. This holds even in III 22, where no MS. has κείσθαι. Littré accepts κείσθαι in Hippokr. III 438, V 694 *bis*, but κέεσθαι I 24, 118 (*vulgo* κείσθαι). Aretaios certainly has κέεσθαι 9, 49, 14, 236, 285.

6. **Participle.** κείμενος in Hdt., Hippokr., &c., Aretaios 237, 17, 318 has κέόμενος but κείμενος 53.

7. **Imperfect (Pluperfect).** ἔκειτο (Hom.) is found nearly 20 times in Hdt. without any variant, *e.g.* I 119, 123, VII 158, III 41, IX 40. ἐκέετο is generally not well supported: I 51 in 11 MSS. except *A c*), 196 (*C*), III 12 (all except *R* which has εται), VI 61 (-εκέατο *A B C d*), VII 36 (*R*). Hippokrates has

<sup>1</sup> The open vowels do not here violate the laws of contraction. When a non-thematic verb passes into the Ω conjugation, contraction need not ensue.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. παρακείμεθα· ἐγκείμενοι ὤμεν in Hesychios.

<sup>3</sup> προσκείτο· προκείμενος εἶη, Hesychios.



ἔκειτο often, *e.g.* II 644, 650, 666, 694, 698, 704, 712, 716 III 32, 46, 56, 58, 62, 102, 112, 122, 124, 142; Aret. 184 Arrian 28<sub>3</sub>.

ἐκέατο (Hom.) Hdt. I 167, III 83, VI 49, VII 229, VIII 25 84, IX 22, 57 without variation. In Lukian's *Syr. dea* 20, 45 this form is used in the singular. Cf. *v.l.* Hdt. VI 61.

ἔκειντο (Hom.) Hippokr. II 660.

8. **Future.** (κείσεαι Hom.) κείσεται is to be read in Hippokr. III 438 where Littré has κέσσηται.

Great inconsistency exists in the recent editions of Hdt. in respect of the inflection of κείμαι.

κέεται only, S (Stein), K (Kallenberg), and B (Bredow); κέεται and κείτ H (Holder), A (Abicht); ἐκέετο only, A B; ἔκειτο only, K; ἐκέετο and ἔκειτ S H; κέισθω B S H K, κέεσθω A; κείσθαι only, B; κείσθαι and κέεσθαι S H A I Dindorf admits no variation from κέε-.

The only objection to the adoption throughout of κεί- which we favour, is the preponderance of κέεται over κείται. It looks as if the open forms were due to the grammarians<sup>1</sup> who, misled by κέονται and the open subjunctive and optative forms, regarded κεί- as contracted from κέε-<sup>2</sup>.

#### 714.] ἦμαι.

1. **Present Indicative.** κάθημαι Archil. 87<sub>3</sub>, Theog. 128 κάτῃσαι Hdt. III 134 (καθ- *A B d*), ἦσται (Hom.) Hdt. IX 5 κάθηται Hrd. 341, ἔσται (Hom.) Hrd. 747 (?), κατέσται Hdt. I 19 II 86, IV 66, 196. εἶσται K 100 (where ἦσται<sup>3</sup> is correct) has forced an entrance into Lukian's *Syr. dea* 31.

κάθημαι is from \*κάθησ-μαι, κάτῃσαι from \*κάτῃσ-σαι; but κάθηται follows the analogy of κάθημαι. We should expect κάθησται. ἔσται represents ἦσται ἦσ-νται, Skt. *āsate*; § 612, 1.

2. **Imperative.** κάθησο (Hom.) Hrd. 61, Hippokr. IX 354.

3. **Participle.** κατήμενος Hdt. VIII 73, καθ- Eusebios §§ 8,

4. **Imperfect.** καθῆστο in all MSS., Hdt. I 46, III 83 where κατ- is now generally adopted<sup>4</sup>. So too καθῆστο Hippokr. IX 35 Hdt. does not use the later form καθῆτο. In the plural (see § 616, we find -εατο in κατέατο III 144, VIII 73, IX 90, περικατέα

<sup>1</sup> Apollonios Dyskolos *Adv.* (Bekk. Anecd. II 553<sub>25</sub>) cites κέω; but it is a figment.

<sup>2</sup> κέεσθαι has even been introduced into the text of Archimedes (II 142, 1 cf. 168, 12) and of the pseudo-Pythagoreans.

<sup>3</sup> Reported as Ionic: Gram. Vat. 694, Eust. 189<sub>546</sub> (from Herakleides).

<sup>4</sup> On the uncertainty in reference to the breathing in such compounds see §§ 406, 407. Homer has καθῆστο A 569, κατήμενος Ξ 5. The unoriginal asper is due to association with ἔσσειν, ἴζειν, ἴσσειν which complement the inflection.

VI 23, VIII 111, though the MSS. often have the augmented forms (all MSS. in III 144, VI 23, VIII 73) and  $\theta$  for  $\tau$ . Homer has  $\epsilon\alpha\tau\omicron$  H 414, and Eusebios § 8  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha\tau\omicron$  according to Müller. Epic  $\eta\nu\tau\omicron$  (footnote 2, p. 513) and Attic  $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\nu\tau\omicron$  do not appear in Hdt.

### *Prepositions.*

715.]  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ . The form with apocope appears in  $\acute{\alpha}\mu$   $\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  Mimn. 14<sub>4</sub> and in  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\alpha\nu\sigma\iota\varsigma$  12<sub>2</sub>. Homer uses neither  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  nor  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , but Hdt. (§ 322) has the latter as well as other words with  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ -. Solon has  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\varsigma$  ('Ath. πολ. 12, 5), Herodas  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\eta\theta\iota$  8<sub>1, 14</sub> but  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha$  6<sub>2</sub>,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$  14<sub>3</sub>. Forms showing the disappearance of  $\nu$  before  $\sigma$  occur as  $\nu$ .  $\acute{\iota}$ . in K 32, 176 (cf. B 398, 594) and in the dialects of Attika, Boiotia and Argos.  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$  (cf. § 367) is found once in Arrian (21<sub>3</sub>), who usually employs the form without apocope (29<sub>9</sub>, 30<sub>8</sub>, 37<sub>5</sub>).  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$  is frequent in late literature (Dio Cass., Longinos), and, in fact, is more common than  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup>. Even in the dialogue parts of tragedy we meet with apocope, which occurs in Xenophon alone of the classic Attic prose writers ( $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , &c.).

$\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$  of space, Hdt. II 138, Hrd. 11<sub>4</sub>, Chios 174 A 3-4, of time Solon 13<sub>35</sub>, Hrd. 7<sub>41</sub>. From the prepositional use has been developed the use as a conjunction (Hdt., Hippokr., Hrd. 33, 88). In all the above passages Hrd. has  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$  (cf. § 366).  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$   $\omicron\upsilon$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$  as a conjunction appears neither on Attic nor Ionic inscriptions.  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota$  is preferred to  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota$  in the inscriptions and in Herodotos.

$\delta\iota\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ , Archil. 5 (one MS.  $\delta\iota\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ ), 164 before a consonant; cf.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\xi$ .

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  takes the form  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\gamma$  in  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\gamma$   $\text{Μακεδονίης}$  Olynthos 8 B 9, the stone-cutter having first engraved  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ , and then bethought himself of the pronunciation. Cf.  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\gamma$   $\text{Μαγνησίας}$  Smyrna, Dittenb. *Syll.* 171<sub>106, 103</sub>,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\gamma$   $\text{Ναυπάκτου}$  Delphi, *ibid.* 189<sub>8</sub>,  $\kappa\gamma\delta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  Lampsakos, 200<sub>12</sub> (but  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\delta\eta\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  l. 15). On  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ - for  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - see § 351, 1, on  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ - for  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - see § 411.  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  =  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\text{Σαλ-}$ , Priene 141<sub>1</sub>, an inscription in Ionic orthography, not in Ionic dialect.  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$  is not used when  $\sigma$  follows.

$\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$  occurs first in Pindar, *Isthm.* VIII (VII) 35, and in fact is a conjunction ( $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$   $\pi\epsilon\pi\rho\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$   $\eta\nu$ ), where we do not hesitate to accept Donaldson's  $\omicron\upsilon\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ . No passage before the Alexandrian period which contains the conjunction in any of its various forms

<sup>1</sup> See Lobeck's *Phrynichus*, p. 340.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$  ( $\pi\alpha\rho$ -,  $\kappa\alpha\tau$ -) are Ionic: Bekk. n. 719<sub>3</sub>.

is free from error. See below. As a preposition, *ἐῖνεκεν* occurs nearly 30 times in Herodotos without a variant. In about 40 passages it varies with *ἐῖνεκα*, the advantage being on the side of the form in *-εν*<sup>1</sup>. Bredow contended that *ἐῖνεκεν* alone was correct in Hdt., and Dindorf and Abicht adopt it throughout. Hippokrates uses it in II 270 (*ἐῖνεκεν D S<sup>1</sup> K R<sup>1</sup>*), 290 (*A S<sup>1</sup> K ἐῖνεκα Flor.*, *ἐῖνεκεν vulgo*) according to Littré. There are also traces of its presence in IX 404 (epist.). Aretaios adopts it in 94, 102, 178, 333, 344; so too Archimedes II 294, 6 according to the MSS.

*ἐῖνεκεν* is found on very late metrical inscriptions from Attika: 'Αθην. VII 531, Kaibel, *Epigram.*, 1528 eleg., 953 trim. Epigrams in iambs of the imperial period do not hesitate to introduce a form that belongs properly to the elegiac epigram. In Demosth. 45, 11 it is not to be adopted. Attic prose inscriptions have no trace of its occurrence till a very late date: C. I. A. II 697, 9, 1218, 5. *ἐῖνεκεν* was elsewhere used in very late prose inscriptions (Siphnos, C. I. G. 2423 b, 3, Thespiai *l. l.* 1630, 2, Lakonia 1445, 6, Kephallenia 1929, 7; and in Keil's *Anall.* p. 96 ff., l. 8). In all these cases it owes its presence to the influence of Ionic upon the *Κοινή*.

*ἐῖνεκε* is probably a mistaken form in Aret. 201, *v. l.* Hd VII 133 (so Aldus I 73, 80), though it is paralleled by *ἐνεκε*.

*ἐῖνεκα*<sup>2</sup> is employed by Homer, Hesiod, Theog. 46, 730, 1200, Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>118</sub> (*ἐῖνεκ'*), Anakr. 45<sub>1</sub>, [Sim. Keos] 184<sub>1</sub>. It is found in Herodotos about 80 times without any variant. Steinhart confesses his inability to decide whether *ἐῖνεκα* or *ἐῖνεκεν* is more in harmony with the genius of the dialect, and gives a place to both forms; a procedure adopted by Kallenberg and Holde. *ἐῖνεκα* is found in Demokr. 184 and in *A* in Hippokrates II 24 (Littré *ἐνεκεν*; some MSS. *ἐνεκα*). In Hippokr. epist. 17 Ermerins adopts *ἐῖνεκα*, Hercher *ἐῖνεκεν* (the word is omitted by Littré IX 358). In IX 328, 356 Littré adopts *ἐῖνεκα* despite variants, and this form is read by Kühn in Aret. 288. Lukian *Syr. dea* has 9 cases of *ἐῖνεκα* in all MSS., Arrian only one (339) and Euseb. Mynd. one (frag. 24).

Aischylos has *ἐῖνεκα* in *Prometh.* 395, *Suppl.* 188, but 4 cases of *οὔνεκα* in 1. Sophokles has not a single case of *ἐῖνεκα*, 25 of *οὔνεκα* in *L*; in Euripides *ἐῖνεκα* rests on the evidence of inferior MSS.; Aristophanes and the other comic dramatists have 12 cases of *ἐῖνεκα* to 30 of *οὔνεκα* (apart from 11 cases of fluctuation). Undoubtedly *ἐῖνεκα* has usurped the place of *οὔνεκα* in tragedy. In Attic metrical inscriptions *ἐῖνεκα* may be followed from 450 B. C. to the empire. In Attic prose *οὔνεκα* prevails except in Demosthenes, but there are sporadic occurrences of *ἐῖνεκα* in Thukydides, Xenophon, Antiphon, Plat. Isaaios, &c. When Demosthenes desires to avoid the tribrach form he prefers

<sup>1</sup> On the terminations *-εν*, *-ε*, *-α*, see under *ἐπειτε*, § 716.

<sup>2</sup> On this form in its relation to *οὔνεκα*, see Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVI 109 ff.



*ενεκα* (at least 20 times in  $\Sigma$ ) to *ονεκα*. *ενεκα* does not make its appearance in an Attic prose inscription till 30 B. C.—68 A. D. (C. I. A. III 785, 3, where *νεκα* is written), nor on a Lakonian inscription till the period of the empire (C. I. G. 1446, 17). In Attic prose the presence of the non-Attic form, if correct at all, can be explained only as an indirect reflection, through tragedy, of the epic. In the language of the *Κοινή* it is borrowed from the Ionic dialect represented by the prose writers of the fifth century.

*ενεκεν* appears in Homer (twice only: ρ 288, 310), and in Pindar except *Isthm.* VIII (VII) 35, *Ol.* II 5). On an inscription from Erythrai (204<sub>3</sub>), slightly older than the oldest Attic epigraphical document containing the form (see the note), we find *νεκεν*. This form reappears in Thasos 72<sub>6</sub> (300–250 B. C.) and in Priene 141<sub>6</sub> (metrical), an inscription in Ionic orthography, not in Ionic dialect. Neither of the two inscriptions in dialect is free from Atticisms; and the initial *ε* for *ει* makes for the conclusion that *ενεκεν* is one of these Atticisms. It is immaterial whether a vowel or consonant follows the form. It is also an occasional *v. l.* in Hdt. (I 80), and was adopted by Littré in Hippokr. II 248, IX 320, 360 (both letters).

The oldest occurrence of *ενεκεν* in Attic inscriptions is C. I. A. II 987 A 2 *ενεκα* l. 5) dating after 350 B. C. The next oldest is Dittenb. *Syll.* 427<sub>37</sub> (302 B. C.). Both documents deal with the religious affairs of the *θιασῶται*. In the third century *ενεκεν* first appears in state decrees and in the following century is three times as frequent as *ενεκα*. It is not in good odour in Attic prose, but as it occurs on fourth century inscriptions, we see no reason to reject it. Aristophanes uses *ενεκα* often, and Euripides in anapaests and lyric measures. *ενεκεν* (and *ενεκα*) appears on late Doric inscriptions: Astypalaia, C. I. G. 2488<sub>5</sub>, Kalymna 2671<sub>10</sub>, Kalaurea, C. D. I. 3379<sub>4</sub>.

*ενεκε* is known from a Samian inscription in Dittenb. *Syll.* 132<sub>15</sub> (from about 302 B. C.) whence it may be read in *Mitth.* IX 196 l. 7 (322 B. C.) though only the final letter is to be seen on the stone. It also appears in Kyzikos (C. I. G. 3655<sub>18</sub>, second or third century B. C.) and in a Spartan document (*l. l.* 1347<sub>6-7</sub> whence it is conjectured in 1404). None of the inscriptions from Ionia contain any trace of Ionism. Only late literature admits the presence of *ενεκε*.

*ενεκα* is used by Homer<sup>1</sup>, Theog. 518, [Sim. Keos] 186. In Ionic prose it is to be regarded as an Attic intruder: Hippokr. II 248—see under *ενεκα*—, epist. IX 428 (*ενεκα C*), epist. Herakl. in Diogenes' Life § 14, Lukian *Astrol.* 27, Arrian 15<sub>5</sub>, 23<sub>4</sub> (Eberhard *ει*-), Euseb. Mynd. 5 times.

<sup>1</sup> Because his theory of the Homeric dialect will not permit the coexistence of *ενεκα* and *ενεκα* from *ενε*-, Schulze in his *Quaest. Hom.* pp. 135, 494 conjectures *νεκα* in place of *ενεκα* (about 30 times in Homer). *ενεκα* is simply not Ionic.

In connection with the above we may here mention *οὐνεκεν* and *οὐνεκα*, both preposition and conjunction. As a preposition *οὐνεκα* took its rise from such combinations as *ἐκείνουνεκα*, *ἐμοῦνεκα*, i. e. *ἐκείνου* + *ἐνεκα*, &c., and in contradistinction to *ἐνεκα* is postpositive. The forms in Ionic are derived from the contraction of *-ου* + *ει* (spurious). The conjunction *οὐνεκα* is formed from *οὐ* + *ἐνεκα*, as *τοῦνεκα* from *τοῦ* (= *τούτου*) + *ἐνεκα*. As *οὐνεκα* as a preposition usurped the function of *ἐνεκα*, &c., so *οὐνεκεν* and *ἐνεκα* finally usurped that of *οὐνεκα* the conjunction in Kallimachos frag. 287 and 471. Cf. *μέχρι* as preposition and conjunction. *οὐνεκεν* (1) prep.<sup>2</sup> Hrd. 1<sub>84</sub>, Demosth. 289 (322 epigram l. 5, and even in prose: *Phaidros* 259 D according to three MSS. followed by Bekker where the Bodleian, according to Thompson, has *οὐν ἐνεκεν*. (2) conj. Pindar, Hrd. 2<sub>21</sub>, 6<sub>15</sub> Aret. 102. Cf. *ὁτοῦνεκεν* Hrd. 7<sub>103</sub> with Attic *ου* for *ευ* (cf. 4<sub>40</sub>) *Prometh.* 330 *ὁθοῦνεκα*. *τοῦνεκεν* Xenophan. 2<sub>19</sub>, Sim. Keos 5<sub>15</sub> *οὐνεκα* (1) as a prep. occurs in the drama (see under *ἐνεκα* and Attic prose. On poetical inscriptions we find it in C. I. A. IV *b*, 422, no. 4 (perhaps before 600 B. C.), IV *b*, 491, 8 (fifth century). Wilamowitz (*Herakl.* II 83), alluding to the fact that the last named inscription has reference to an hetaera regards *οὐνεκα* as plebeian. It is used by Solon (37<sub>5</sub>, trim.), and in Kaibel 241 *a*, 12, 821<sub>6</sub>, 869<sub>1</sub>, 888 *a*, 6 (Roman). (2) conj. Homer, Pindar, tragedy, Theog. 854, 1349, Hippokr. As a conjunction *οὐνεκα* is very rare in ordinary Attic. *τοῦνεκα* Theog. 488, Lukian *Syr. dea* 33, 39, 54; cf. *ὁτεῦνεκ'* Hrd. 5<sub>20</sub>, 6<sub>22</sub>, 74 which is probably for *-νεκα*, not *-νεκε*.

ἐς, εἰς<sup>3</sup>. The question arises whether only one of these forms is Ionic, or whether both are the property of the dialect.

1. *Inscriptions*: On the inscriptions from the Kyklades and the Asiatic mainland and neighbouring islands we find ΕΣ invariably before 400 B. C. A (metrical). Samos 215<sub>2</sub>, a certain example of ἐς. B (Prose). Naxos 26, Keos 43<sub>14</sub>, Prokonnesos 103<sub>8</sub>, Ephesos 145<sub>6</sub>, Teos 156 A 6, 7, 10, Chios 174 A 2, 4, 8 (ἔσω) B 3, 8, Halikarn. 238<sub>40</sub>. In those later inscriptions in which Ε represents the spurious diphthong *ει*, ΕΣ may be transcribed ἐς Olynthos 8 A 6 (389–383 B. C.), Amphipolis 101<sub>7</sub> (ἐστήλην 357 B. C.), Erythrai 202<sub>18</sub> (ἐστήλην; about 350 B. C.), 202<sub>19</sub>, 203<sub>2</sub>, 9 (about 350 B. C.), 204<sub>31</sub> (ἐστήλην; not much earlier than

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Apoll. Dysk. 239<sub>4</sub> Schn. and Kallimachos I 187, Schneider. In the ancient grammarians there is scarcely a trace of the preposition *οὐνεκα*.

<sup>2</sup> L. & S. are in error when they deny the existence of *οὐνεκεν* as a preposition.

<sup>3</sup> ἐς is Ionic, Attic, and Doric, according to Greg. Kor. § 13, but εἰσω is Ionic according to Joh. Gram. 241.



345 B.C.<sup>1</sup>), Mylasa 248 B 5 (361 B.C.), Teos, *Mittl.* XVI 292<sub>8, 12, 16</sub>, but [ε]ιστρ[ε]φ[ε]ιν, l. 9 (perhaps before 350 B.C., but referred to the early Hellenistic period by its editor). The other example of EI=spurious ει in this document is EΙvai, a word which was so written at an early date (§ 224, 10). Less certain is the transcription of ΕΣ in Keos 47<sub>10</sub> (about 400 B.C.), because of φερΕν and the Attic ἐνοικοῦντα and Ποιασίων. While the document has μΗ=μή, the fact that it still preserves two cases of E=pan-Hellenic η (§ 166), may justify the form ἐς<sup>2</sup>. Another doubtful transcription is the ΕΣ of Zeleia 113<sub>25, 34, 36, 38</sub> (after 334 B.C.), because the adulterine ει is represented by E as well as EI. We find εἰς (EΙΣ) in Thasos, *J. H. S.* VIII 401, 16 (an inscription referring to the oligarchy of 411 B.C.), Iasos Bechtel 105<sub>10</sub> (about the end of the fourth century), Oropos 18<sub>2, 13, 20, 23</sub> (411-402 or 387-377 B.C.), Erythrai 201<sub>2, 5, 12, 17, 21, 23, 24</sub> (400-350 B.C.), Samos 221<sub>17, 19, 31, 36</sub> (after 322 B.C.), Priene 144<sub>3</sub> (εἰς στήλην), <sub>5</sub> (about 350 B.C.), Ephesos 147<sub>4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 16</sub> (about 300 B.C.), Teos 158<sub>9, 10, 23</sub> (very late), Chios, in Paspates' *Chian Glossary*, 9<sub>4, 8, 12</sub>.

From the foregoing it appears that ΕΣ disappears after 350 B.C., and that EΙΣ, which is occasionally found before that date<sup>3</sup>, supplants the spelling with E. The transcription of ΕΣ in the oldest inscriptions by ἐς is supported by the ἦ's of Chios 174 A 2 (cf. μῆ' ἰάσσονες Chios 174 B 24), though ἦ's in *Frogs* 86 should warn against attaching undue importance to cases of aphaeresis. Aristophanes usually has εἰς. No difference in the treatment of the two forms is noticeable in respect of their occurrence before vowels or consonants.

As regards the date of the occurrence of EΙΣ in the inscriptions, we may observe that the earliest cases do not occur on the Ionic mainland. The two instances of EΙΣ that deserve notice are those in Oropos and Thasos. In all the others Attic influence cannot be gainsaid. Since the Oropian document has EI throughout, it is more probable that the later (387-377 B.C.), and not the earlier date (411-402 B.C.), is correct. The same inscription contains several spellings that recall those that came into vogue in Attika

<sup>1</sup> ΕΣ in an Aiolic inscription, C. D. I. 215<sub>54</sub> (about 150 B.C.), in honour of Erythrai, may possibly be Ionic, because of the Aiolic EΙΣ in lines 15, 21, 48. But ἐς occurs in Aiolic Pordoselena as early as 319-317 B.C., where it is probably Hellenistic. It should be noted that εἰς in Aiolic has a genuine, Ionic-Attic εἰς a spurious, diphthong.

<sup>2</sup> In the contemporary inscription from Oropos (no. 18) we have EΙΣ.

<sup>3</sup> The Thasian EΙΣ is the only certain case of this writing before 400 B.C. either in Ionic or Attic. Though this spelling is unusually early, it must not be forgotten that we find EΙNAI in Bechtel 71<sub>5, 6</sub>, an inscription which cannot be placed much later than the fourth century, because of ΟΦΕΙΛΕΝ, and that in the Thasian inscription containing εἰς, the hybrid ει is everywhere represented by EI; cf. also (δ)ήμΟΥ l. 21, ΚλεοδήμΟΥ 23.



about 380 B.C. The Thasian decree is noteworthy because of ΕΙΩΣ = *ēws*, l. 12, and other fourth century spellings. The glide *iota* (§ 220) does not appear on any Attic<sup>1</sup> or Ionic inscription before 400 B.C.

The construction *θεῖναι ἐς* (*iepón*) occurs in Zeleia 113<sup>36</sup>, Erythrai 202<sub>19</sub>, 203<sub>9</sub>. *παπανομέω ἐς* occurs in Hdt. VII 238, Mylasa 248 B 5.

2. *Lyric Poetry*: **A.** *ἐς* in the thesis before vowels occurs as follows. (1) Iambographs: Hrd. 3<sub>95</sub>, Phoinix 2<sub>22</sub>, Aischrion 1<sub>6</sub>, (2) elegists: Archil. 5, 9<sub>7</sub>, Mimnerm. 5<sub>2</sub>, 12<sub>9</sub>, Tyr. 11<sub>37</sub>, Simon Keos 174<sub>1</sub>, Solon 27<sub>12</sub> (Clemens), Theog. 58, 127, 386, 426, 630, 780, 858, 863, &c. (sixteen times in all); (3) melic: Anakr. 20<sub>2</sub>, 25<sub>1</sub>, 34, 43<sub>5</sub>, Simon. Keos 58<sub>4</sub>. **B.** Before consonants, when the metre permits either form, we find *ἐς* as follows. (1) Iambographs: Archil. 52 (tetram.), Simon Amorg. 7<sub>105</sub>, 106, Hipponax 6, 20<sub>2</sub>, 66, Herodas 1<sub>73</sub>, 2<sub>59</sub>, 3<sub>78</sub>, &c. (in all twenty-two times); (2) elegists: Mimnerm. 9<sub>3</sub>, Tyr. 11<sub>12</sub>, Theog. 12, 16, 136 &c. (in all twenty-four times in Bergk's text<sup>2</sup>); (3) melic: Anakr. 1<sub>6</sub>, 19<sub>2</sub>. **C.** Before vowels and in the arsis we find *εἰς* as follows. (1) Iambographs: Archil. 74 (tetram.), 78<sub>2</sub>, 5 (tetram.), Hrd. 1<sub>23</sub>, 7<sub>55</sub>, Solon 36<sub>17</sub>; (2) elegists: Mimnerm. 2<sub>14</sub>, 12<sub>4</sub>, Xenophanes 3<sub>3</sub>, 4, Tyr. 10<sub>12</sub> (*vulgo*), 12<sub>38</sub>, Solon 27<sub>10</sub>, Theognis 162, 194, 244, &c. (thirteen times in all, including *εἴσω* 917, 1001)<sup>3</sup>. **D.** Before vowels and in the thesis there is one instance: Tyr. 12<sub>43</sub>, where we read *εἰς ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι*. Cf. Hesiod *W. D.* 291 *εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται* and *εἰς ἄκρον* Hipponax 48 (see under **E**). **E.** Before consonants, when the metre permits either form, we find *εἰς* as follows: (1) Iambographs: Hipponax 46<sub>2</sub>, 48 *εἰς ἄκρον* at the beginning of the choliambus, Herodas 1<sub>77</sub>, 2<sub>82</sub>, 3<sub>70</sub>, 4<sub>44</sub>, 5<sub>32</sub> (cf. *ἐς* 5<sub>33</sub>), 7<sub>66</sub>, *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 2<sub>5</sub>, Solon 36<sub>6</sub>, Phoinix 1<sub>12</sub>, 13; (2) elegists: Tyr. 11<sub>4</sub>, 10, Solon 35<sub>418</sub>, 9<sub>3</sub>, Theog. 311, 372, 1359 in Bergk's text. See the footnote to **B** (above) for the *v. l.* *εἰς* before consonants.

From the foregoing it is evident that the iambographers and elegists of Ionic birth used both *ἐς* and *εἰς*, but that the latter is employed only before a vowel, and in the arsis. The use of *εἰς* in thesis seems foreign to pure Ionic lyric. *ἐς* is to be adopted before consonants, and before vowels when either a short or a long syllable is possible. Hipponax 46<sub>2</sub>, 48, as well as the seven passages in Herodas, are to be freed from the Attic *εἰς*.

<sup>1</sup> *Νηλείως*, 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1884, 161-162 (418 B.C.) is a blunder. *Λαμπρῆως*, C. I. A. IV B 491, 35, b 1, is regarded by Kirchhoff as dating from the fifth century. This is, we think, doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> The variant *εἰς* occurs in 175, 404, 563, 588 (well supported), 607, 755, 783, 974, 1105 (all MSS.).

<sup>3</sup> To be noted are the cases of *ἐς* in one or more MSS.: 566 (but *οἶκο* follows), 726, 1054.

Solon used *ἐς* except when *ἐς* was called for in thesis. Theognis used *ἐς* or *εἰς* before vowels as the metre required, and seems to have almost excluded *εἰς* before consonants.

Homer has both *ἐς* and *εἰς*, the former more frequently than the latter according to the received text, and usually before consonants; *εἴσω* in Homer is almost eight times more common than *ἔσω*. Fick's attempt (*Ilias* 537 ff.) to exclude the Ionic *ἐς* from the Homeric epos is a failure. His allegiance to an Aiolic *εἰς* is purchased at the price of emending many passages in the (*se judice*) older books, and by regarding the unassailable cases of *ἐς* as substitutes for an (original) Kyprian *iv*. Wecklein *Curae epigraph.* 59 concludes that Homer and the other epic poets have *εἰς* in passages metrically authoritative

3. *Prose authors:* Herodotos adopts *ἐς*, though *εἰς* occurs frequently as a variant (*εἰσάγεται* III 70 in all MSS.), and likewise *ἔσω* (*εἴσω A B C d* VI 36). *ἐς* and *ἔσω* are also Hippocratic according to Littré, I 494, who shows that *εἰς*, *εἴσω* are far less frequent. *ἐς* is found in II 92, 130, 156, 252, III 134, 298, V 598, 600, and often where the vulgate has *εἰς*, *e.g.* II 68, 70, 76, 128, 234; cf. also II 282, III 96, 140. Littré reads *ἔσωθεν* III 84, *εἴσωθεν* V 606. The oldest MS. (*θ*) pronounces in favour of *ἐς*, *e.g.* VI 366; but all MSS. have *εἰς* in V 662. Pherekydes of Leros 33 *h* has *ἐς*, Ion 1 *εἰς*. In Lukian's *Vita auct.* we have twenty-four cases of *ἐς* to two of *εἰς*, in the *Syr. dea A* has twelve cases of *εἰς*, the remaining MSS. 134 of *ἐς*; in Arrian's *Indikè* there are 232 occurrences of *ἐς*, nine of *εἰς*, and three places where the MSS. vary; Eusebios has *ἐς* three times; Eusebios Myndios sixteen cases of *ἐς*, and but two of *εἰς*; Abydenos three cases of *εἰς*. Philip of Pergamum (*B. C. H.* II 273) has *ἐς*. In the Ionic letters we have *ἐς* at least 76 times, *εἰς* 18 times. In the *Vita Homeri* the proportion is 50 to 20. Aretaios adopts *ἐς*.

1. The form *ἐς* is the result of a displacement of *ἐνς* (= *ἐν* + *s* as *ἐξ* = *ἐκ* + *s*) when followed (in primitive Greek) by a consonant; whereas *εἰς* arose from *ἐνς* before a vowel<sup>1</sup>. Later on either form was used before vowels or consonants. If Attic adopted *λόγους* < \**λόγους* before vowels, and abandoned *λόγος* < \**λόγους* before consonants, it may be asked why *εἰς* is not the only form of the preposition. Because the preposition, as a proclitic, could not attain the same fixity of form as the accusative, which may stand in a free position. *εἰς* cannot exist in absolute 'pause.' See Brugmann *Grundr.* I 485 ff. It is incautious to say, with Rutherford *New Phrynichus* p. 432, that *ἐς* is the older, *εἰς* the younger, Attic form. All we know is that *ΕΞ* is written in the fifth, *ΕΙΣ* in the fourth century. The difference, as will be stated in note 2, may be one of spelling, not of pronunciation. The supposed rule that *ἐς* appears before consonants, *εἰς* before vowels, is not borne out by the inscriptions. *εἴσω*, from \**ἐνσω*, is an analogue of *ἐξω*, and not from \**ἐντιω* (Bezzenger in *B. B.* IX 334). *ἔσω* was formed from *ἐς*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann *Berichte d. sächs. Gesell.* 1883, pp. 181 ff. The Gortyna code has *ἐς* before consonants, *ἐνς* before vowels.



2. *εἰς*, *ἐς* in Attic. Solon seems to prefer *εἰς* to *ἐς* even before consonants, adopting the latter form only when he needs a short syllable. In tragedy *εἰς* is more frequent than *ἐς* before vowels, but before consonants we find it impossible to formulate any rule (see Dindorf's and Ellendt's Lexicons). *ΕΞ* was written, and no one but the dramatist himself can tell us whether he meant *εἰς* or *ἐς*. That the form of popular speech was in general *εἰς* may be inferred from two facts: (1) that Aristophanes avoids *ἐς* except in paratragedic passages and when he adopts the form with aphaeresis (*ς* before vowels or consonants), and (2) that the inscriptions, which uniformly have *ΕΞ* in the fifth century, adopt *ΕΙΞ* as soon as the new orthography has an opportunity to display the pronunciation. In fact by 350 B.C. *ΕΞ* was practically an obsolete spelling. Meisterhans (note 1459 *a*) argues from the spelling in the Ionic and Attic inscriptions that *εἰς* is the only form proper to Ionic and Attic prose; and even asserts that, from the point of view of morphology, *ἐς* can be only a Doric form. Kaibel's *Epigram* 26 is no doubt a Doricizing inscription (*ἐς* in l. 6, but *εἰς* l. 9) of the fourth century, but C. I. A. IV 477 C 2, of the sixth century, contains an indisputable case of *ἐς*, which Meisterhans cannot explain away. And, apart from the *ἐς* of tragedy, it is impossible that *ἐς* in late Aiolic inscriptions should be anything but an Hellenistic form<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, the existence of *ἐς* in Attic is guaranteed by *σκορακίζειν* < *ἐς κόρακας*, and rendered probable by the phrase *ἐς μακαρίαν*. It is stated by many scholars that Thukydides used *ἐς* only<sup>2</sup>. Heretofore, we believe, this form has been regarded simply as one of two forms current in the fifth century. Admitting Thukydides' exclusion of *εἰς*, another explanation presents itself of the contrast between his diction and that of Aristophanes. In discussions upon the Attic *εἰς*, *ἐς* it has been overlooked that in the exclusive adoption of *ἐς*, nascent Attic prose may have followed the same literary convention that has introduced, through tragedy, forms unfamiliar to the ordinary language of the fifth century.

*κατά*. From the scant occurrence of the apocope of *κατά* in the poetry representing popular speech, it may be inferred that the ordinary dialect used only the full form. The only example in point is *κατθανοῦσι* Archil. 64, which is trochaic tetrameter (cf. § 52). Here *καταθαν-* is possible (cf. 66<sub>5</sub>). Anacr. 80 has *καδὲ*, but the fragment contains *μέσσην* which is not a prose form (cf. § 373). In the elegy, where Homeric<sup>3</sup> forms are reproduced, we find *καλλιπον* Archil. 6<sub>2</sub>, and *κακκέϊμενος* Tyrt. 11<sub>19</sub> (*κατακει-* has MS. support).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps derived, like so many other Hellenistic forms, from Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> Thukydides wrote *ΕΞ* invariably. If the *ἐς* of the MSS. is correct, their archetype may be derived either (1) from a MS. in the older orthography, or (2) from an unknown source which was informed of the historian's distaste to *εἰς*. Plato doubtless used *ΕΙΞ* after he grew to manhood, and his MSS. have the form *εἰς* almost invariably. To Isokrates and Demosthenes *ΕΞ* must have seemed an old-fashioned spelling; and their MSS. have *εἰς*. The genuineness of the MS. orthography is, however, doubtful in the case of the tragic poets, if we suppose the archetype was made from a pre-Eukleideian text. The constant variation between *εἰς* and *ἐς* before consonants looks more like an arbitrary variation than the reproduction of an official state text dating between 400 and 350 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. Gram. 241 B cites *κάππεσον* as Ionic, Bekk. Anecd. 719<sub>3</sub> *κάτθεσαν*.



μέσφι Aret. 167, 297 prep. with the genitive, also used by Aret. as a conjunction (342).

μετά is frequent in the inscriptions, *e.g.* Mylasa 248 C 12 (cf. *σὺν τῶι Δίῳ* l. 6), Erythr. 204<sub>22</sub>, Teos 158<sub>19</sub> (late).

μέχρι. Oropos 18<sub>3, 10, 15</sub>, Chios 174 A 5 (ἄχρι A 4), Keos 43<sub>11</sub> (μ. ἐπὶ) before vowels and consonants, Hdt. *e.g.* III 5 (local), 10 (temporal), and as a conjunction IV 119 (without ἄν). μέχρι οὖ I 181, II 19 &c., is the only case, beside οὐνεκα, in which a preposition + a dependent relative is used as a preposition. Cf. μέχρι and μέχρι οὖ in Thukydides as conjunctions. Hdt. has μέχρι and no case in all the MSS. of μέχρις, whereas Homer has both. Hrd. uses μέχρι as a preposition in 8<sub>1</sub>, μέχρις οὖ in 2<sub>43</sub>, and both forms as conjunctions in 7<sub>7</sub>, 8<sub>3</sub>, 8. Theognis has μέχρι 1299, Kallinos μέχρις 1<sub>1</sub> (prep.). In reference to the statement of Meisterhans (p. 209, cf. Schmidt *Neutra* p. 349) that in Attic ἄχρι ἄν (μέχρι ἄν) occurs only in poetry, it may be said that we find μέχρις ἄν ἡλίου δύη (= μέχρι ἡλίου δυομένου C. I. A. IV 2 A 4) in C. I. G. 2360<sub>17</sub>, an inscription from Keos entirely Attic in form. Inscriptions from Attika have only the form μέχρι (preposition), and this form occurs in the Keian document, l. 26.

παρά. The form with apocope<sup>1</sup> occurs in Παρμένων, name of a Thasian, Roberts I 21. Cf. Styrian Παραμένων, Bechtel 19<sub>77, 78</sub>. Cf. Πάρφορος, Παρμενίων, Περγένης, Περκλείδης and Baunack, *Studia Nicolaitana* p. 53.

παραί. It is not clear whether παραί in Homer is Aiolic or Ionic. It is probably a form of both dialects. παραιβάτης (cf. Ψ 132) was possibly a cult word in Ionic. At least we find it in an Attic inscription C. I. A. I 5<sub>1</sub> (500–456 B. C.) dealing with religious matters. Such inscriptions are prone to take cult words from Ionic (cf. ξυρός C. I. A. I 2 C 16, according to Meisterhans). The Aischyleian παραιβασία is not sufficient to account for the presence of παραί in a prose inscription.

πάρεξ is used before consonants in Λ 486, μ 276, 443, ξ 168 (where some modern editors read παρέκ), Hdt. I 14 &c., Kyzikos 108 B 4, an archaistic inscription of the first century B. C. Cf. διέξ. On the accent, § 125.

πέριξ occurs in Hdt. with genitive and accusative.

πετά, by-form of μετά and πεδά, is found in πέτευρον Oropos 18<sub>42</sub> (§ 249).

ποτί, if Ionic in Homer, has passed out of use in the later dialect. Cf. § 368.

σύν, not ξύν, is the Ionic form. Cf. § 380, to which may be

<sup>1</sup> πάρθεσαν is Ionic: Bekk. Anecd. 719<sub>3</sub>.

added that Herodas has *σύν* invariably (nine times). *ξύν* in Archil. 86<sub>2</sub>, Solon 19<sub>3</sub> and Theog. 1063 [Mimnerm.] is not an Ionism. In Solon *ξύν* may be Old Attic. In inscriptions we find only *σύν*, e.g. Chios 174 A 6, Halikarn. 238<sub>1, 41</sub>, Oropos 18<sub>19</sub>, Mylasa 248 C 6 (*σὺν τῷ Διί*, cf. *μετὰ Μανίτα* l. 12), Olbia 129<sub>12</sub>.

*Ηυπύ*, for *ὑπό*, occurring twice on an inscription from Kyme, Bechtel 3 A = Roberts I 177 A, shows that, of the Ionians, the Chalkidians at least held fast to the I.E. pronunciation of *υ*. Cf. also the use of *κορρυ* before *υ* on Chalkidian vases (*Φύρονος*, *λήφουθος*) and the modern names *Κυμι* = *Κύμη*, *Σтура* = *Στύρα*, in the old home of the Chalkidians. It was from the Chalkidians of Kyme that the Italicans derived their V (Υ). See Blass *Ausspr.*<sup>3</sup> 38. The proximity of Boiotia is no cause for refusing to credit the Chalkidians with the retention of the ancient pronunciation of *υ*.

*χάρις* does not occur in the lyric poets, except in Simon. Amorg. 7<sub>104</sub>. In Hdt. V 99 we find a strained use of *χάρις* with the article (*οἱ οὖ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάρις ἐστρατεύοντο*), a usage rare even with the pronoun (cf. *τὴν σὴν χάρις* in Sophokles). We have met with *χάρις* on no prose inscription that contains a vestige of the Ionic dialect. No. 261 is metrical. Its prose use in Attic is confined to the period of the empire. In Sterrett's collections of inscriptions from Asia Minor, *χάρις* is a favourite word in the language of memorialists. *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑοῦ Στρατονείκου χάρις*, Paros 67 (very late), is a step towards the common use of *χάρις* in the latest period. Other impure prepositions are *δίκεν* Simon. Amorg. 12 and *μοῖραν* 7<sub>104</sub>.

### *Conjunctions, Adverbs, Particles.*

716.] The inscriptions afford us very slight information as to the conduct of the final and other conjunctions. Such as it is the evidence has been adduced below.

*ἄγχοῦ* Hom., Hdt., not used in Attic prose, which employs *ἐγγύς*. On *ἄγχιστα*, see Rutherford *Phrygichus* p. 21.

*ἀδηνέως* Chios 174 B 12 (*κηρυσσόντων καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀδηνέως γεγωνένοντες*) which Roehl regards as = *ἄδην* (*quantum opus erit*) Cf. *καί μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφηνέως*, Hdt. I 140. Haussoullier, *B. C. II.* III 23, refers to Hesychios' *ἀδηνέως*· *ἀδόλως*, *ἀπλῶς*, *χωρὶς βουλῆς* which gives a preferable sense. He might have adduced Bekk. Anecd. I 341, where the word is glossed by *ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως*, *κατὰ στέρησιν τῶν δηνέων καὶ μεριμνῶν*. Hesychios

has also ἀδηνής· ἄκακος and ἀδηνείη· ἀπειρία. His ἀδηνέως is ascribed to Hippokrates by M. Schmidt. ἀδηνής, the conjecture of Valckenaer in Sim. Amorg. 7<sub>53</sub>, is inferior to Bergk's ἀληνής. L. & S. derivation of ἀδηνής from δῆω is incorrect.

On αἰί, αἰεί, see § 209, to which may be added that Hrd. 5<sub>6</sub> has αἰί, 6<sub>89</sub> [α]λεί, the latter of which forms is Ionic. On αἰδιον, see § 275.

ἄλις (*vulgo* ἀλίς)=ἄλις, Hipponax 101. ἄλις (*sic*) is read by Dindorf in *Ion* 723 (chorus). For the ending, cf. ἀτρέμας, ἡρέμας, &c. Hdt. uses ἄλις (IX 27).

ἄλλη Zeleia 113<sub>39</sub>, Teos 158<sub>28</sub>, Hdt. I 46, &c.

ἀμβολάδην Hom., Hdt. IV 181 (cf. § 715).

ἀμισθί, Archil. 41 and in a late inscription from Teos (Dittenb. *Syll.* 126<sub>6</sub>), does not owe its ι to a reduction of ει or ῑ, but to analogy, a principle that will explain the apparent cases of ι from ει in the paper *A. J. P.* VI 419 ff.

ἄν is the conditional particle in the Ionic inscriptions and literature free from Homeric influence. Mullach (*Vulgarsprache* p. 89) asserts that κε is actually in use in the modern Chian dialect. As this assertion, if true, might be tortured into evidence for the Ionic character of κε, it may be stated that Mullach is in error<sup>1</sup>. A genuine instance of the retention of an Homeric word by the Chians of the fifth century B.C. is γεγωνέοντες (174 B 13). The omission of ἄν in ὅσοι ἔωσιν, Teos, *Mitth.* XVI 292, 4 may be noted because of its rarity.

ἀνακῶς *carefully*, Hdt. I 24, VIII 109, Hippokr. VIII 614, also in Thuk. VIII 102, and Plato, the comic poet (II 687 Meineke). The word is called Doric by Erotian, p. 66. Stein, Abicht, and L. & S. refer it to ἀναξ, ἀνακός; an etymology which is not to be supported by the *ad hoc* definition βασιλικῶς in Suidas and Bekk. Anecd. I 391. The word is obscure despite the attempt of Baunack in his *Studien* I 256 to connect it with ἀσκέω.

ἀπαντίον Hdt. VII 34 (ἐναντία VI 32); cf. καταντίον VI 103.

ἄρα, see under ἦρα.

ἀσπονδεί Erythr. 202<sub>9</sub>, 203<sub>5</sub>, Iasos in *J. H. S.* IX 341, 342, and to be restored in Amorgos in *Mitth.* XI 106, 10 (late).

ἄστραβδα Hrd. 3<sub>64</sub> (the papyrus ἄστράβδ'). In the dispute whether the word was oxytone or proparoxytone, Apollonios and Herodian decided in favour of the latter.

ἀσυλεί Erythr. 202<sub>8</sub>, 203<sub>4-5</sub>, Iasos in *J. H. S.* IX 341, 342, Pantikapaion in Latyshev II 19, Amorgos in *Mitth.* XI 106,

<sup>1</sup> For this information I am indebted to the kindness of G. N. Hatzidakis.



10 (late). On this word and on ἀσπονδεί, see *A. J. P.* VI 428 where it is shown that the spelling with -ει is correct, and that -ι is itacistic. Hdt. has πανδημεί.

ἀτάρ Hdt., Hippokr. *e.g.* II 650. ἀτὰρ ἡδέ is peculiar to Aretaios (133, 139, 140, 303).

αὔτις, see § 355. Hdt. has μεταὔτις I 62 which is unknown to Attic prose.

ἄχρι, see § 715.

βύζην *confertim* (with ζ from σδ), Hippokr. VIII 28 and Thukydides.

δεῦτε Hrd. 411, Homeric, rare in tragedy.

δημοσίη Mylasa 248 B 11 (-ιη C 15, cf. § 240). Attic δημοσίου is found in 261.

δηῦτε, § 320.

-δον. Adverbs in -δον are frequent in Hdt. (διακριδόν, ἔνδον, ἡβηδόν, κρουργηδόν, κτηνηδόν, ὄρχηδόν, περισταδόν).

εἰάν, see under ἦν.

ἐθελοντήν Hdt. I 5, VI 25 (in Hdt. only).

εἶτεν is Ionic according to Ailios Dionysios *apud* Eust. 1158<sup>30</sup> and as such used by Herodotos. But Herodotos uses neither εἶτεν nor εἶτα, the latter of which forms is not Homeric or Pindaric, but occurs in Hippokr. III 240, Aretaios 56, 57, 81. In Skymnos *Descript. orbis* εἶτεν is used both before vowels (468 802) and before consonants (330, 502, 597, 643, 676), sometimes when the other form was metrically possible. εἶτα occurs in 275, 590, 879. Dionysios, son of Kalliphon, makes frequent use of εἶτεν and εἶτα. That the former form was a favourite in the Κοινή appears from the injunction of Phrynichos (p. 202 Ruth.): εἶτεν καὶ ἔπειτεν ἐσχάτως βάρβαρα. See under ἔπειτεν.

ἐμπλην *except*, Archil. 111. The inscriptions have πλήν, *e.g.* Erythr. 204<sub>5</sub>.

ἐνδόσε Meos 43<sub>14</sub>, a new word.

ἐνθαῦτα, ἐνθεῦτεν, § 356; ἐντουῦθα, § 256.

ἐνιαχῇ Hdt. I 199, not -χῇ as L. & S.

ἐξαπίνης Hdt. I 74, ἐξαίφνης IX 45, the latter from -αφνι-; cf. ἄφνω in Hesychios.

ἐπειδάν makes its appearance once in Homer (N 285), where the recent editors adopt various conjectures to displace the later form. In Ionic inscriptions it occurs in Oropos 18<sub>3</sub>, Zeleia 113<sub>24</sub> (after 334 B.C.), and in Erythr. 204<sub>7</sub> (before 345–344 B.C.), documents containing traces of Attic influence. Attic inscriptions of the fourth, as well as the fifth, century show ἐπειδάν. In Hdt. we find the form in all MSS. in VIII 144 (ἐπειδάν τάχιστα),

where it is rejected by Abicht, Holder, and Kallenberg. The phrase was used by Xenophon *Anab.* III 1, 9 (cf. ἐπειδὴν θάρσεν *Protag.* 325 C). In I 193 (ἐπειδὴν A) and IV 61 (C d), Stein adopts ἐπειδάν, but rejects it III 21 (C P z), 117 (C), IV 22 (R z). Hippokr. employs it II 12, 34, 78 (ἐπειδ' αὖν, treated as ὅτ' αὖν), III 238, 258, &c., Arrian 10<sub>5</sub>, 30<sub>8</sub>. In tragedy the word is rare and does not often occur in positions to show the quantity of the final syllable. But in *Septem* 734 (ch.), we scan — — — (Verrall ἐπεὶ δ' αὖν), and so in *Rhesos* 469 (trim.). The short ultima is surprising in view of δᾶν, Sophokles' *Elektra*, 314 (L). Cf. the MS. ἐπειδ' αὖν in Hippokr.

ἐπειτα Keos 43<sub>16</sub>, Miletos, Dittenb. *Syll.* 391<sub>12</sub><sup>1</sup>, Archil. 56<sub>4</sub>, Tyrt. 4<sub>5</sub>, Theog. 735, 742, 747, 869, Herodotos over ninety times, Hippokr. II 12, 78, III 254, 310, IV 204 (-τεν Dietz), VI 140, IX 350 and very often, Aretaios 42, 51, *Syr. dea* 20. New Ionic has also the Homeric μετέπειτα, which is not Attic before Aristotle. ἐπειτε Miletos, Dittenb. *Syll.* 391<sub>2</sub>, of the fourth century (εἰς τὸν ἐπειτε χρόνον, whereas in l. 12 we read εἰς τὸν ἐπειτα χρόνον), in Hdt. only as a v.l., e.g. II 52 (A B C), VI 83 (ἐπεὶ τε R), 91 (ἐπείτε A B<sup>1</sup> d, ἐπεὶ τέ C), IX 98 (ἐπεὶ τε R). ἐπειτεν is explicitly stated to be Ionic and Herodoteian by Ailios Dionysios in Eust. 1158<sub>39</sub>. Theognostos (An. Ox. II 161<sub>20</sub>) does not refer the form to any dialect. The statement of Ailios, who is generally trustworthy, is, however, vitiated (1) by the fact that, in all the occurrences (about 100) of the adverb in Hdt., there is no MS. authority whatever for ἐπειτεν, and (2) by the avoidance on the part of Hdt. of εἴτεν, a word which Ailios says was used (in this form) by the historian.

If Ailios' statement has any foundation, he must have read ἐπειτεν where the MSS. have ἐπειτα or ἐπεὶ τε (cf. I 146, II 52, IX 84, 98). Ailios might have been misled by the occurrence of ἐπειτεν in the *Koinῇ* into regarding it, like so many other *Koinῇ* forms, as Ionic; and εἴτεν was then rashly included because of ἐπειτεν<sup>2</sup>. See under εἴτεν.

ἐπειτεν appears before the *Koinῇ* in Pindar *Pyth.* IV 211, *Nem.* III 54, *Isthm.* VII (VI) 20 and perhaps *Nem.* III 49, Aristophanes *Acharn.* 745 in the mouth of a Megarian. In later poetry it occurs in Skymnos *Descript. orbis* 569, and perhaps in 947 where ἐπειτα δ' is foreign to the author's style, though ἐπειτα occurs, e.g. 461, 661, 709; in Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon, 116 (ἐπειτα 3 times), and in Machon *apud Athen.* 581 F (by Porson's certain emendation).

<sup>1</sup> Rhegion 54 should not be regarded as certainly Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> In his paper on the adverbs in -τεν, Usener (*Jahrbücher*, 1878, p. 62) thinks that ἐπειτεν is to be sought in the reading ἐπεὶ τε. It should be noted, however, that when the copyists misunderstand the forms in -τεν, they divide thus: ἐπειτ' ἐν Pind. *Isthm.* VII (VI) 20, *Pyth.* IV 211, εἴτ' ἐν, &c.

That the form was frequent in the *Koinē* is evident from Phrynichos, quoted above under *εἴτεν*.

Of all the *certissima vestigia* of *ἔπειτεν* (Dindorf *Præf.* XXXVI) in the MSS. not one is certain. Rather all speak for *ἔπειτε*. Dindorf, Stein, Abicht, and Holder adopt Reiz's *ἔπειτεν* in I 146, where the MSS. have *ἐπέιτε*. Whenever the form *ἔπειτα* is not supported by all the MSS., the only variant found is *ἔπειτε* (*ἐπέιτε*, or possibly *ἐπέι τε* even when the adverb is called for). *ἔπειτε* as well as *ἔπειτα*, is certainly Ionic, because attested in the inscriptions. To be distinguished from *ἔπειτε* = *ἔπειτα* is *ἐπέιτε*<sup>1</sup> = *ἐπέι τε* in VIII 22, IX 84, 92 *bis* (in one case the MSS. have *ἔπειτα*). A single occurrence of *ἔπειτεν* in the MSS. of Ionic prose is *ἔπειτεν* (*sic θ*) in Hippokr. VII 332.

*ἐπεξῆς* Ephesos 148<sub>31</sub>, Hdt. II 77, V 18, &c.

*ἐπήν*, see under *ἦν*.

*ἐσάπαξ* Hdt. VI 125, Hippokr. VIII 28.

*ἔστε* (preposition and conjunction) is used by Theog. 959 (cf. *v. l.* 394), Hdt. VII 141, 158, 171, VIII 4, 142, Hippokr. II 138, IV 220, Arrian 20<sub>1</sub>, 5 (*ἔστε ἐπὶ*), Aret. 52, 86, *Syr. dea* 12. Whether Eleian *ἔστα* stands for *ἔστε* or represents an original form with *-τα*, as Kretan *μέστα*, is uncertain. The nearest analogue in other dialects is *ἐντε*, occurring in Lokrian, Delphic, and Boiotian (*ἐττε*). This *ἐντε* may, however, be due to form-association and therefore a combination of *ἐν* + *τε*, or it may be the equivalent of Gothic *und* < *unté*, which has the same meaning as the Greek conjunction<sup>2</sup>.

In Archil. 14 we meet with the peculiar form *ἔσκε*, whose *-κε*, if correct, cannot be the equivalent of the Homeric *κε*, because of *ἔστε κε* in Theokr. V 22, VI 32. So far as we are aware, *ἔσκε* occurs in only one other passage Anthol. VII 727, *ἔσκε θάνη*. Both passages should probably be corrected to *ἔστε*, unless the analogy of Thessal. *κῖς*, *τῖς*, *quis*, and *καί. τε*, *que* is sufficient to prove the genuineness of the *-κε* form. *ἔστε* is not from *ἐνς τε* because of Eleian *ἔστα*, that dialect using *ἐν*, not *ἐς*, with the accusative. The congeners of *ἔστε* are Skt. *acchā*, Slav. *čste*, Lat. *usque*<sup>3</sup>.

*εὐτε* (Hom.) Hdt. II 63, VI 27, VII 209, *Syr. dea* 25, 36, 55, Aret. 62, 89 (*εὐτε ὄταν*).

*ἔως οὖ* Hdt. II 143, where many editors adopt Struve's *ἐς ὄ* (§ 569). *ἔως οὖ* might be defended by the analogy of *μεχρι οὖ*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Kor. § 26.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Solmsen, *K. Z.* XXIX 333.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Burda in Kuhn-Schleicher's *Beiträge* VI 89 ff., Bloomfield *A. J. P.* VI 41, Wheeler *Nominalaccent* 22, and also Zubaty *K. Z.* XXXI 12, cf. 61. The last-named scholar would connect *ἔσχατος*, on the etymology of which see Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXXII 40. The etymology in the text disposes of Meisterhans' objection (note 1682) to the Attic character of the word. Et. Mag. 382<sub>s</sub> refers *ἔστε* to the Dorians.

<sup>4</sup> Meister *Zum eleischen, arkadischen, und kyprischen Dialekte* p. 42, would retain *ἐς οὖ* in Hdt. I 67, 98, III 31 &c., where *ἐς ὄ* is adopted, and finds here a genitive of limit. See his *Dialekte* II 298 ff.



and οὐνεκα. ἕως with the genitive occurs in a decree in *De Corona* 108 and in Aristotle. Cf. ἔστω with the genitive in late Greek. ἕως as a conjunction occurs in Hdt. III 134 (cf. *r. l.* [86, 94, II 169, all MSS. VIII 74] and often in Hippokr. *e. g.* II 22 (subj.), 66 *bis* and IV 222 (ἄν with subj.).

ἡδέ in late prose, Aretaios 337, also after ἀτάρ (303).

ἡμός, see under ὁτῆμος.

ἦν (ἐπήν), εἰάν (ἐπεάν), ἄν. 1. *Inscriptions.* ἦν occurs as follows: Amphip. 107, 18, Thasos 714, 8, Miletos 1001, 2, 5 *via* 6, Zeleia 11318 (εἰάν l. 20, 39), Ephesos 1451, 2, 7, 8, Teos 1585 (a very late document with εἰάν, l. 2, 31), Chios 174 A 9, 16, 20, B 16, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1194, Halikarn. 23816, 33, 37, Iasos in *Greek Inscript. in the Brit. Mus.* III 1, no. 440, l. 6, 7 (εἰάν l. 2, 3). εἰάν Ephesos 1453, 4, Chios 174 C 5 stands for καὶ + ἦν (by crasis through contraction, not elision, as κῆν in Herodas and Hippokrates). In an epigram, Kaibel 1106 IV, where the original has κᾶν, the Anthol. Pal. IX 75 has κῆν.

ἐπήν is found in Keos 4317, Chios 174 C 10. ἐπεάν, which is preferred to ἐπήν in Hdt., does not occur in the Ionic inscriptions.

εἰάν appears in Olynthos 8 B 17 and thence to be supplied in 8 A 5, B 14 (between 389 and 383 B. C.). This inscription is almost entirely free from Atticisms (ἀμφοτέροις, μιᾶς). Furthermore in Teos 1582, 31 (first century B. C.), Erythr. 20412 (not much before 345–344 B. C.), in a West-Ionic document (no. 22, found south of Eretria) which is almost entirely Attic, and in a Chian inscription in Paspates' *Chian Glossary* (910). εἰάν appears in Zeleia 11320, 39 (shortly after 334 B. C.), with ἦν in l. 18, in Teos, *Mith.* XVI, 292, 19, an inscription perhaps as old as 350 B. C., and in Iasos, *Greek Inscript. in the Brit. Mus.* III 1, no. 440, l. 2, 3. Cf. § 220.

ἄν occurs in Oropos 189, 12, 14, 19 (between 411–402 or, more probably, 387–377 B. C.), Keos 477 (about same date as Oropos 18; both inscriptions contain traces of Atticism), Paros in Ross's *Inscr. ined.* 148, Thasos 7215, 16 (300–250 B. C.), in an Asiatic Ionic inscription (2633) found in Lykia and probably of the fourth century, and in a Chian inscription in Paspates' *Chian Glossary* (96).

Both εἰάν and ἄν are Atticisms, and there is no inscriptional evidence that does not admit of εἰάν being likewise regarded as Attic.

With the above we may compare the testimony of the Attic stone records. Before 400 B. C. εἰάν is the invariable form with only two exceptions in favour of ἄν. In the fourth century we find, besides εἰάν, the forms εἰάν (between 387–350), and ἄν twice, and in the third century εἰάν, and ἄν once. ἦν and ἐπήν are foreign to all Attic inscriptions. ἐπεάν occurs first in the third century (265 B. C.).

2. *Lyric poets.* ἦν, the Homeric form, is found in Sim. Amorg. 7<sup>15</sup>, 25, 69, 97, Hipponax 43, 46, 49<sup>6</sup>, Herodas (thirty times, with no case of ἐάν), Theognis 35, 109, 186, &c., Kritias of Chios. In crasis Hrd. uses only κῆν (2<sup>54</sup>, 3<sup>10</sup>, &c.). ἐπῆν (Hom.) occurs in Theog. 299, Hrd. 2<sup>46</sup>, 3<sup>45</sup>, 5<sup>27</sup>, 6<sup>61</sup>, but ἐπεάν 3<sup>30</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>84</sup>. Homer has ἐπεὶ ἄν in Z 412 (cf. Eust.), I 304, P 489, ἐπεὶ κε often. Cf. ἐπείτε ἄν Hdt. I 200.

3. *Prose writers.* ἦν is the form adopted by Herodotos, Hippokrates, e.g. II 18, III 194, 206 (ἦνπερ), V 660, VI 142 (θ), 148, VII 174, Aretaios, e.g. 50, 112, 258, 259, 288, Lukian *Syr. dea* 47, *Vit. auct.* 6, epistle of Pherekydes (twice), epistle of Thales 1 (twice), epistles of Hippokrates (three times). Noteworthy is the crasis κῆν, Hippokr. II 48, III 192, Aret. 258, 259, 261, 293, 337 (κᾶν 60), because of κᾶν in inscriptions. See above under 1. Attic ἐάν appears in Bywater's Herakleitos 7, 113, Hippokr. II 78, III 236 (Littré and Ermerins), Lukian *Syr. dea* 52; ἄν in Hippokr. III 232 (cf. ἦν 234), in A V 604, in B M N III 218. In the tractate περὶ κεφαλῆς τρωμάτων Littré edits ἦν, ἐάν, ἄν.

ἐπῆν is best supported in Hdt. in V 35 (all MSS. except P and z), IV 134 (A B C d), not so well in II 40 (P). We find it rarely in Hippokr., e.g. III 248, VI 140, VII 474, VIII 306 (θ), 320, 334, and in Aret. 42, 296, 303, 337. In the spurious letters of Hippokr. it occurs once, and also in the epistle of Pherekydes. ἐπεάν occurs almost fifty times in Hdt.<sup>1</sup> without a variant. Lukian has it in the *Syr. dea* 6, 29, 49, 51, 57, 60, Arrian I 37, 147, I 52, 169, 12, 257, 2911, Euseb. Mynd. 53, 63. ἐπάν, not ἐπεάν, is used by Hippokrates according to Littré (I 483), and is often written ἐπ' ἄν or ἐπᾶν in the MSS. The Attic form was used by Aretaios in 288, &c.

1. The position occupied by ἐπεάν in Hdt. and his imitators is peculiar from the fact that in all the other monuments of Ionic literature from Homer to Herodas (who has however three cases of ἐπεάν) and in all the inscriptions ἐπῆν is the only form. (Hippokrates, we venture to believe, did not adopt ἐπάν, which is a relatively late Attic production.) If ἐάν appeared in any Ionic document anterior to, or contemporaneous with, Hdt., or if any case of ἐάν in the inscriptions were certainly Ionic, the coexistence of ἐπεάν on the one hand, and of ἦν on the other, would present little difficulty. It would be simply the coexistence of an older and younger form which is common enough in Greek and other languages. Compare, for example, the use of *þif* and *if* (the latter after *butt*, *alls*) in the Ormulum (*þif* 111, 139, 145, *if* 603, 3164) and of *þif* and *if* in the General Prologue of the Canterbury Tales (*þif* 144, *if* 148, of the Lansdowne MS.). As it is, the retention of the uncontracted form in ἐπεάν does not carry with it the existence of an open ἐάν. In a much used word such as ἐάν the tendency towards contraction would be

<sup>1</sup> Cited as Ionic from Hdt. by Greg. Kor. § 55. ἐπεάν is mentioned, but not as dialectal, by Apollon. *Conjug.* 2157 Schn.



great (cf. § 444), though  $\epsilon + \alpha$  rarely unite in Ionic. We are tempted to regard  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  as due to *μεταχαρακτηρισμός*.

2. In respect of  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  it should be noticed that the ordinary explanation from  $\epsilon\iota + \acute{\alpha}\nu$  fails to account for  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in *O. K.* 1407, *Wasps* 288<sup>1</sup>. If we adopt the explanation which sees in Attic  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  the union of  $\eta^2 + \acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , in Ionic  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , was constructed after  $\bar{a}$  had ceased to pass into  $\eta$ , or the Ionic form  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  derived from  $\eta + \acute{\alpha}\nu$  by shortening of the  $\eta$  before a vowel (cf. Ionic *βασιλέᾱ*, Attic *βασιλέᾱ*). If  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  existed alongside of  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in Attic or elsewhere, we must, at any rate, adopt a different explanation in the case of each form.

3. In the enormous preponderance of  $\eta\nu$  over  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in Aristophanes (268: 69 according to Sobolewski's enumeration), it is difficult not to see a fact necessitating the assumption that  $\eta\nu$  is a form native to the ordinary speech of the Athenians (cf. § 75). We can discern no principle making for a difference in Aristophanes between the two forms in respect of their use, *e. g.* a paragedic preference for  $\eta\nu$ , a legal preference for  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in the *Wasps* ( $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  9 times,  $\eta\nu$  37) or in the *Lysistrata* (11: 29), or in the chronological order of the comedies. The proportion of  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  to  $\eta\nu$  in the *Knights* is 78 %, but in the *Clouds* only 9 %. Petri *De enuntiatorum condicionalium apud A. formis et usu* p. 31 erred in thinking that there was a steady growth of  $\eta\nu$ . See Sobolewski *Syntaxis Aristophaneae capita selecta* p. 14.

4. To § 75 may be added a statement in reference to the use of  $\eta\nu$  and  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in Euripides. When the metre permits, the former is invariably employed.  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  occurs in *Hel.* 1071, *El.* 954, *Herakleid.* 256, 516, *Ion* 425, *Kykl.* 427, *Med.* 727, *Trach.* 713, *Phoin.* 757, *Rhes.* 143, frag. 294<sub>3</sub>. In the above passages  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is followed by a consonant. In *I. A.* 1193 for  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ , Hartung's  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\sigma\phi\omega\nu$  is generally adopted. In *Herakleid.* 1020 Elmsley restored  $\eta\nu$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , in *Herakleid.* 63 Kirchhoff emended  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\sigma\upsilon$   $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\eta\varsigma$  to  $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$  (Nauck read  $\eta\nu$ ), in *suppl.* 180 Scaliger read  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  for  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\tau\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\eta$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ . For  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  Dindorf read  $\eta\nu$  in frag. 379<sub>1</sub>.  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu$  with subjunctive also occurs, *e. g.* frag. 345<sub>3</sub>, 364<sub>17</sub>. All the passages cited occur in dialogue parts. Cf. Johnson *De conjunctivi et optativi su Euripideo in enuntiativis finalibus et condicionalibus* (1893) p. 48.

$\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$  (§ 283)<sup>3</sup>. Archilochos is the first Greek author to make use of the asseverative  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha < \eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$  found  $\Sigma$  429 ( $\eta\acute{\rho}\sigma$  357). Hippokrates and Herodas are the only authors writing in Ionic who use  $\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$ : thus placing Ionic in the position of being the only dialect having both forms. In Doric and Aiolic we have  $\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$ , in Attic<sup>4</sup> and the *Koinḗ*,  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ . In *Hrd.* 4<sub>21</sub>  $\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$  is =  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ , in 5<sub>21</sub> it is the interrogative. Cf. the like use of  $\eta\acute{\rho}$  as an asseverative and as

<sup>1</sup> See Dindorf *ad loc.*, who proposes to delete  $\gamma\epsilon$  in several passages, thus making  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  possible (*Plutus* 126, 481, *Wasps* 1231, and in the post-Aristophanic comic poets). Cf. Bekk. *Anecd.* 954<sub>16</sub>.

<sup>2</sup>  $\eta$  if occurs in inscriptions from Krete and Kypros. It is perhaps identical with  $\eta$ , the interrogative in indirect questions, which appears in inscriptions from Herakleia, Dodona, and Astypalaia.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also scholiast on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. *Anecd.* II 968<sub>27</sub>, and Ahrens *Leine Schriften* I 60.

<sup>4</sup> Attic has the epic  $\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$  followed by  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$  in *Persai* 633, 637 (ch.).  $\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$  occurs also in *Aias* 172, 954 (ch.). Cf. Pindar *Pyth.* XI 38, IV 57 affirmative, *sthm.* VI (VII) 3, *Pyth.* IX 37 interrogative. With the last example, cf. *Atarach.* 174 ( $\eta\acute{\rho}\alpha$  postponed).



an interrogative particle. In Hippokrates there exists considerable variation between the two forms of the interrogative. In the *Προρρητικός* I we have noted, after a rough count, in Littré's text: *ἄρα* two times, *ἄρά γε* 10, *ἦρα* 4, *ἦρά γε* 16; in the *Κωακαὶ προγνώσεις*: *ἄρα* 13, *ἄρά γε* 2, *ἄρά τι* 1, *ἦρα* 4, *ἦρά γε* 9, *ἦρά τι* 3. In V 278 we find *πότερον ἦρα . . . ἦ* (cf. Pindar *Pyth.* IX 37). The MSS. vary constantly. Hdt. has *ἄρα*, e.g. VII 17, *ἄρα* IV 64. Littré's *ἄρα* V 554 is not to be defended.

*ἦχοι* where Oropos 18<sub>16</sub>, a new word, comparable to Homeric *ἦχι* A 607, &c. The evidence of the Oropian inscription should settle the question as to the orthography of the Homeric form in favour of Aristarchos' *ἦχι* (against the MS. tradition, followed by Apollonios). Cf. Hdn. I 505<sub>18</sub>, where the Doric form is said to be *ἦχι*<sup>1</sup>, La Roche *II. T. K.* 278, and Roscher, in Curtius' *Studien* III 143. We accentuate the locative *ἦχοι* on the analogy of *Ἐρυθοῖ*, *πανταχοῖ*, *ἐνθαυθοῖ*<sup>2</sup> (C. I. A. IV B 27 b 13, from 439 B.C.), rather than as a paroxytone, like *οἴκοι*.

-*θε(ν)*. Local adverbs which have almost, if not entirely, lost the original *whence* idea, may, if not formed from substantives, lose their -*ν* in Homer<sup>3</sup>. In the inscriptions we find *ὄπισθε* (before a consonant) in Halikarn. 240<sub>65</sub> (fifth century according to Dittenberger), Samos 220<sub>27</sub> (346-345 B.C.), Erythrai 201<sub>18</sub> (fourth century). Herodas 2<sub>69</sub> has *κάτωθε κᾶνωθεν*, Theognis and Tyrtaios *πρόσθε* and *πρόσθεν*, Sim. Keos 163 (eleg.) *πρόσθε*, 37<sub>9</sub> (threnos) *ὑπερθε vulgo*, Tyrtaios 11<sub>17, 20</sub> *ὄπισθε*. Elsewhere the poets have -*θεν*. In Herodotos we find -*θεν* except in *πρόσθε*, *ἔμπροσθε*, *ὑπερθε*, *κατύπερθε*, *ὄπισθε*, *ἐνερθε*, and perhaps in *πέρηθε*<sup>4</sup>. Hippokrates, on the other hand, always adopts -*θεν*, e.g. *πρόσθεν* III 192, *ὑπόπροσθεν* 68 (Hippokratic only), *ἀπόπροσθεν* 212 (also in Plato *Epin.* 987 A), *ἔμπροσθεν* 74, 192, 194, *ὄπισθεν* II 78, III 72, 182, 184, 190, 192. Aretaios has *πρόσθεν*, e.g. 76, *ὑπερθεν* 52, *νέρθεν* 28, but Lukian *Syr. dea* 29 has *πρόσθε*. Of the adverbs in -*θε* in Hdt., *πρόσθε* and *ἔμπροσθε* are occasionally well supported in the MSS. of Plato, Isokrates, and Demosthenes. So too *ἐπίπροσθε* in Plato (-*εν* Aret. 69), but *ὄπισθε*, *κατόπισθε*, *ἐξόπισθε*, *ἐξωθε*, and *ἄλλοθε* in that author occur only in inferior MSS. *ἔμπροσθε*, *καθύπερθε*, and *ὄπισθε* are found in Attic inscriptions between 350-317 B.C., and even *Μουνιχίαθε*, *Ἄλω-*

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Et. Mag. 417<sub>3</sub>: *ἄχι ὄπου*, and Dionysios in schol. B. L. on A 607.

<sup>2</sup> In Plato *ἐνταυθί* should not displace *ἐνταυθοῖ*.

<sup>3</sup> *ἀπάνευθε*, Tzetz. Ex. II. 90<sub>9</sub> ff.

<sup>4</sup> In VI 33 *πέρηθε* is the reading of the best MSS., adopted by Stein, Holder and Kallenberg, but rejected by Abicht for the *πέρηθεν* of B<sup>2</sup> sz. In VI 128 there is no authority for *ἀνέκαθεν* (= *ἄνωθεν* in Attic prose) except Aldus, who is followed by the recent German editors because the -*θεν* idea is still unobscured. *ἔμπροσθε* in VII 126 occurs in AB only, *ὄπισθε* in II 96 in z only.

πεκῆθε occur in the fourth century. On the occurrences of πρόσθε, &c., in late prose, see Lobeck *Elementa* II 153.

-θε occurs also in Thessalian ἀνευθε, Aiolic πρόσθε. Aiolic has in addition to -θε, both -θεν and -θα, which are likewise Doric. It is still a moot point whether -θεν (-θε), -θα are independent suffixes, whether -θα represents θη, and -θε a contamination of -θεν and -θα, or whether -θα is original and the other forms analogues of κέν, κέ<sup>1</sup>. The same uncertainty exists in the case of ἐπειτεν, ἐπειτε, ἐπειτα, εἵνεκεν, εἵνεκε, εἵνεκα. That -α and -ε may be distinct formations, not derived from a parent-form with sonant nasal, may be inferred from -τε and -τα (ῥτε, Aiolic ῥτα), γέ and γά (Epeirotic γέν, if correct, being a late formation), -δε and -δα (Arkadian θύρδα).

-θι occurs much more frequently in Ionic than in Attic prose. οὐδαμόθι is found only in Hdt. VII 49. αὐτόθι and αὐτοῦ occur in both dialects (Hdt. II 44, Hippokr. II 24, *Syr. dea* 45, Arrian 26<sub>10</sub>); so too ἄλλοθι Hdt. III 73, *Syr. dea* 29.

ἰδίηι appears in the weakened form ἰδίει, Oropos 18<sub>14</sub>. In Thasos 72<sub>5</sub> (300–250 B.C.) and Iasos 105<sub>4</sub> (end of the fourth century) we find the Attic ἰδίαι.

ἰθύς Ephesos 145<sub>7</sub>, cf. Hdt. ἰθύς, ἰθύ, ἰθώς and see § 198.

ἵνα, the particle that in Herodotos occurs more than twice as frequently as all the other final particles combined, is, but for a single instance, excluded from the language of the inscriptions; a matter of no surprise, when we remember the preference of the Attic inscriptional documents for ὅπως ἄν. I have noted ἵνα ἄν in Thasos 72<sub>10</sub>, from the first half of the third century. In fifth century Attic inscriptions we find ἵνα twice, in the fourth century never, in the third century twice. The genuine Hippokrates never uses ἵνα in complete final sentences, of which he has exceedingly few. It occurs in Theog. 776, Hrd. IX.

The phrase ἐπ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίῃ (Hdt. IX 7) is frequently used in Ionic decrees: Samos 221<sub>27-28</sub>, Ephesos 147<sub>11</sub>, Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, appendix 2, no. 2, 10, 18, 19, 21, 22. In the Ephesian documents we have ἐφ' not ἐπ'.

ἴσσαῖ is an interjection like αἰαῖ, and derived from ἴσσα (Plato in Meineke II 637, 4, Menander IV 80, 6). In § 395 end, ἴσ' ἄν was wrongly suggested as the reading in the passage from Herodas 393, where ἴσσαῖ should be adopted with Meister.

καθότι Samos 221<sub>32</sub> (cf. Hdt. VII 2).

καθώς Hdt. IX 82.

κάρτα=λίαν (Greg. Kor. § 58), Hippon. 17, Hdt., Hippokr., Aretaios, Lukian.

κατά=καθά appears in Hdt. I 208, II 6, 116, III 86. In VII 199 κατ' ἄ is = τῇ where. See appendix to § 406, 2.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Osthoff *Perfect* 332 ff., G. Meyer *Gram.* 30.



κατάντη (ἐς τὰ κ.) Hippokr. III 298.

κατάπερ Hdt. I 170, &c., Priene 144<sub>9</sub>, Halikarn. 238<sub>19</sub>, καθάπερ Ephesos 147<sub>11</sub> (about 300 B. C.), Teos 158<sub>4, 25</sub> (first century B. C.) Cf. § 369. In Halikarn. 238<sub>43</sub> we find κατόπερ (§ 132). See appendix to § 406, 2.

κατότι Hdt. VII 2.

κεῖ Archil. 170 = κεῖθι Archil. 132, Hdt. II 122.

κῆ, κου, &c., § 342.

λείως *completely, at all*, Archil. 112 (MSS. λειωι corrected by Porson). Cf. Hesychios λείως (MSS. λείρως) ῥαδίως, σφόδρα τελείως, καλῶς, part of which gloss might be explanatory of λείως *Theaitetos* 144 B, from λείος *smooth*. Elsewhere the grammarians (Apollon. *Pronom.* 58<sub>12</sub> Schn., Et. Mag. 560<sub>31</sub>, Photios 218<sub>3</sub>) refer to the form either as λέως<sup>1</sup>, usually explaining it as derived from τελέως (Hdt., Hippokr.<sup>2</sup>) by hyphaeresis<sup>3</sup>, or as λίως, Erotian 240. The same stem appears in the Hesychian λεώλης· τελείως ἐξώλης (cf. λειώλης on a Rhodian inscription, *Mitth.* XVI 112); λεώλεθρος· παντελῶς ἐξωλοθρευμένος; λειοκόνιτος· ἢ τελείωσις (*sic* MSS.), ὡς κόνις διαλελυμένη, λείως γὰρ τελείως; λειοκόρης· (*sic* MSS. λειω- Voss) ὁ τελείως ἐκκεκαυμένος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχων, with which cf. λεωκόρητος· ὁ ἐξωλοθρευμένος Photios 218<sub>3</sub>, λεωκόνιτος· ἢ λεωκόρητος (*sic* MSS.) παντελῶς ἐξωλοθρευμένος Hesychios, and λεωκόνητος ὁ ἐφθαρμένος Theognostos (An. Ox. II 9<sub>32</sub>).

The etymological connection of λέως with Attic and Ionic λεωργός, defended by L. & S. and Wecklein on *Prometh.* 5, would be easier, did we not have reported λαοργός· ἀνόσιος, Σικελοί in Hesychios and λεουργός as Doric in Photios. Curtius, *Et.* p. 361, derives λεωργός from λᾱ from λᾱ(σο)-φοργός, which suits the meaning, but λᾱ- as a compressed stem from λᾱσο- is difficult. Fo may be dropped when it is the final syllable of the first part of a compound whose second part begins with F-, e. g. Λη[F<sub>2</sub>]Fάδης, Λη[Fo]Fαναξ, Κλε[Fo]Fαναξ = Λεάδης, Λεάναξ, Κλεάναξ, and perhaps in να[Fo]Fορός = ναρός and ναυρός. But we desiderate examples of λα(σο)-Fo-. The λᾱ of λάμαχος, λακαταπύγων, λακατάρατος, if genuine Attic, is difficult, and not comparable to the λε- of λέως.

λῆν (Hom.) Archil. 66<sub>6</sub>, Hdt. IV 96, Hippokr. III 94, Aret. 34. Hesychios' λῆν was formerly read by Bergk in Theog. 352.

<sup>1</sup> Galen, Gloss. p. 514, has λεῶς· παντελῶς, ἅπαν.

<sup>2</sup> L. & S. say that διὰ τέλους serves as the adverb of διατελής. But Δ has διατελέως, Hippokr. III 324, and Littré adopts it in III 48 (where τελέως also occurs); διὰ τέλεος 38, 62, 132, &c.

<sup>3</sup> So even Kühner-Blass I 286. The hyphaeresis cannot be defended by (τε)τράπεζα.



μᾶ occurs frequently in Herodas (4<sub>20</sub>, 33, 43, 51<sub>3</sub>, 56, &c.) as an interjection employed by women to express astonishment or indignation. The scholiast on Theokr. XV 89 errs in restricting the word to the dialect of Syracuse and in limiting the range of its use to vexation. It is doubtless the same as μᾶ, Aischylos' *Suppl.* 890. Meister *Herodas* p. 684 sees in the word (originally) an invocation to the μεγάλη μήτηρ. Cf. English *marry!*

μέν = μῆν, § 139.

μεσηγύ (Hom., Theog.) in Ionic prose occurs in Hippokr. only.

μέχρι, see § 715.

μηδαμά Halikaṛn. 238<sub>39-40</sub>, Hdt. I 68, II 91, III 65, VII 50, not -μᾶ with Aldus, *d*, and once in *R* and *B*. Jacobitz' -μᾶ in Lukian's *Syr. dea* 21, 22, 23 is not Ionic. οὐδαμά appears twelve times in Hdt. with -μᾶ in Aldus and often in *R* *b d*. οὐδαμά occurs in Anakr. 50, Theog. 1363, 1373. Hdt. has also οὐδαμῇ I 24, 34, 56, II 43, 116 (οὐδαμῇ Aret. 25). μηδαμῶς and οὐδαμῶς are also Herodoteian.

μήκοτε *perhaps* (?), Hrd. 317.

ναί in ναί μᾶ (Hom.) Archil. 108, Anan. 4, Theog. 1045, Hrd. 166, 771, 99, ναί Δήμητρα 186, ναί Μοῦσαν *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 61 (νη Δί' 281 is Attic).

νέωτα, cf. § 289, 1.

νηποινεί Amphip. 1010, and so to be read in Andokides, Plato, and Demosthenes. Cf. ἀσπονδεί, ἀσυλεί above.

νυ (Hom.) occurs in Aret. 171.

νυνί Hdt. VII 229 (*R* νῦν), is excluded from the language of tragedy and history (except Xenophon), but used by the orators and Plato. Lukian has ταυτί, *Syr. dea* 23.

ὅπου, που, &c. are the regular forms in the inscriptions, which never have ὅκου, κου, &c. Cf. § 342. In Keos 43<sub>23</sub> we find ὅπου ἄν with the subjunctive, elsewhere ὅπου is followed by the indicative.

ὅπως is frequent in Ionic inscriptions considering the chances for its occurrence. It is found with the subjunctive in Thasos 716, Ephesos 147<sub>17</sub><sup>1</sup>, with the optative in Samos 221<sub>10</sub>, with the future indicative in Samos 221<sub>18</sub>. Herodotos has no liking for ὅκως (twelve times) or for ὅκως ἄν (five times) in the pure final sentence, though he allows greater scope for the ὅκως of incomplete finality. The imperative ὅκως occurs once (III 142). Hippokrates uses ὅκως with the subjunctive in II 64 *bis*, III 242, VII 230, ὅκως ἄν II 74, III 254, IV 228, VII 212 (ὅκως

<sup>1</sup> ὅπως ἄν is probably Attic in an Ephesian inscription in Dittenb. *Syll.* 1345, 9.

ἀν δοκέη and ὥς ἀν δοκέη VIII 498), ὅκως with the optative I 634 and Lukian *Syr. dea* 26, 27. In complete final sentence the poets use ὅπως twice only (Hipponax 85<sub>3</sub> hexam., Anaki 63<sub>2</sub>). Exclusive of Pindar, ὅπως (and ὥς) in these sentence occur chiefly in Hipponax and Anakreon; a fact which may have its explanation in local preferences (Gildersleeve *A. J. P.* IV 432). In the incomplete final sentence ὅπως appears in Sim Amorg. 7<sub>80</sub>, who also uses ὅπως with the future (I<sub>5</sub>).

ὀτῆμος Hrd. 3<sub>55</sub> may contain a prefixed ὀ-, as in ὀκοῖος, ὀπηνίκα. When ὅτε and ἦμος are conjoined, the latter precedes as in Apoll Rh. IV 267, 452, 1310, Anthol. Pal. app. 51<sub>25</sub> (cf. εὔτε ὅτα Aret. 89, ἕως ὅτε Zosimos I 5, 3, if not in Thuk. IV 117 Xenoph. *Kyrop.* V 1, 25, &c.). Both Hdt. and Hippokr. use ἦμος. That τῆμος was not restricted to poetry is clear from Thessalian τᾶμον. In Hippokr. IX 14 Littré reads τ' ἦμος where some MSS. have τῆμος.

οὔδαμά, see under μηδαμά.

οὔνεκα, see § 715.

οὔτω, οὔτως. To § 366 may be added that in Herodas οὔτω occurs before consonants and at the end of the verse, οὔτως only before vowels. In 4<sub>71</sub> οὔτως ἐπιλοξοῖ of the MSS. is metrically inferior to οὔτω ἐπιλοξοῖ. But in 6<sub>71</sub> we have another case of the anapaest in the second foot (or shall we write μαλκός with Meister?). In the fourth foot we find the anapaest in 2<sub>31</sub>, 6<sub>55</sub>.

ὄφρα was not used by any post-Homeric writer of Ionic stock. It occurs four times in Theognis.

πάγχυ (Homer) Hdt. I 31, IV 135, and in tragedy (*Septem* 641. In *Frogs* 1531 it occurs in hexameters. Attic prose uses πάν instead.

πάλιν (cf. p. 289, note 4): in Hrd. 2<sub>52</sub> πάλι[ν] μνῆν is preferable to πάλι, whose nasal may have been omitted because of the μ. Before other consonants than μ we find πάλιν (4<sub>47</sub>, 7<sub>98</sub> Kallimachos epigr. 12<sub>2</sub> uses πάλι to obtain a pyrrhic. In Homer we find παλῖωξις.

πάξ interjection, Hrd. 7<sub>114</sub> ('it fits,' also 'enough'). διαμπάξ ἀπόπαξ, ἐπίπαξ, ἐσάπαξ Hdt. VI 125 (cf. *ein-fach*), are from the same root (παῖγ-, cf. πήγνυμι). Cf. ἀναμίξ Hdt. I 103 and σύμμιγα VI 58, ἐναλλάξ III 40, Hippokr. V 728.

πέρ occurs often in Hdt. and Hippokr., where Attic prose has καίπερ.

πέρην Hdt. VI 44, 97, &c., Hippokr. IV 380 (*right through* καῦσις). The word is connected with περάω, πόρος, not with πέρας. There is no form πέρη = Attic πέρᾱ, but Hdt. VI 33 has πέρηθε.



πλεόνως occurs only in Hdt. (III 34, V 18).

πρὶν in Ionic inscriptions is found with the infinitive, Olynth. 8 B 5. πρὶν ἢ with the infinitive in C. I. A. IV B 53 a 9 is probably Ionic, as the document deals with matters pertaining to cult. πρὶν ἢ is a specific peculiarity of Ionic, since it occurs in Homer (E 288 = X 266), then in Herodotos and Hippokrates, while no Attic poet or prose writer uses the locution. In the pseudo-Hippokratic works πρὶν ἢ (ten times) is much less frequent than πρὶν (twenty times) with the infinitive; a sign of the decline of the former construction. Hippokrates uses πρὶν ἢ with the subjunctive once (III 248) in a genuine treatise, whereas in the spurious works it occurs eight times<sup>1</sup>. With the subjunctive, the genuine Hippokrates omits ἄν twice (II 52, 330), his imitators insert it six times.

προίξ, see § 298.

πρόκα = εὐθύς, παραχρῆμα in Hdt. I 111, &c., is always followed by τε (πρόκατε). Cf. αὐτίκα, ἡνίκα for the extension of πρό by -κα.

πρώην (Homer<sup>2</sup>), Hdt. II 53, also Attic (though some texts have πρώην), is contracted to πρῶν in Hrd. 562. As Doric πρῶ(F)ᾶν Theokr. VIII 23, XIV 5, or πρῶ(F)ᾶν, Theokr. IV 60, V 4, XV 15, became πρᾶν<sup>3</sup>, so Ionic and Attic πρῶ(F)ῆν became πρῶν in Herodas. In Kallimachos' choliambics (frag. 84, Schn.) we find πρῶν according to Joh. Alex. 329 (Hdn. I 4949). It would seem therefore that Herodas' πρῶν is wrong (πρῶν Bücheler), or that Kallimachos' πρῶν is a mistake (πρῶν, Meister *Herodas* p. 775). The fact that Joh. Alex. gives as the full form πρώην, not πρώην or πρῶϊν as Lentz writes, inclines us to the view that we should read πρῶν in Kallimachos. Both Joh. Alex. and Suidas regard πρῶ as the base of the word<sup>4</sup>. An enlarged form of the same word is πρωΐος (cf. Skt. *pūrvīya*, Slav. *prŭvyjŭ*, 'the first') which becomes πρώιος (Hdt. VIII 130, πρῶϊν VIII 6; cf. Hom. πρῶϊον adv.) and πρῶος in Attic.

σύνεγγυς (of place) Hrd. 143, Hippokr. IV 180.

τε is separated from its pronoun, after the epic fashion, in τὰ πέρ τε Hdt. I 74. Noteworthy uses in New Ionic are ἐπέϊτε or

<sup>1</sup> On πρὶν &c. in Ionic writers, see Sturm's treatise, pp. 73 ff. and the works there cited.

<sup>2</sup> The schol. Ven. A on O 470 reports that Zenodotos wrote πρώην and that Aristarchos knew of this reading. In E 832 nearly all the MSS. have πρώην (A G πρώην), in Ω 500 πρώην is supported by Eustathios alone.

<sup>3</sup> This accent is found in *p*, Theokr. V 132, in *k* in VII 51. If the vulgate πρᾶν in seven other passages is correct, we must suppose a form πρῶᾶν, which ill suits the traditionary accent of πρώην. πρώην could not become πρᾶν in Doric as L. & S. state.

<sup>4</sup> Apart from the difficulty in the way of a paragogic ν, the Ionic form is however open; πρῶι Hdt. IX 101, Hippokr. II 682, III 46 (cf. Hom. πρῶϊ, πρῶϊζα), πρῶϊότερον Arrian 264.



ἐπεὶ τε, νῦν τε I 125, VIII 101. In I 58, ἐμοί τε, quoted by L. & S. as another example, is now changed to ἐμοίγε with Reiske. Ionic has ἄτε *quippe* (Hdt. I 154, Hippokr. IV 224) as other dialects.

τέως<sup>1</sup> in Herodotos is most frequent in the sense of *for a time* (I 11, 82, 86, 94, II 169, VI 83, VIII 74 where all MSS. have ἔως). In VI 112 it means *up to this time*. In IV 165 all MSS. have τέως *the while*, which is retained by Holder, abandoned by Stein and other recent editors for ἔως. In the spurious tractates of Hippokrates we observe a like usage (VI 180 where θ has ἔως, VII 232, VIII 344, 596 *bis*, 602). Cf. Galen *gloss.* p. 578. This use of τέως is now regarded by editors of the Attic prose writers as due to the Alexandrians, who used it as a relative. Lukian *Syr. dea* 25 has τέως μὲν . . . ἐπεὶ δέ, whereas Hdt. uses τέλος δέ, ἔπειτα δέ, or μετὰ δέ in apodosis. τέως occurs on Attic inscriptions.

τῇ *there!* Hrd. I<sub>82</sub> (τῇ, πίθι, with which cf. ι 347 τῇ, πίε οἶνον). τῇ is the instrumental (cf. Lith. *tè*), τῇ the dative. Cf. Kyprian τᾶ, τᾶδε, Doric τᾶδε, Attic and Ionic τῇδε, Attic τηδί.

-τι. Adverbs in -τι occur in ἐγκυτῖ Archil. (Et. Mag. 311<sub>40</sub>), ἀμαχητί, ἀνωμοτί, ἀπαρτί, ἀπονητί, ἀτιμωρητί (Hdt.); -στι in μεγαλωστί, νεωστί, Σκυθιστί (Hdt.). Cf. *A. J. P.* VI 429. Where -τῖ takes the place of -τει it is not derived from it, at least in the classical period of the language.

τοι may be noted in ἐπεὶ τοι, Hippokr. IV 216.

τουτεῖ, adverbial locative, Kyme 3 A, is also Doric (Theokr. V 33, 45, 103).

χαλκίνδα reported by Hesychios (τὸ εἰς χαλκὸν κυβεύειν) appears in Hrd. 36.

-χου occurs *e.g.* in Hdt. in τριχοῦ (and τρίχα), διχοῦ (and δίχα), πολλαχοῦ (and πολλαχῇ), πενταχοῦ (III 117, not πανταχοῦ for which we have πανταχῇ).

χωρίς. To § 366 we may add that in Olynthos 8 B 13 we find [χωρί]ς ἐκατέρους, in Miletos 100<sub>8</sub>, Hippokr. II 18 χωρίς + consonant, in V 668 χωρίς followed by a comma.

ᾧδε *hither*, Hippokr. VI 476, 478 as *Protag.* 328 D and the tragedians. Aristarchos denied that this use obtains in Homer.

ᾧν and οὔν. To § 206 may be added that ὁτρωιοῦν occurs in Amphip. 10<sub>21</sub>, ἡιοῦν in Teos 158<sub>ε, 28</sub> (late). In respect of the etymological relation of the two words (§ 252), Meister (*Herodas* p. 867) suggests that ᾧν is to be derived from ἡ οὔν, as ἄρα and ἡρα from ἡ ἄρα, and μῶν from μῇ οὔν<sup>2</sup>. If ᾧν is from ἡ οὔν, it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the story in the schol. on Plato's *Hipparchos* p. 335 in reference to Τέως from τεώς.

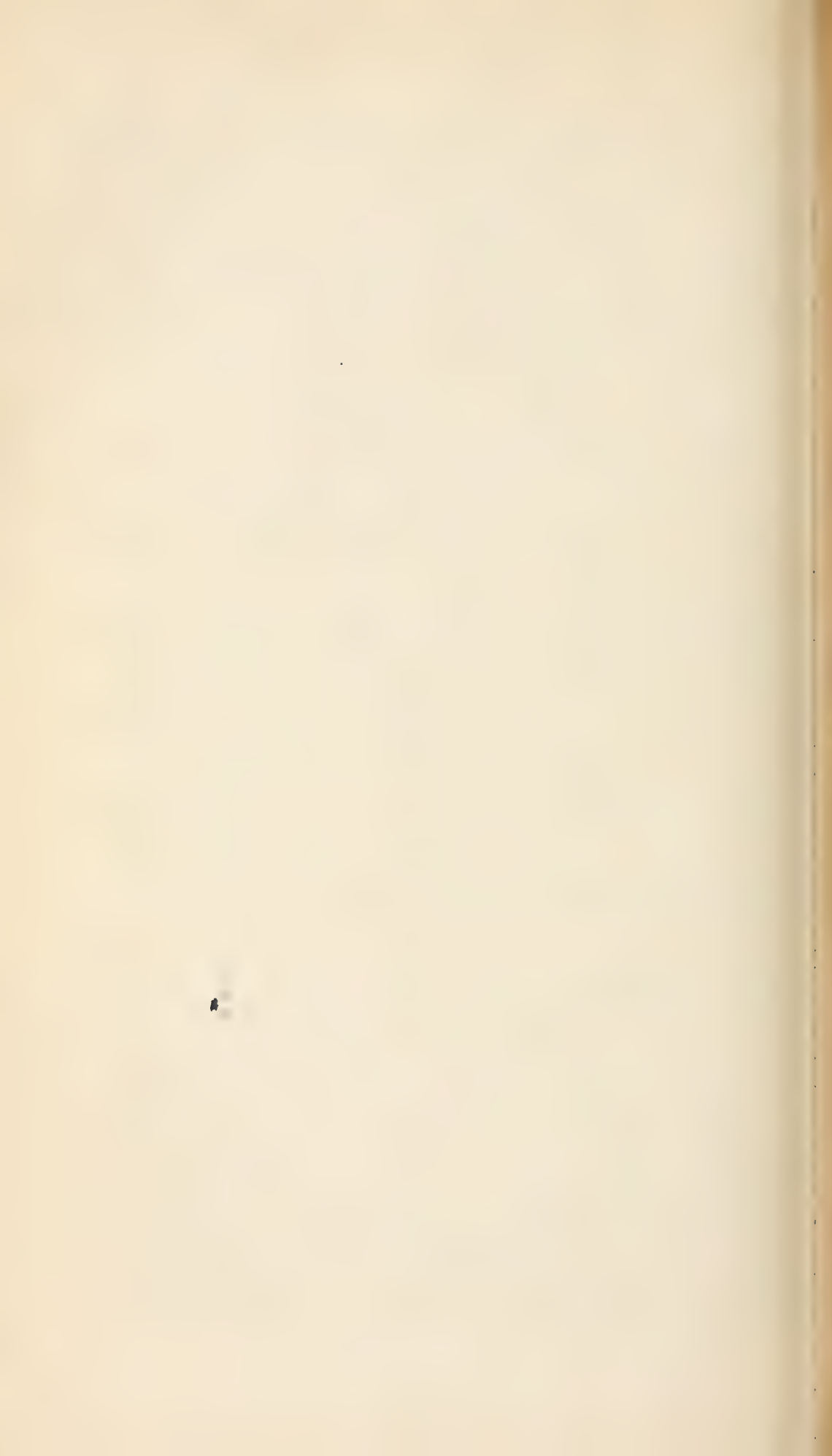
<sup>2</sup> So Hdn. I 516<sub>21</sub>, II 332<sub>34</sub> (Joh. Alex. 40<sub>26</sub>), schol. on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. Anecd. II 969<sub>14</sub>, who assume a Doric change of ου to ω, which is out of

must, like  $\eta$ , have once been interrogative and asseverative. Meister quotes *Philokt.* 121 ( $\eta$   $\mu\eta\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\omicron\upsilon\nu$   $\grave{\alpha}$   $\sigma\omicron\iota$   $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\nu\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ ) as an example of  $\eta$   $\omicron\upsilon\nu$  interrogative. Here, however, the words are separated and each has its own peculiar function. As a particle of asseveration,  $\omicron\nu$  <  $\eta$   $\omicron\upsilon\nu$  became (we must assume) postpositive, usurping the place of  $\omicron\upsilon\nu$  (cf. the postpositive  $\eta\pi\alpha$ ,  $\grave{\alpha}\pi\alpha$ ). That  $\omicron\nu$  could in course of time be regarded as an uncompounded particle (cf.  $\gamma\omicron\nu$ ), and thus vacate its proper functions, is less difficult to understand when we observe the use of  $\mu\omicron\nu$  in *Choeph.* 177  $\mu\omicron\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\nu$   $\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\beta\delta\alpha$   $\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu$   $\eta\eta$   $\tau\acute{o}\delta\epsilon$ ; *Androm.* 82  $\mu\omicron\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\nu$   $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$   $\phi\rho\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\tau\iota\nu'$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu$ ; *Sophist.* 250 D  $\mu\omicron\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\iota\nu\iota$   $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\omicron\nu$ ; and *Laws* 966 B. Cf. also  $\mu\omicron\nu$   $\mu\acute{\eta}$  *Rep.* 351 E, &c., and such cases as  $\eta$  . . .  $\grave{\alpha}\pi\alpha$  (from  $\eta$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha$ ) in *Soph.*, frag. 670. But where  $\omicron\nu$  is interposed between preposition and verb, as is frequently the case in *Hdt.* (e.g. II 47, 85, 86, 96, IV 60; cf. Homeric  $\omicron\upsilon\nu$  in the relative member) it is not easy to believe that it is derived from  $\eta$   $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ . Meister is forced to admit that  $\omicron\nu$  may have been forced into the MSS. of *Hdt.* at the expense of  $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ .

Adverbs from  $-\epsilon\varsigma$  stems regularly end in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ , not  $-\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  (§ 289, 2), except when the stem form is preserved, as in  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  in *Hdt.*, *Hippokr.*  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  should probably be written  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ .

$\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  appears in Zeleia 113<sub>13, 35</sub> (after 334 B. C.), whereas in Attic inscriptions it does not occur with any frequency till the first century B. C. In *Hdt.*  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  are more frequent than  $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omega\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omega\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in the complete final sentence, though  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omega\varsigma$  are more common than  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  and  $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omega\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ . In Hippokrates (according to Weber *Absichtssätze* p. 138) in complete final sentences we find  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  only (e.g. III 256, 258). See on  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma$ . *Hipponax* 43<sub>3</sub>, *Archil.* 109 have  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , *Anakreon* 62<sub>3</sub>, 63<sub>5</sub>, *Hipponax* 19<sub>4</sub> have  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ .

the question in an Attic word. Perhaps *Hdn.* had in mind such cases as Doric  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$ . To the above etymology Tryphon objected (1) that the two particles, whose contraction was assumed, differed widely in meaning, (2) that  $\mu\omicron\nu$  was prepositive,  $\omicron\upsilon\nu$  postpositive, and (3) that the loss of the  $\upsilon$  was inexplicable. Apollon. (*de Conj.* 228<sub>11</sub> Schn.) meets the phonetic objection by the statement that, though some regard the loss of the  $\upsilon$  as due to euphony, the truth is that  $\mu\omicron\nu$  is from  $\mu\acute{\eta}$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  being also Attic, as that dialect is Ionic  $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota$ . So far from defending the derivation from  $\mu\acute{\eta}$   $\omicron\upsilon\nu$  (as Meister states), by equating Attic with Ionic, he deliberately avoids the point raised by Tryphon in respect of the  $\upsilon$ . If the  $\omicron\upsilon$  of  $\omicron\upsilon\nu$  is a genuine diphthong Tryphon was correct,  $\alpha\upsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon$  retaining their  $\upsilon$  in crasis in all dialects; but if the  $\omicron\upsilon$  is adulterine, Tryphon was wrong and Meister may be correct. Spurious  $\omicron\upsilon$  is retained in crasis only when actual contraction does not take place (e.g.  $\omicron\upsilon\rho\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$  =  $\omicron\iota$   $\omicron\upsilon\rho\phi$ , Chios 174 A 15-16). Its  $\upsilon$  of course disappears in genuine contraction (e.g. Attic  $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\omega}$ ). If we regard the  $\omicron\upsilon$  of  $\omicron\upsilon\nu$  as a spurious diphthong, I see no objection, on the score of phonetics, to the crasis  $\omega$  <  $\eta$  +  $\omicron\upsilon$ , though no other example is at hand. Cf.  $\mu\epsilon\mu\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\nu$  <  $\mu\epsilon\mu\nu\eta\omicron\iota\mu\eta\nu$ .





# APPENDIX I

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS



17 13 f. b. (from below): on ἀτελέη see add. to p. 175. 32 9 f. b.: read μῆνις. 33 f. n. l. 2: read 4 for 6. 45 (§ 42): add Meister *Die Mimianben des Herodas* 1893, Preger *Inscriptiones Graecae metricae* 1891 (see the review by Kaibel in *G. G. A.* 1892, p. 89). 47 7: on the contraction to η of α + ε, see additions to p. 242. 51 8 (and 58 note 1): the probability of such an anacrusis is doubtful. The statement in the text is made on the authority of Rossbach *Griechische Metrik* 233. 56 21: κούραι, C. I. A. IV B 373<sup>109</sup>, is not Attic. The inscription is furthermore noteworthy from the fact that it presents the only example of σωζ- for σωιζ- in an early document found on Attic soil. The inscription is earlier than 400 B. C. 67 15: it may here be mentioned that some scholars still hold that there are cases of ā in tragic trimeters which are heirlooms of the period when ā, even after other sounds than ε, ι, υ, ρ, had not become η. So Wecklein regards βαλόν *Choeph.* 571, γαθούση 772 as Old Attic. Verrall justifies the irregular ā by assuming that the words in question are due to literary association. 57 12: ὀρέων, see add. p. 225. 69 26: dele (§ 428). 70 7 f. b. note 1: etymological considerations speak in favour of deriving πάνος, μᾶνός and perhaps ἀδολέσσης in Attic from \*πανφός, \*μανφός and ἀδφ-, but the whole trend of the dialect is against compensatory lengthening upon the loss of φ. These Attic forms, like Ionic ὅλος, are a stumbling-block to the uniformists. Kretschmer's theory, mentioned in note 2, will not hold ground in the face of Ἀπατούρια, which contains a non-Attic ου. Ἀπατοῖριος appears in C. I. A. IV B 462 d 11 an archaic inscription, Ἀπατοῦριος in III 2499, 2594 and perhaps 1057 (all late). On Ionic soil we find Ἀπατοῦρ- in Phanagoreia, Bechtel 1643, and also in Amorgos *B. C. H.* XIII 344, no. 2, though the document has Ἀπατοριῶνος and also Κλευδίκου. A Sarmatian inscription, I. G. A. 350, contains Ἀπατορο. The word is from Ἀπατορφ- with the 'copulative' α (cf. ὁμοπάτρια). Boiotian Μωνυχίαν C. D. I. 7127 does not prove that the Attic Μουνιχία is the direct result of the loss of the spirant in μονφ-. As Schulze *Q. E.* 79, 514 suggests, it is possible that Boiotian Μων- may be a dialectal echo of Μουν-. The υ of the Boiotian form is noteworthy, not only because of its appearance in that dialect, but because Μουνν- occurs only three times in all the Attic inscriptions (once in the

fourth century, twice in the period of the empire). It may be regarded as certain that other causes than the desire to avoid a succession of short syllables produced the diphthongal forms Ἀπατούρια, Μουνιχία in Attic. Keller in his *Lateinische Volksetymologie* derives Μουνιχία from a Semitic source, on grounds that seem insufficient, so far as I am able to judge of their value.

71 12: compare the variation between κόρα l. 1 and κοῦρη l. 5 in a Thessalian epigram, Kaibel no. 505; notes 1 and 2: see § 716. 75 16: In *Prometh.* 353 the MSS. have ἑκατοντακάρῃνον with α written over the η. 78 8 f. b.: γένωται Soph. frag. 191 (§ 296), cf. Dindorf's ἐπιβῶ Persai 1054. 79 note 2: read *Meineke*. Kock (elsewhere so spelled) is misprinted four times on p. 79, and p. 140 n. 1. 91: add the following treatises on the Dialect of Herodotos: Bumke: *De augmento verbi Herodotei*, 1835. Förstemann: *De vocabulis quae videntur esse apud Herodotum poeticis*, 1892. Kloppe: *De augmento Herodoteo*, 1848. Molhem: *De augmenti apud Homerum Herodotumque usu*, 1876. Norén's treatise was published in 1876 (Upsala). 93 22: for V, S, read v, s and so in the note below. Holder uses the signs V, S; 25: for the *Florentine MS.* (A) of the tenth, read (C) of the eleventh. 95 note 1: Maunde Thompson (*Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, 1893, p. 119) thinks the papyrus is at least as old as 250 B.C. 100 6: for *specifically* read *specially*, as a κ form has appeared in Aiolic. See additions to p. 290. The statement on p. 26, l. 6 must also conform to the new evidence presented. 101 8: add vol. X, xxxii, 1861. 101 note 2, l. 2: read 57 for 56, and add τέλεως Kos 37<sup>61</sup>, 38<sup>14, 16</sup>, 40 A 5 (Paton and Hicks) to the list of Koan Ionisms. 104 16, 17: dele ὕταν, ὕθεν. 106: add to the list of differences between Hdt. and Hippokr.: -θε Hdt., -θεν Hippokr. § 716; δυσί Hippokr., not in Hdt.; the inflection of κέρας, § 544. 117 22: Kabbadias in *Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολ.* 1891, p. 129 refers the inscription in question to the first century before Christ. 129 20: the grammarians usually accent ὀστέον without reference to the dialects. In Theokr. k has ὀστίον, Ahrens ὕστιον. In Hrd. 462, 63 (cf. p. 256, 8 f. b.) we find ἀργυρευν which I have written -εῦν, though this accent is quite uncertain; last line: add Ἀμολγος Arkadios 47<sup>17</sup>, Ἀμοργός Steph. Byz. 130 17 f. b.: for πήχεων the MSS. of Hdt. usually have πηχέων, e. g. I 178. 131 (§ 126): on the accent of the forms from ἰέω, τιθέω &c., see § 691, and note 2. 132 20: after κρατερός, insert καρτερός. 133 16: for τρέψω, στρέψω read τρέφω, στρέφω; 21: after 'α form' add: apart from the doubtful ἐτραπόμην. These cases occur in II 80, IV 60, V 15, VI 33, 119, VII 18. In the active, τράπω is found in all the MSS. only once (III 81), whereas τρέπω occurs 18 times without a v.l. When there is variation in the MSS., ABCd have τρέπω (VI 26, VII 52), except in II 92 where d alone supports the ε form. In the middle τρέπεσθαι occurs in V 86 (ABCd), τρέπονται V 61, τρέπεται I 117, II 17 in all MSS. ἐτραπόμην &c. (20 times) is certain and the aoristic use is not difficult in many cases. It is a significant fact that τράπεσθαι, the reading of all the recent German editors in the present, is never without the v.l. τραπέσθαι (I 11, III 157, VI 52, VIII 16). The adoption of τράπω throughout involves the assumption that at least in the active the original form has been almost completely obliterated. On the other hand, it should be stated that a τράπω alongside of τρέψω, ἔτρεψα &c. is an unusual, and therefore, a probable form. Homer has τραπ- only in the denominative τραπέω K 421, η 125; 3 f. b.: καρδίη Theog. 366, 1236, Hrd. 157, καρδιηβόλει 452. Homer has θρασυκάρδιος. 134 20: Hrd. has τεμείν 6<sup>11</sup>, 7<sup>117</sup>, τεμεῦσα 459. τέμνω appears in the Hymn to Demeter 384, Solon 13<sup>17</sup>. 135 3: ἀρωιδίος



Hrd., *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 54 = Attic ἐρφιδίος Babrios 942 without the *iota*. 136 14: read καταλελάβηκε. 140 7: Schmidt has now discussed in full the question of the assimilation of vowels in *K. Z.* XXXII 321 ff. To the examples mentioned by me (ἐρετή, ἔρσην, ἀττέλεβος, Ἑρμάνοσσα, ὀβολός, Τορώνη, τέσσερες, ἀρραδέω, ἕτερος, μέγεθος), Schmidt adds many others, *e. g.* Ἀπόλλων, ἀδάξομαι, ἀστακός, γόργυρα, -κόντορος p. 142, κρόμυνα, οὐλαί, ψακάς. ραφανίς p. 141 might be added to the list. 141 19 f. b.: in opposition to this dissimilation, see now footnote 3 to p. 566; 4 f. b.: cf. also ἀλετρίβανος Hdn. II 2594, Eust. 18310 for ἄλο-, Ἀνδρέαιος Thessalian, C. D. I. 326 III 10, Ὀρσεάς in Pindar. 143 3 f. b.: Hrd. has ἐσσῶμαι, *Class. Rev.* V 480, 116. 144 5: the analogy of *sēcus*, *sēcīus* is defective. See *Arch. f. lat. Lex.* IV 602; 21: Hrd. has ἴλεως 411, 25. ἴλαθι, on a late metrical inscription from Paros (C. I. G. 23888, 13) contains the weak, epic ἴληθι the strong form; cf. πίμπλαθι and πίμπληθι formed from πίμπλη. 145 11 f. b.: add Λεώφιλος Archil. 69; footnote l. 2: read *rā* for *ār*. Cf. § 478, where it is shown that Ἀμφιάρεος, not Ἀμφιάρεως, may be the form native to the New Ionic of Hdt. 146 13: add νεωκόρῳ Hrd. 490, νεωκόρον 441, 45, νεωκόρος Oropos 186-7, 24, 41; 2 f. b.: ἀγαίομαι is from \*ἀγασιομαι, as δαίομαι from \*δασιομαι. A supposed παλέω by the side of παλαίω (§ 593) is not to be regarded as a support for ἀγέομαι by the side of ἀγαίομαι. 147 14: μέξονα Orop. 1816; 14 f. b.: read 13 times, μείζων twice (336 and V 3). 149 11: on the expulsion of *ε* before *ο*, see § 287 and additions to pp. 254, 255. 152 9: -ιη also occurs in προεδρίη Xenophan. 27, τυραννίη 32, ταινίαις Empedokles 402, μεσημβρίη Kaibel 4413; 12: add Schulze *Q. E.* 291; 19: -διον may be regarded as an independent suffix; cf. ἰχθυῖδιον and ἰχθυῖδιον. Στρατώνδης, Μενώνδης are found in Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff. (Eretria); 22: Δαρικός Hrd. 7102, 122. The Ionic form is Δαρεικός Hdt. VII 28, Erythr. 20217-18. Meister *Herodas* 746 regards Δαρικός as Koan Doric. The form with *ι* appears in Tegea, I. G. A. 69. Cf. Χαιρωνικός and Χαιρωνικός. 153 6 f. b.: cf. Johansson *Sprachkunde*, p. 8; ἀστακός is assimilated from ὀστακός as ἀδάξεται &c. Hippokr. VIII 214, 330, 352 (cf. 568) from ὀδάξεται (Schmidt *K. Z.* XXXII 390, 391); 2 f. b.: Καμασαρή occurs in Latysch. II 191, 5; note: βάθρακος is the form in the modern dialect of Amorgos. 154 (§ 150): cf. p. 265, § 295, III A and appendix; end: Hrd. 88 has τόνθρυζε (as Babrios 973), but τονθορύζω 67, 777. Cf. Lobeck's *Phrynichus* 358. 155 (§ 153): verbs that have *υ* in Homer usually do not protract the vowel in the later literature, *e. g.* φῦω < \*φυῶ, in Mimn. 21, Archil. 42, Theog. 1164, Sim. Keos 856 (Sim. Amorg.?, Empedokl. 70, 154, 202 (but φῦ in Solon 436, Theog. 537, 1134, Empedokl. 66), θῦεσκε Hippon. 372, βρῦοντα Anakr. 652. On the other hand for *ϋ*ω < \*σῦω, we find ῥῥ Hrd. 746, ῥάδες 2 486, ῥετός Nikand. *Ther.* 273. Cf. πτῦω in Apoll. Rhod. II 570, IV 925, Theokr. VI 39, ἰσχῦω in Babrios 196 (as Pindar frag. 61) with five cases of ἰσχῦω; 6 f. b.: Hippokr. has ῥυφ- V 370, 374, 386, ῥοφ- II 306, 456, VII 60, &c. 156 17 f. b.: after Greek word, add *except in the case of* ἥμισυ p. 157. 157: before § 156 insert Κῦδιλλα Hrd. 511, 60, a word showing the shortening of the radical vowel that occurs in proper names. 162 15: ἀέναον (MSS. ἀένναον) Herakl. 111 (not III). 163 18: ἔμπης occurs in Aret. 54; (§ 162, 2): ἐπᾶρή Teos 156 B 30, 36, Chios 174 C 11, Mylasa 248 A 12, B 12, C 15, ἐπᾶράσθω Chios 174 C 9, Πολύαρητος Thasos 723, Ἀρητος, a Chian, Ross *Inscr. ined.* II 147, a Samian, Dittenb. *Syll.* 3962 (but Ἀρατος Erythr. 206 B 44), Ἀρήτη Olbia, Bechtel 133, Δημάρητος Hdt., Delos 56, Styra 19180, Λυκάρητος Hdt. Hrd. 514 has κατήρητος, which Brugmann (in Meister's *Herodas* p. 876)



explains as derived from ἄρη on the principle referred to in § 165, note. The final α of Attic ἄρά is difficult. It may be mentioned that Schulze *Q. E.* 90 derives it from \*ἄραφα. See Danielsson *Epigraphica* p. 41. 164 footnote 3: in regarding the α of Attic κάλη as long, I have followed L. & S.; but whence they derive their authority for this quantity I do not know. From the ancient grammarians we learn merely that the Attic form is κάλη. The congener is haull *rupture* (as in Hippokr.) found in the Older Edda. κάλη might be regarded as καφελ-, κήλη as κᾰφλ-. If κάλη has ᾱ, it is from κᾰφλ-. Hesychios does not refer καλάζω or κάλαμα to any dialect. 165 4: κάλός is found on a Delian inscription (53<sub>1</sub>) and in Herodas 7<sub>115</sub>. To the occurrences of κάλός in Herodas, add 1<sub>54</sub>. The word always has its initial syllable in the arsis of the second foot, except in 7<sub>115</sub>. Kallimachos has 14 cases of κάλός, 8 of κάλός, Bion 5 and 11 respectively; 7 f. b.: γλάσσα < γλαχία, is the correct form, and is reported by Et. Mag. 558<sub>50</sub>. Homer, Hdt., Hippokr., Miletos 100<sub>5</sub>, Aischrion 1<sub>8</sub> &c. have the common form γλῶσσα. With γλάσσα, cf. γλάσων· μωρός, ἀνούστατος, in Zonaras 439. Has κᾰρίς, Ananios 5<sub>2</sub>, its ᾱρ from αρφ? ἀκολουθήσας Hipponax 55 B has an ā that I cannot explain, if the reading is correct. 168 10 f. b.: for *not* read *may* be, and cf. appendix to p. 163. 169 13: cf. παμπησία *Ekkles.* 868. 170 2: in later Greek ηη was regarded as cacophonous. Cf. ἀηδιζόμεν for ἡηδ-, Hdn. II 787<sub>22</sub>. Schmidt *K. Z.* XXV 23 supposes an inflection ᾱεν whence ἡήρ, ἡέρα, and ᾱενός or ᾱνός whence Homeric αὔρη. Schulze *Q. E.* 67 thinks ἡήρ is due to a like contamination as that which produced ψᾰρ, ψᾰρός from ψήρ, ψᾰρός (cf. *K. Z.* XXV 20); but on p. 27 he can give no reason for the retention of the ā in ἡήρ and in Hom. δυσᾰής. Hesychios has ἡρα· τὸν ἄερα, an Ionic gloss; 3 f. b.: analogy with βασιλέος would better serve to explain νεός = νεός. 174 note 1: σπείρης *Papyr. du Louvre* 69 C 7, C. I. G. 3132, 3615, 5050, *Arch. Zeit.* XXXVII 136, no. 269, *Papers Amer. School* II no. 33, 7, *Βεκτούρης* edict of Diocl. *J. H. S.* XI 317. 175 23: Kühner-Blass cite ἀτελέην from Eretria, *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.* 1890, 196 ff.; 30: the Teian inscription may date before 350 B. C. 176 4: Hrd. 4<sub>86</sub> has ὑγιή, not ὑγιή as stated, with an anapaest in the fifth foot. In 4<sub>5</sub> ὕγία is possible. In 4<sub>95</sub> Meister reads ὑγί(α), a form found in Kos 345<sub>16</sub> (Paton and Hicks). The passage is however quite uncertain (perhaps ὑγιή = ὑγιε(ι)η). The form ὑγιή is from ὑγιή rather than from ὑγιή as stated. 177 1 (cf. p. 200, 4 f. b.): Schulze *Q. E.* 489 calls attention to the fact that the penult of Attic ἱερέα is never long beyond doubt, and proposes to read ἱερέᾱ for -ιά. With ἱερῇ, cf. Μελλιερῇ παριερῇ(?) *Plutarch* (*an seni* 24); 6: for Hdt. read *Ionic*. 179 7: *πρημενή*. Kaibel 618<sub>40</sub> (late). Pausan. VII 18, 5 even gives Πρευγένης as the name of the father of the ancient Agenor, and on a late Spartan inscription (C. I. G. 1253) we find Πρευκλητία. 180 15 f. b.: dele Αἰγινῆται. 181 10 f. b. read 1<sub>7</sub> for 98. 185 20: ἴσος or rather ἴσος, in Homer is from \*φίτφο (cf. § 395), which contains the weak stem of φείδος, φείδομαι. Cf. Bechte *Philol. Anzeiger* 1886, p. 15, Brugmann *Grundriss* II p. xiii. The objection to the old explanation from φίσφος, a form preserved in Kretan, is that media σφ does not become σσ(σ). Schulze *Q. E.* 88 asserts that when σφ follow the accent, it becomes σσ(σ), but when the accent follows, σφ disappear with lengthening of the preceding vowel (ἴός from \*ίσφός, νᾰός from νᾰσφός but both forms may have had originally a long radical vowel). This law is not borne out by the facts, and Schulze himself (p. 55) regards \*ἔφφαδ as the descendant of \*ἔσφαδε. Homer uses ἴσος (ἴσος) in the arsis only

except in a single instance (Ω 607). Et. M. 477<sup>10</sup> says: *εὔρηται τὸ ι μακρὸν καὶ βραχύ· παρὰ μὲν τῷ ποιητῇ ἀεὶ μακρὸν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πεζολόγοις βραχύ. καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐποποιοῖς εὔρηται καὶ συνεσταλμένον ὡς παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς τραγικοῖς καὶ κωμικοῖς συστέλλεται ἀεὶ τὸ ι. κατὰ δὲ ἱαμβικοὺς ἐπαμφοτερίζει.* Hesiod has *ἴσος* W. D. 752, Theognis in 678, Kallimachos *ἴσος* and *ἴσος*, each four times, Theokritos both. In Babrios we find *ἴσος* once (15<sup>11</sup>), *ἴσος* 35<sup>2</sup>, 67<sup>7</sup>, and [106<sup>16</sup>]. In Herodas the word occurs four times, but of these 279 is the only passage showing the quantity. Here the original reading *ἐρᾷς μὲν ἴσως* was changed by the copyist, who inserted *σύ* before *μὲν*. The recent editors of Herodotos accept *ἴσος*, except Holder, whose *ἴσος* is not well supported in the MSS.; 25: *Ἐρμίας* occurs in a verse attributed to Hipponax by Suidas (Bergk II 362). It is however not certain that the verse is a choliambic; 8 f. b.: Hrd. has only *γίνομαι* (127, 735, I 2), Babrios only *γινώσκω, γίνομαι*. 186 7: Homer has *βραχίτων* N 532, the *Aithiopis* frag. 32 *κυδῖονα*, Theog. *κάκιον* 811, 1175, Sim. Keos epigr. 142<sup>3</sup> *κάλλιον*, Babrios 56<sup>7</sup> *καλλίων*. See Schulze Q. E. 300; 8: *ξυνίετε* has the *ι* of *ῥίεμαι* (§ 699). In Ananios 5 the tetrameter ends, according to the MSS., in v. 3 with *κρέας*, v. 4 with *ἐσθίειν*, v. 5 with *κάλωπέκων*, for which are substituted *κρεῖας* and *ἀλωπήκων*. 187 (§ 199): see on p. 155 above; last line: add *υ* by crasis, as in *χῦποδημάτων* Hrd. 7<sup>87</sup>; 4 f. b.: *κλῦθι*, which occurs in Archil. 75, Anakr. 76, Empedokl. 75, Theog. 4, 13, is the Homeric form. In the epos its place is always at the beginning of the verse. Solon 13<sup>2</sup> makes use of the epic *κλῦτε*, but post-Homeric Ionic refrains from employing the form. Whatever the explanation of *κλῦτε*, *κλῦθι* must be held to represent a pre-Hellenic contamination of *\*κλευθι* and *\*κλυθι*, and not a metrical licence. *κλύω* occurs in Phoinix of Kolophon 21, at the end of the choliambic, and Eudokia, whose metrical sins are many, countenances the same quantity in II 323. For *κλύω* in Phoinix, *\*κούω* has been suggested by Schulze Q. E. 332, who has treated in full the verbs in *-ῦω*. 188 1: Schulze Q. E. 5 derives *ὀρσοθύρη* from *-θυρία*. *ὀρσοθύρη* has no suffix. Cf. *πλημμῦρίς* by the side of *πλήμμῦρα* < *-υρία*; 3: *σκῦλος* is correct; cf. *σκῦλον* and *σκύλος*; 14: *Θεοδώτης* Thasos 77 A 8 may be correct. Cf. *Θεοδώτας* in Keil's *An. epigr. et onom.* 106; (§ 201): the stem *πλεφ* in Homer and Hdt. belongs to the present, *πλωφ* to the aorist and perfect; 7 f. b.: read *θῶκος*. *θῶκος* is from *θόφακος*, which may be read in Homer β 14, ε 3, ο 468. 190 12: for *six* read *nine*. For a discussion of *οὖν ᾧν*, see § 716. 192 11: Hrd. 5<sup>61</sup> has *Ἀχᾷκάς* in agreement with Simonides' *Ἀχᾷτης*. Meister would even read *Ἀχᾷτη*, *-αῖκός* in Hdt. (cf. *Εὐβοϊκός*). 193 16 f. b.: *ναῖον* is not an example in point. When an apparent diphthong is formed by the glide *iota*, a long syllable is not the result. *Φαίεννου* is *υ--*, *Παμφαίης* *-υ-* &c. *νάω* is from *\*νάφω*, of which *νάφω* is a by-form. Cf. *κλαίω* and *κλάω*. Schulze Q. E. 51. 195 19: for 609 read 608; l. 22: cf. § 517. 197 8: *ἀτελέην* Eretria *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.* 1890, p. 196 ff. *Σωκρατέα* is the name of a Parian woman, Kaibel 218<sup>4</sup> (second century A. D.). 198: *δριμέα* is not used by Hdt. Insert *ἰθεῖαν* Hrd. 5<sup>53</sup>, *πλατεῖαν* Hrd. 6<sup>53</sup>. With *τραχήαν*, cf. *γλυκῆαν* Hrd. 4<sup>2</sup>, *ἠδῆαν* Delos, B. C. H. VI 338, no. 41, *παχήα* Sappho 55, *δέῃα*, *βαρήαι* Ahrens II 163, *ταχῆος* An. Ox. I 341<sup>33</sup>, *πολιτήαν* § 232. 199 5: if it can be proved that the feminine follows the inflection of the masculine, the exception *ταχεῶν* vanishes, and a change is necessary in the statement made in § 124. In Longinos *περὶ ὕψους* 32, 3 *θρασέων* has support. Cf. Diels *Das dritte Buch d. aristotelischen Rhetorik* 26, and Usener *Index lect. Bonn.* 1880-81, viii. Meister Herodas 826 thinks that the *-εα* forms for *-εια* are due to a confusion



with the masculine which took its rise from such collocations as *θήλεα ἵππων*. Greg. Kor. p. 440 quotes as Ionic *τῶν θηλέων ἵππων μίαν*; 19: for 13 read 14; Hrd. 383 has *πλέω*; 10 f. b.: *Ἀμαλθίη* may be treated like an abstract noun in *-ιη*, whereas *Ἀμαλθείης* is comparable to *-ειη*, *-ειᾶ*. Cf. *προμηθίη* and *προμηθείη*. Babrios has *Ἀμαλθείης* 108<sub>11</sub>, *ἀλήθεια*, *-είης*, but *Ἀληθίην* 126<sub>2</sub> which may be added to the list on p. 196. An instance of the disappearance of *ι* is *Κλεοῦς* Hrd. 392 from *\*Κλεφιώ*; 1 f. b.: Hippokr. has *τελει-* e. g. II 124, 306. 200 1: read 345; 11 and 17: on *μουννογενέην*, *ἀδελφεός* see add. to p. 235; 14 f. b.: with *εὐμαρέη* cf. *ἀτελέη*, add. p. 175; 3 f. b.: read *Πανάκη* and cf. *B. P. W.* 1892, p. 1411. 201 (§ 220): add *νειώς* Samos, *Mith.* VII 367 ff., *εἰάν* Teos, *Mith.* XVI 292, l. 19, Iasos, *Greek Inscript. in the British Museum* III 1 no. 440, 2, 3. Hellenikos 39 has *Θειομένητα*, whose *ει* may be epic as the numerous examples of *θειο-* in Alexandrian literature and in Kaibel's *Epigrammata*. This *θειο-* is different from *θειόν* cited from the inscription from Priene, in that the initial syllable is long; 13 f. b.: *βασιλείοιν* Septem 820 in *M* contains an example of the glide *iota*; so also *εἴωσε* = *ἔωσε* in Hesychios. 202 1: *εἶαρος* may be an imitation of *Φειαρνός*, whose *ει* is certainly due to the ictus. It is found in the *Anakreon* 42<sub>7</sub>, Babrios 131<sub>5</sub>. *εἶαρ* blood stands for *ἦαρ* < *ēsar*, as *θείομεν* for *θόμομεν*. The Kyprian form is *ἔαρ*, whose *ε* is from *η*. *εἶρεσίη*, which in Homer is due to metrical licence, appears in Hdt. I 203, II 11, IV 110 and even in Thuk. VII 14. An analogous case is *στελαιός* Hippokr. III 444, VIII 216 with the *ει* of Homeric *στειλεῖη*. I know of no etymology which will render the *ει* of these words a spurious diphthong due to compensatory lengthening. Babrios [141<sub>1</sub>] has *στελεᾶ*. 203 6 f. b.: *ξείνος* Hrd. 233, 94. Names in *ξειν-*, partly through influence of the epic, have extended their range to dialects, to which the spurious *ει* is not native. Cf. Attic *Ξενοκλῆς Ξεινίδος*, Rhodian *Ξείνιος*, *Ξεινιάδας*, *Καλλίξεινος*, and *Ξεινώ* in an inscription from Karpathos. *Πρόξενος Ξεινιάδου* occurs on an inscription found near Kyzikos, *B. C. H.* XII 189, 18. 204 16: read *Στενύκλαρος*, which, like *στενυγρός*, is formed from *στέν* + the suffix *υ*. The spirant *ϕ* does not pass into *υ* in such positions as *στένϕ* + consonant; 20: after *οὔνεκα*, insert *ς*; footnote 1: add Pseudo-Plutarch Life of Homer 1075 B (where *μεῖλαν* is wrongly added, the *ι* being due to the ictus in *μεῖλανι* Ω 79). 205 4: *εἶριον* Hrd. 8<sub>13</sub> but *ἔριον* 6<sub>72</sub>. Theokritos too has both forms. Hdt. has *εἰρίνεος*. 208 10: on the second *ει* of *Εἰλειθυῖη*, and on *Εἰθύμαχος*, see now § 392. The first *ει* of *Εἰλειθυῖη* is borrowed from Homer, where it is the result of the same metrical production as that appearing in *εἰλήλουθα*. *Εἰλειθυῖη* occurs again in Delos, *B. C. H.* 1890, 399. 209 18 f. b.: read before *ε*, *η*, *ει*. This *ε* appears as *ι* e. g. in *Herakleian ἐξεπῶιον*, Boiot. *ποιόμενος*; 9 f. b.: *Anakr.* 60 may be read *ποιήσεις*. Hrd. has *ποεῦσα* in 6<sub>90</sub>, and ten cases of *ποι-*. Babrios 26<sub>8</sub>, 129<sub>16</sub> has *ἡλόησε*, but *ἡλοῖ* 98<sub>15</sub>, *ἀλοῖσας* 122<sub>13</sub>. Schulze *Q. E.* 52 distinguishes *ἀλοιδᾶω* strike from *ἀλοιδᾶω* thresh, the latter verb often losing its *ι* in Attic. 210 4: Hippokr. II 36. has *ροῖή*; 16: the existence of such doublets as *πνοή* < *πνοῖᾶ* and *πνοιά*, *πνοῖ* < *πνοῖᾶ* might tend to produce the inconsistency we observe between *ποῖ* & c. and *χλόη*, *φθόη*. It is not clear why Plato (I 652 Kock) should adopt an Ionic *φθόη*. Perhaps, as in the case of *χλόη*, the Attic dialect lost the intervocalic *ι* before the law of the Attic *ā* came into existence. 211 11 f. b. cf. Schulze *Q. E.* 29. 215 6 f. b.: we should write *Δῆαλκος*, *Δείαλκος* in order to reach *Δέαλκος*. 218 6: *κατεῖπει* Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, 1194 ff. Cf. Stolz *I. F.* II 154, Bücheler *R. M.* XLI 119; last line: *ὀρέσκοος* < *-φός*.



Archil. in Lexicon Messan. *R. M.* XLVII 409. 219 1: αὐτῶι, αὐτοῖ, τοῖ δῆμοι occur in two early Eretrian inscriptions (Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 196, 200); 10: Hekat. 353 has κῆνξ and so Babrios 115<sub>2</sub>, but Lykophron *Alex.* has καύηξ 425, 741, 789. 220 last line: κνέσσα Kos, Paton and Hicks 37<sub>57</sub>, 61. 221 5: ἱερός and Εὐπαθίδης (not on coins) belong in § 246, 2 (fourth century); 7 f. b.: cf. ἀγρυπνέοντα (*sic*) v. l. Theog. 471, ἐπολενόμεν Babrios 128<sub>11</sub>, 129<sub>23</sub>, θορυβεύμενον v. l. Hippokr. IX 360, σαλευμένη conj. Archil. 102 for -ευομένη. 222 9: Hipponax λεύειν (υ-) in the *Anecdota Graeca* of Studemund and Schoell p. 45. If in σαλευμένη, Archil. 102, ευο became εο and then ευ, we have the most advanced stage of the process. Photios cites σαλέω, the denominative from σάλος, and from it the form in Archil. may possibly be derived. 223 13: [Σ]τρουθίης Styra, I. G. A. 372, 355, from στρουθός Samos 220<sub>33</sub>. 224 9: cf. § 716; 10 f. b.: cf. κώνομαστόν in Phoinix of Kolophon 1<sub>11</sub>. 225 2: OREHΣ on an archaic inscription from Amorgos, *B. C. H.* XII 23<sup>6</sup>, no. 9, does not settle the difficulty as regards the ου of οὔρος. So far as the evidence in Ionic is concerned, there is only one form in ου (ἐν οὔρεσι Simon. Amorg. 14<sub>1</sub>) that may not be referred with certainty to the influence of the epos, where οὔρος may be ascribed to ictus lengthening. If ὄρος is the Ionic prose form, then the passage in Simonides must be epic too, and one of the rare epic reminiscences in trimeter. ἐν οὔρεσι occurs also in Sappho 94 (hexameter), where ὄρρεσι may be correct, and in Pindar *Pyth.* VI 21. Outside of Ionic, all that makes for the loss of a spirant after ρ is ᾤρος, whose appearance in Theokritos and Kallimachos, Ahrens II 162 regards as hyper-Doric (*secundum analogiam a poeta fictum*). However this may be, Ὠρείθια is not an Alexandrian figment. Ὅρει- or Οὔρει- do not occur, so the word remains a puzzle. πέτρας ὀρείας in Hipponax is of course the proper form if ὄρος was used in prose. The phrase recurs in Euripides' *Hek.* 1110. Hdt. has ὀρεινός I 110 in all MSS. οὔρος in Hdt. is never supported by MS. consensus, and is never found in AB, rarely in Rs, very often in z alone; 22: οὔροι τεμένους (*sic*) Iasos, *Mithr.* XIV 108, no. 61, οὔρος Theog. 826, Theokr. XXV 27, ὄρος Hrd. 2<sub>33</sub>. The old Kretan form is ᾤρος *Mon. Ant.* I 50. οὔρεια, οὔρεύωντι probably belong to φοράω. The asper in Attic ὄρος is due to the influence of the article; 9 f. b.: read all MSS. Δούριδος is the name of a Samian in C. Curtius' *Samische Inschriften* no. 13; 3 f. b.: insert Ἀπατούρια (addition to p. 70). 226 8 f. b.: for 'we look . . . form' read: Hdt. has no case of οἶλος in the MSS., always ὀλος e. g. II 126, IV 64. δλ[ο]σχερ[έα] Keos 43<sub>7</sub> may be Ionic as the inscription contains scarcely a trace of Atticism; but ὀλοσχερής in Hippokr. IX 106 need not be Ionic. A difference between Herakleitos and Herodotos in respect of the form of the word would be highly remarkable. Skt. *sárvas* should be represented in Ionic by οἶλος only. The scholiast on Nikander's *Ther.* 377 reports that Herodas used οἶλη in the verse οἶλη κατ' ἰθὺ βατηρήν καλύψη (read κνάψη). The papyrus (*Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 8<sub>5</sub>) has οληι at the beginning of this verse. In the other passages where the word occurs (3<sub>12</sub>, 5<sub>12</sub>, 6<sub>7</sub>) and the papyrus has ολος, the ου-form would suit the metre equally well. Aratos 717 has οἶλος, but Theokritos and Kallimachos make use of ὀλος only; 17 f. a: in epic parody Epicharmos may use Ionic vocalism, e. g. ὦεα χανὸς κἀλεκτορίδων πετεηνῶν Lor. p. 280 (no. 73), and ἐν πέντε κριτῶν γούνασι κείται according to Ahrens (no. 161 c), whereas Lorenz thinks γούνασι κείται does not belong to the fragment; cf. also Lor. p. 253 no. 2 (= Ahrens 38) and pp. 134 ff. 227 10: read 78 B 6 for 78 B 11; 9 f. b.: Πουλυτίων may be due to the influence of the epic names in Πουλυ- which have choriambic

measure. Examples of names in prose whose forms are due to epic authority are : Πειρίθοος, Τειρεσίας, Ειρέσιον, Είλατιών, Είλείθυια. Latin *polyptōs* inclines us to believe that πούλυπος is a folk's etymology. 228 15 f. b. : the Samian ὀδοῦ is the Attic form of the Ionic οὐδοῦ *threshold* (Hdt. I 90), not from ὀδός *way*. οὐδός *threshold* was adopted by the Κοινή (*Jahrbücher, Suppl.* XVI 799, Heliodoros *Aithiop.* I 29, II 3, scholiast *Oid. Kol.* 163, 192). In the *Ion* of Plato 535 B, an epic passage, we find οὐδόν; and in Aristotle's *Metaph.* H chap. 2, 3 this form of the word occurs. The etymology of οὐδας is uncertain. Hdt. III 14 borrows the epic phrase ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ, as does Plato in the *Republic* 328 E: but the Attic form is ὀδῶ (Menander IV 264, Lykurgos *Leokr.* § 40, Hyperides XX (XIX) 14) where we find ἐπὶ γήρως ὀδῶ. προσουδίζω in Hdt. V 92 (γ) and the Hesychian ὠδόν also point to a form derived from ὀδῶ, i. e. a spurious diphthong *ou*, not an *ou* lengthened to suit the metre. See Schulze *Q. E.* 114, 517. The etymology of νοῦσος (Old Norse *snaudr*) mentioned is that of Bezzenberger *G. G. A.* 1887, p. 419. 230 11 : in § 565, 2 the *ων* forms are shown to have come from the dat. 233 14 : examples of tmesis (Greg. Kor. 446, Vat. 699) are : ἀπὸ γὰρ ἂν ὀλοιοτο τὸ ὑγιές Melissos 13, Hdt. II 39, 40, 47, 87 (with ὦν), Archil. 9, 70, Hipponax 32, 61, Simon. Amorg. 26, Anakr. 50<sub>1</sub>, 58, 72, 80, Hrd. 35, 18, 85, 41<sub>2</sub>, 29, 49, 93, 71<sub>14</sub>. Cf. Meister *Herodas* p. 678; 16 : cf. footnote 2 p. 463 and Schulze *Q. E.* 443. 234 3 : ἡχέεντα &c. are from -ηεντα. In Περικλέες, *ee* is from *εφε* and hence open, as in ἔδεε, cf. § 637, 2. *εφε* is contracted in εἰρέθην, § 634, 5; 4 f. b. : hiatus is allowed in the case of μηδὲ ἔν Hrd. 17<sub>3</sub> and οὐδὲ εἰς 14<sub>8</sub>. Aphaeresis occurs in δεῖ' ὕδον 71<sub>29</sub>. 235 1 : νέην Hrd. *Class. Rev.* V 481 frag. 51, νεηνίσκοι 129; 5 : ἱερῇ § 219, 9 and appendix to p. 177. On ξηγα &c. see § 582; 12 : κερδαλέα is the proper Attic form; cf. νέᾱ from νέῤῥᾱ. The loss of *f* between vowels in Attic (except when *o* precedes) is older than the change of *η* to *ā* (or *ā* to *η* and then back again to *ā*), whereas the loss of the spirant after liquids (κόρη) is later than this change. See Solmsen *K. Z.* XXXII 519, 520, who there treats of ἀδελφείδος. Adjectives in -αλεος lost *f* not *z* (§§ 287, 3, 311); 15 : ἀδελφεῇ Hippokr. V 94; 13 f. b. : read γενῆς Hrd. 21, 48<sub>1</sub>, γενῇ 23<sub>2</sub>. It would seem to follow from Kretan γονεάν (*Museo Ital.* III 736, l. 3-4) that this word as well as γενεᾶ has lost *f* not *z*. 236 4 : Πέη may be for \*Πήη < \*Πῆᾱ. Πέη occurs in Babrios 137<sub>9</sub>. 237 3 : synizesis ἀμαρτεῖ ἡ Hrd. 40<sub>5</sub>. 238 9 : synizesis in τριτῇμήρῃ Hrd. 62<sub>1</sub>, cf. 32<sub>1</sub>. 239 14 : the examples of -ουχος are from -(σ)οχος, not from -(f)οχος; 25 : διπλόον Hrd. 25<sub>1</sub> but διπλοῦν 24<sub>8</sub>. ὀρέσκοος < -φος in Archil., *R. M.* XLVII 406 (*Lex. Messan.*); 11 f. b. : synizesis in βίου ὕνησις Hrd. 73<sub>1</sub>. 240 17 : synizesis χρ[έ]ω ὅτι Hrd. 56. 242 19 f. b. : the occurrences of the crasis of *a + e = η* in Herodas may, it is true, be Doric, so far as the laws of crasis go; but the mixture of *a + e* to *η* in later literature is so frequent as to render it improbable that we have here to deal with a special loan from the Doric of Kos. κῆρᾱν is found in Phoinix 210, κῆν in the Anthology over twenty times, and κῆγῶ, κῆπί and κῆξ are not infrequent. κῆπέμυσ' occurs in Kallimachos epigr. 41, κῆν in Kaibel 559<sub>5</sub>, κῆπόθειον 550<sub>4</sub>, &c. Schulze *Q. E.* 472 proposes to refer this form of crasis to the late pronunciation of καί as *ke*. Meister (*Herodas* p. 788) prefers to regard the crasis as comparable to that which lengthens the initial vowel of the following word (χῦπό, ᾠρα § 716), and compares κῆμε, κῆν in Aiolic. But in Herodas τὰ + ἐ- results in τᾶ-, never in τῇ-; 18 : with Anakr. 8<sub>3</sub>, cf. γὰρ αἱ Ἐφεσίου Hrd. 47<sub>2</sub>; 16 : read κέγ γῆμ κέν θαλάσσηι l. 6, but κάμοι l. 17. The elision of *ai* takes place only before two consonants in this ancient papyrus



(cf. Meister 789). 243 6 f. b.: the reference § 182 belongs after  $\theta$  in l. 8. Homeric  $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu$   $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$  may be derived from the old nom.  $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , or they arise from  $\delta\alpha(\iota)\iota$ -, since  $\alpha\iota$  may become  $\alpha\acute{\iota}$  or  $\alpha\iota$ ,  $q$ . In no. 193 Bechtel edits 'Αθηναῖς < 'Αθηναίς in *B. C. H.* XIII 431, no. 3 (Imbros). 'Αθηναῖς had been possible; 5: synizesis  $\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\iota\kappa\alpha\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}$  Hrd. 381, crasis  $\kappa\iota\eta\sigma\acute{\omega}$  Hrd. 46,  $\chi\iota\lambda\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}$  140. 244 3:  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  occurs in Empedokles 2, where its  $\alpha$  is under the ictus, and in Halikarn. 2405; 7: the old inflection of  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$  was as follows: present \* $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega$ , whence  $\acute{\alpha}\omega$ , second aorist \* $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\sigma\omicron\nu$ , participle  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ . The old present occurs in Hippokr. VIII 354  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota$  (so  $\theta$  without the accent), the first aorist ( $\eta\phi\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha$ ) may be sought in  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon$  (cf. § 703 end), or this form may be derived from the later present  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ) which is found in Hippokr. VII 120.  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega$  in Attic is lengthened from  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\omega$  under the influence of  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$  in Homer; 12: read 'Αχαϊκάς (sc.  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ ); 19 f. b.: Demokr. 137 has  $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ , Herakl. 106, 107  $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ . That  $f$  was the intervening spirant is now certain from Kyprian  $\Sigma\alpha\phi\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\varsigma$ . Contraction probably ensued when neither  $\alpha$  nor  $\omicron$  was accented, as in  $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$  (cf.  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\varsigma$ ). The  $\omega$  of  $\sigma\acute{\omega}\phi\rho\omega\nu$  is borrowed from  $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$  or  $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\acute{\rho}\omega\nu\nu$ . Spitzer *Lautehre des Arkadischen* 43 regards  $\sigma\omega f$ - as the strong form of  $\sigma\alpha f$ -, and the numerous names in  $\Sigma\omega$ - as formed directly from the former. It may be noted that Lykophron *Alex.* 679 has  $\sigma\alpha\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ ; 15: Boiotian  $\theta\iota\alpha\omega\rho\iota\alpha\nu$  (Oropos, 'Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1892, 33 no. 62) shows that  $\theta\eta f\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  is the ground-form of Ionic  $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  and Doric  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ .  $\theta\upsilon\rho\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  in Hdt. I 120 is from  $\theta\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (Hom.  $\theta\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ). Hdt. III 72, 156 has (v. l.)  $\pi\upsilon\lambda\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  = Hom.  $\pi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (§ 279). Kühner-Blass II 588 (on p. 326) erroneously think that  $-\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  is the second part of the compound ( $\pi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  v. l. Ω 681) and that the  $\omega$  is due to assimilation. Hesychian  $\pi\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  may be from  $\pi\upsilon\lambda\eta\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  from  $\pi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  or  $-\omicron\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . 245 11 f. b.:  $\chi\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  Hrd. 296 =  $\kappa\alpha\iota + \delta + \text{'H}\rho$ -. 246 17 f. b.:  $\Lambda\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\Lambda\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$  are derived from  $\Lambda\eta(f\omicron) f\alpha$ -. 6: Hippokr. has  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  V 720 from  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon f\alpha$ -. (cf. Hesych.  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ ). 'Ηγήναξ appears in Smyrna 15313 (cf. 'Αγῆναξ Kos 49). Hrd. 623 has  $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ . 247 20: on  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ , see §§ 5333, 5363; last line: cf. § 716. 248 3: delete the sentence and cf. p. 567 footnote; 17: for 453 read 454. 249 3: Hrd. employs synizesis in  $\eta$  'Αρτακηνή 792, aphaeresis in  $\eta\delta\eta$  'φαμαρτεῖς 543 (cf.  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$  ἀπό 64,  $\eta$  ἄστος 27); 22:  $\Theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha$  Hrd. 179 is from  $\Theta\rho\acute{\eta}\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha$ . 250 16 f. b.: add  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon$  p. 588; 5: Hrd. 697 has  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\nu$ , Hippokr.  $\kappa\lambda\eta\acute{\iota}\omega$  and  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ . 251 9: Hrd. 769 has  $\rho\eta\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ , Hdt. II 121 (α)  $\rho\eta\iota$ -. For  $\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$  we must read  $\rho\eta\iota$ - or  $\rho\eta$ -; 20: Hrd. has  $\tau\eta$  ἰδίη 537 by synizesis. 253 14 f. b.:  $\text{K}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\phi\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  Thasos 78 B 12,  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  Hrd. in *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 61. 254 8:  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  Paros, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich* XI 187, no. 2 (cf. *Mitth. aus Athen* XV 75). The latest attempt at explaining the interrelation of  $\epsilon\omicron$ ,  $\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$  in Ionic is that of Schulze *Q. E.* 145, who sees in these forms nothing but differences of orthography. Schulze would even read  $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\omicron$  Chios 1773 and not  $-\epsilon\omicron[s]$ , though no other instance of  $-\epsilon\omicron$  for  $-\epsilon\upsilon$  in the genitive is known. In Eretria 16 C 43 we find 'Αρχέλεος (cf. the epigram attributed to Sophokles: 'Αρχέλεως  $\eta\eta\nu$  γὰρ σύμμετρον ᾧδε λέγειν) whose  $\epsilon\omicron$  cannot well be very different from the  $\epsilon\omega$  of  $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\omicron[s]$ . Parallel with  $\Lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$  for  $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ , the form of the name used by Pausanias and other writers for the native Doric  $\Lambda\alpha\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ , is Leuchares in Pliny XXXIV 7, 19 =  $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$  Löwy 77-83, and 320-321 (the later artist).  $\epsilon\omicron$  appears for  $\epsilon\omega$  <  $\eta\omicron$  in the first part of compounds outside of Ionic, e. g.  $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  Hesychios ( $\lambda\epsilon\omega$ - MSS. extra ord.),  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$  C. I. G. 5001, 5006,  $\nu\epsilon\omicron\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  in Delphi; cf.  $\epsilon\iota\omicron$  for  $\epsilon\omega$  <  $\eta\omicron$  in  $\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\kappa\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\kappa\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma$  in Hesychios. Confusion



between *o* and *ω* is very common in Attic inscriptions after 100 B.C. (e.g. *Λεονίδης*, *Λεονῆς*, *Λεοντίδος* from *λέων*), but *Λεοντίς* comes to light as early as 320-17 B.C. (C. I. A. II 835<sub>62</sub>). Other cases of *εω* for *εο* (§ 248, and *Βραβέως* in § 509, note) are too infrequent or singular to permit us to assume that the dialect adopted either *εο* or *εω* at the pleasure of the writer or speaker. Schulze's explanation of *ιερέως* as an analogue of the forms containing *εω* = *εο* = *ευ* is false (§ 477). Outside of the genitive, *εω* became *εο*, *ευ* when the accent followed; and it is more likely that the source of the change is not to be sought, with Bechtel, in the genitive, but in compounds whose *εω* did not bear the accent; 21: in Hrd. 585 the verse ends *ἐορτήν ἐξ ἐορτῆς*, with which cf. Ion frag. 21 Nauck: *ἐνιαυσίαν γὰρ δεῖ με τὴν ἐορτήν* (Dindorf *ὀρτήν*) ἄγειν. Meister would explain *ὀρτή* from *ἐορτή* (cf. Hdn. II 185<sub>2</sub>, 561<sub>24</sub>) as *νοσσός* from *νεοσσός*. See appendix to p. 255. *Ἐορτή* occurs on a late inscription from southern Phrygia, *Mithr.* XVIII 206, no. 2, and *ἐορταίη* in Babrios 132<sub>3</sub>. 255 24: Meister (*Herodas* p. 813) proposes to modify the 'law' of Wackernagel in respect of the contraction or non-contraction of names compounded with *θεο-* (*K. Z.* XXIX 138) to the effect that *Θεο-*, when followed by two consonants, became *Θο-*, provided the accent fell originally neither upon *ε* nor *ο*; but when the accent falls on *ο*, then *Θεο-* either remains *Θεο-* or becomes *Θο-*. When a single consonant follows, *Θεο-* remains *Θεο-* or becomes *Θε-* (accented). *Θόκλος* Styra 19<sub>206</sub> would, on this view, follow the pattern of *Θοκλῆς* C. D. I. 3028, and *Θοδίαν* Styra 19<sub>378</sub> might reflect *Θεοδῖαν* (cf. Hom. *θεουδῆς* and *Διοδῆς* C. I. A. I 322, 2 where Kirchhoff reads *Διώδης*); but *Κλόδεινος* Styra 19<sub>221</sub> violates the proposed rule, which is observed, according to Meister, in *Ἐτοκλέ[ης]* Styra 19<sub>15</sub>, in *ὀρτή* from *ἐορτή*, and in *νοσσός* from *νεοσσός*. Hdt. has *νεοσσ-* II 68, III 111 but *νοσσ-* I 159. *νοσσ-* occurs also in Panyasis (*Kinkel* 264, no. 26), Aischylos frag. 110, in the Anthol. Pal. IX 346, 2, 567, 2, the Septuagint, and Diodoros II 4, III 69. Respect for the etymology caused the rule of Phrynichos (287 R.) and made possible the retention of *νεο-* where the metre requires *νο-* (*Birds* 547). Hrd. has *νοσσ-* 6<sub>20</sub>, 22, 33, 7<sub>57</sub>, 72, *νεοσσ-* (υ-) 7<sub>48</sub>, Babrios *νεοσσ-* (υ-) 88<sub>1</sub>, 118<sub>4</sub>; 4 f. b.: some MSS. have *Θεόγνιδος*. 257 (§ 288): the fusion of *νη-* and *ὀθ-* (*ὠθ-*) produced *νωθής* Hdt. III 53, Babrios 9<sub>518</sub>, *νωθρή* Hrd. 4<sub>53</sub>. Cf. *ὀθῶς* *ταχέως* in Hesychios. 258 18: on *θεωρός* see app. to p. 244; 27: on *λεωργά*, see § 716, s. v. *λείως* (*λέως*); 15 f. b.: other examples of *εω* are *Λεωμέδοντος* Hrd. 4<sub>7</sub>, *λεωφόρος* Chios 175 as *Rhesos* 881, *ἀλεωρή* Hrd. 2<sub>25</sub>, *ἐννέωροι* 8<sub>5</sub>, *ταχέως* 3<sub>11</sub>, 7<sub>10</sub> (second foot: cf. 7<sub>17</sub> first, 3<sub>60</sub>, 5<sub>11</sub> fifth foot), whereas *ἡδέως* 1<sub>70</sub> is open; *νεωκόρφ* 4<sub>30</sub> (cf. addenda to p. 146), *γναφέως* 4<sub>73</sub>, *σκυτέων* 7<sub>70</sub>, [*Ὀδ*] *υσσέως* *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 3<sub>16</sub>, *γονέων* *Theog.* 1330; 8 f. b.: *Δεωκούρη* (?) Hrd. 1<sub>32</sub> < *Δηο-* < *Δᾶο-*. *Δηώ* is a clip-name of *Δημήτηρ* (*Kallim.* frag. 48 has *Δηῶννη*), *Δῆω* of *Δηϊάνειρα*; 2 f. b.: *Ποσειδεῶνος* B. C. H. XVI 323 Chios (late); on the thematic verbs with stems ending in *ā* or *η*, which show *ω*, see § 687, 1, 2. It is maintained by many scholars that in these verbs *ω* is the result of the contraction of *εω* < *ηο*. 260 7: Hrd. has *εω* in *ἐντελέως* 4<sub>79</sub>, *ἐπιμηθέως* 3<sub>91</sub>. Hence we read *σαφ[έ]ως* 7<sub>121</sub>, and so *ἐκτεν[έ]ως* *Vita Hom.* 7; 13: *θεῶν* Hrd. 7<sub>111</sub> but *θεῶν* 1<sub>30</sub>, 4<sub>75</sub>. 261 13: *Ταυρεῶν*, name of a month in Samos, Kyzikos, and Sinope (*Bischoff De fastis Graecis* 396, 400). Hrd. 7<sub>86</sub> has *Ταυρεῶνος*; 17: to be noted is *εων* as a single syllable in Hrd. 7<sub>99</sub>. Meister thinks that *εων* in Hrd. is monosyllabic without exception. But the papyrus has only three cases of *εων* and in two of these (2<sub>61</sub>, 5<sub>78</sub>) it is dissyllabic (Meister *σε[α]υτήν* and *ἐ[α]υτόν*); 15 f. b.:

ταιήων Babrios 120<sub>5</sub>; synizesis in τῇ ᾧδε Hrd. 442; 4 f. b.: Schmidt *Neutra*  
 p. 147 regards Attic αὐθάδης, instead of αὐθώδης, as evidencing a desire  
 to avoid confusion with the many words ending in -ώδης. Other occurrences  
 of -ῶναξ are: Πυθῶναξ Thas. (L.) 10 B 6, 13 A 9, *Arch.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterr.*  
 XI 187, no. 1, 1, Πλειστῶναξ Chios 177<sub>6</sub>, Ἀβρῶναξ Thasos 81 A 5, Μητρῶναξ  
 Smyrna 153<sub>29</sub>, Δημῶναξ Thas. (L.) 7 B 5, 14 A 6, B 3 (not 143), Μοιρῶναξ  
 Erythr. B. C. H. III 389 (late). 262 13: οφα = ω also in θῶκος § 202. Σῶνδρος  
 Arkesine 32 is scarcely from σο + ανδρος. 263 13: Hdt. has ζωγρέω fourteen  
 times, ζωγρίη VI 28, 37. Homer has ζωγρέω Z 46, Δ 131. For elsewhere with  
 accented ω, read the uncontracted form occurs only when the α is accented; 17: Hrd. 418  
 has the hiatus ᾧ ἄναξ, a formula restored in Phoinix 119 by Crusius *Herondae*  
*nimiambi* p. 71 for ᾧ ἄναξ of the manuscripts. 265 10: cf. § 716 on λείως  
 λέως); 21: Meister *Herodas* 821 reads -οργ- in all the compounds in Hdt.  
 in which the accent does not fall either upon ο or ε, except in the Lakonian  
 γαθοεργοί which I have marked as a possible exception. This -οργ- from  
 οεργ- he proposes to explain by the principle mentioned in the addenda  
 on p. 255. A thorough investigation of the subject can alone determine  
 the correctness of this theory. δαμιοργός p. 265 last line Meister would  
 explain as due to the operation of the same principle. The contraction  
 of ο + ε to ου is certain when either vowel bore the accent, e. g. in κακοῦργος.  
 From such forms, -οουργος may have been transferred to forms where it was  
 not properly in place, e. g. in Attic ἄλοουργός. Schulze *Q. E.* 498 has shown  
 that the Samian ἄλοργός (mentioned in III A) represents the original form  
 from √reg colour, dye (ρέζω, ῥογεύς, Skt. *rajyati*). That the Samians did not  
 change ἄλοργός to ἄλοουργός is due to the fact that they did not possess the  
 form δημιουργός. 266 2: read II A for II B; 17: for Κλεοῦμπορος we  
 should read Κλεόμπορος, which takes the place of Κλεέμπορος (*Wackernagel*  
*Dehnungsgesetz* p. 60); 11 f. b.: as no certain case of μ(οι) occurs in Hrd. we  
 read μοι νεύχη 647 for ἐνεύχη. In 363 the first foot is οὐ σοι ἔτ'. 267 7: Hdt.  
 has also καταβωσόμενος VI 85 and βεβωμένος III 39; 12: Hdt. has νένωκα  
 II 6, ἐνένωτο I 77, ἐνένωντο VII 206, Apoll. Rhod. νώσατο IV 1409, Kallim.  
 frag. 345 and Theokritos XXV 263 νωσάμενος. The contraction is unknown  
 to Homer in the case of νοέω; νένωται Soph. frag. 191, νένωνται in the Σαμίων  
 ροι, perhaps in νώβυστρα Hrd. 616 (cf. νουβυστικός in comedy). The contrac-  
 tion did not ensue originally when either ο or η was accented (Meister  
*Herodas* p. 821). Cf. above on p. 263, 13. Contraction also ensued in κατα-  
 βῶσαι Hrd. 539 according to Brugmann, *Indogerm. Forsch.* I 501 ff. σβω may  
 however be the ablaut of σβη. πρῶν Hrd. 562, Kallim. choliamb. 84 (§ 297,  
 1) is perhaps from \*πρόην < πρῶην. πρῶην is read in Babrios 67, III 11, 1255,  
 πρῶϊων 12417; 10 f. b.: synizesis ληκύθου ἡμέων Hrd. 321. 268 13: οἰωνός is  
 assimilated from ἄφιωνος (*avis*), Schmidt *K. Z.* XXXII 174; 10 f. b.: cf. the  
 Ἡροδότου λέξεις, Stein II 456. 270 17: add Hrd. 183, 812, Kallim. 86.  
 πεῖς occurs in Priene, *Inscript. British Museum* III 1, no. 401, 20. 271 15:  
 though the ground-form of ἱρός is still uncertain, a contraction of ι + ε  
 to ι may be confidently denied. The divorcement of ἱερός from *ishirás*  
 attempted by Schulze *Q. E.* 210 is improbable. 272 21: αἰδεῖν Hippokr.  
 VII 124, Hrd. *Class. Rev.* V 481, 64, προσαείσειεν Hippokr. VI 482. 273 9:  
 Hrd. has ἀρεῖτ' 361, ἄραις 571, ἡεῖρας 761, Anakr. ἀρθεῖς 191. Hippokr. has  
 αἰρω VIII 236 (αἶρ θ), 354 (θ), ἀερθεῖς 122 (ἀρ θ), 124, αἶρω V 646, VIII 144, 216,  
 382, 328, 368, ἥρται 280, ἥρθην II 24, V 94, 236; Hdt. has in the present αἰρω  
 I 204, II 125, III 144, IV 150, VII 101, 143, 209, VIII 140, αἶρω VII 10 (η), in



the imperfect ἀείρω II 125, VIII 56, αἶρω IV 130 (?), VI 133 (?), in the aorist ἀείρω I 87 (?), VI 14, 44, 126 (?), VII 132, 156, 212, VIII 94, IX 59 (?), αἶρω I 90 (?), II 162 (?), VI 99, VIII 57, 60, IX 79, 107 in the aorist passive ἀείρω I 165, 170, VII 9 (γ), IX 52, αἶρω I 90, 212, V 81, 91, VI 132, VII 18, 38, IX 49. Sim. Keos 111<sub>4</sub> has ἤρθην, Ion 3<sub>4</sub> ἀειράμενος; 23: for Καερός read Καέρος; 24: Hom. φαεινός belongs after φᾶνός, which is also Ionic (Φανόθεμις, app. p. 285); 14 f. b.: [σ]οαί εἰσί synizesis Hrd. 6<sub>99</sub>; 9 f. b.: Hdt. has καθαρφδός I 23, ραψφδούς V 67, συνφδόν V 92 (γ), χρησμφδέων VII 6 all foreign to the epic. On the other hand the open epic forms occur: αἰιδός I 24, αἰιδήν I 202, II 79, αἰιδίμος II 79, 135, ἐπαιοιδήν I 132; last line: χοί Hrd. 47 = καὶ οἱ. Cf. Philokt. 565. χῦ is prescribed by Et. M. 816<sub>34</sub>. In *Lysistr.* 388 the MSS. have χοί, but the Lex. Messan., *R. M.* XLVII 411, cites the verse with χῦ. Both forms are possible. 274 14 f. b.: βούλη Hrd. 5<sub>6</sub> is the probable reading; 12 f. b.: δίζεαι is called Ionic for δίζηαι in the Lex. Messan., *R. M.* XLVII 408; 8: 4. θεαί Hrd. 411, τό μιν αἶμα 57 in the second foot. 275 9 f. b.: δέ οἱ Theog. 178, 391, οὐδέ οἱ 1376 (cf. § 389); last line: θεοὺς Hrd. 7<sub>99</sub> but ο — in 7<sub>109</sub>, Κλεοὺς Hrd. 3<sub>92</sub> from Κλε(φί)ώ. 276 7: καί μιν οὔτε Hrd. 1<sub>58</sub> in the first foot. 277 3: Hrd. 5<sub>9</sub> has μαῦτόν; 6 f. b.: ἐγῶμι Hrd. 5<sub>15</sub> is the better reading as shown by the circumflex over the ω in the papyrus; 5 f. b.: synizesis λέγω αὐτῇ Hrd. 4<sub>12</sub>. 279 9 (after the table): here τ' is read. 282 2: δημορίων Oropos 18<sub>28</sub>; 6 f. b.: on Πελαργός, see Johansson *Sprachkunde* 18 ff., whose arguments against the existence of rhotacism in the word seem well founded, whatever be thought of his etymology. 284 19 f. b.: ὄρπος Galen, Lex. Hippokr. is from \*ὄρσος, οὐρά from \*ὄρσα. ἐρρέθην (§ 634, 5) is not properly Ionic, being a contamination of Attic ἐρρήθην and Ionic εἰρέθην. [δια]ρραίνειν Keos 43<sub>15</sub> contains ρρ from σρ, whereas the single ρ of διαπαρθῇ l. 17 is due to the influence of the uncompounded ραίνω. Cf. ἰσόρροπος and ἰσόροπος. Hrd. 6<sub>43</sub> has ἔρραψε where the metre calls for ἔραψε. 285 5 f. b.: Φανόθεμις is the Ionic form, Kyzikos, *B. C. H.* XIV 535, no. 1, 6. That dialects other than Aiolic evinced a fondness for νν in names from φαfes- may be inferred from the name of the Grace Φάεννα, Alkman 105, Φάεννος Anth. Pal. IV 1, 29, C. I. G. 2306 (an Oinean), Φαεννίς Paus. X 12, 10, Φαεννώ Zosim. II 36, 2. 290 7 f. b.: the representation of I. E. q by κ before α in the pronominal forms has been heretofore accepted as the specific peculiarity of the Ionic dialect. That Aiolic also employed κ is now clear from the occurrence of ὅκαι on an archaic inscription (*B. P. W.* 1892, 514). If Aiolic once possessed both forms and gradually displaced that with the guttural, Ionic may likewise have possessed both. 291 1: read κοῦ, κου and for Hrd. 3<sub>43</sub> read 3<sub>60</sub>; under ὅκως read Hippokr. II 64, 74, III 242, under ὁκοῖος dele Hrd. 1<sub>64</sub>. 292: Hippokr. VII 96, 378 has ὅπη. Hdt. has ποῖ or πῇ in all MSS. V 73. 294 15: κισῶν occurs also Delos, *B. C. H.* XIV 480, n. 4 (κισῶνος), Louvre papyri LII 6, LIII 1, 11, 15, LIV 1, 13, 16, in the Banks' MS. of Ω, *Aegypt. Urkunden des Berlin. Mus.* II 22, 16 ff., Isaiah XXXVI 22, LXI 10 (Buresch *Philologus* LI 96). Here it is merely a late form, not specially Ionic; 12 f. b.: κυθροπῶλαι Pollux VII 197 (in C), Κύθροι the Attic festival, C. I. A. III 1160<sub>24</sub> (192-193 A.D.); cf. Et. M. 543<sub>37</sub>. 295 11 f. b.: οὐχί is also Homeric. The suffix is -χι, cf. Skt. *nahī*. 296 1: read Γ for Κ; 18: the form from the Behistan inscription does not prove that γ is original in Ἀγβάτανα. 297 last line: ἐρδοίη (?) Amorgos, *Mitht.* XVIII 32, according to Dümmler. This would be the only case of ρ in a preposition, and before δ. 298 6: αὐτιγενής would seem to be an hyper-



Ionism due to the influence of αὔτις. αὔτις occurs also in Hrd. 4<sup>27</sup>, and is referred to as Homeric by Suidas s.v. αὔτις; 8 f.b.: τωθάζω Hrd. 7<sup>103</sup>. Kallim. in schol. Ven. A on IX 193 uses Τάμμας for Ἀθαμᾶς; cf. Et. Gud. 522<sup>42</sup>. 299 11 f.b.: the aspiration of the *media* in μηθέν &c. is due to such collocations as οὐθ' οἱ C. I. A. II 789<sup>21</sup> (373 B.C.). After 330 B.C. οὐθείς, μηθείς are the regular forms in Attic. The old forms reappear under the empire. Schmidt K. Z. XXXII 372 regards οὐθαμεῖ in Epidauros, C. D. I. 3340<sup>22</sup>, μηθαμῶς in Korkyra 3206<sup>108</sup>, μηθαμόθεν in Aitolia 1410<sup>3</sup> as evidencing the original asper, which has been lost in Ionic μηδαμοί &c. 302 7 f.b.: γέγραφα Priene, *Inscript. of the Brit. Mus.* III 1, no. 412, 7. Such expansions of the aspirates are frequent on Hellenistic documents, e.g. συνδιαπεφύλακχεν, Mylasa, *B. C. H.* V 102. 308 9 f.b.: Wackernagel *R. M.* XLVIII 299 shows that in Kyzikos 108 B 4 ναύσσου is to be read and that σσ is expressed by *sampi*. ναύσσου occurs in Kos, *Mith.* XVI 407<sup>1</sup>. If a Karian word it is important for § 21. The T of θαλατῆς is probably not *sampi*; at least *sampi* is certain only in non-Hellenic words. 309 2 f.b.: whether ζάπεδον is from δια-πεδον may be doubted. At all events, Hom. δάπεδον, which occurs in a fragment wrongly attributed to Anakreon (124), is not the equivalent of the intensive δα- in δαφονός, δάσκιος, as is suggested by Curtius *Et.* 621. δάπεδον is δηπεδον, i.e. the level floor of the house, the first part being connected with δῶμα, δεσπότης, δάμαρ. From the above mentioned meaning was evolved the use as *plain, ground*. δάπεδον in *Prometh.* 829 is clearly impossible, whatever be thought of *Choeph.* 798. 312 12 f.b.: κύρσω Demokr. 87, ἔκυρσα Theog. 698, Sim. Keos 120, Pindar *Pyth.* X 21, τέρσεται Hippokr. VIII 42 from \*τέρσ-σ-ηται. 319 19: that for antevocalic *f, v* may be used in the Ionic alphabet after it had lost the *f* follows from ΤΕΡΓΩΝ in Knossos, *Museo Ital.* II 678, col. 2, l. 5, 8. 322 21: read 352; 25: read ἰσσαῖ and cf. § 716. 332 6: in view of the occurrence of κατάπερ 64 times in Hdt., it is better to read κατά than κατὰ τὰ. The latter appears in all MSS. IV 162, V 89, VI 54, in all except *d* (and *z*) II 99, in all except *d* VI 89. κατὰ = καθά appears in I 208, II 6, 116, III 86, VII 199 (here only = *where*). Furthermore in all MSS. in IV 201, in all except *Psv* IV 76, in all except *Pr* V 12, 112. κατ' ἄ is a *v.l.* IV 76, 201. Cf. p. 454, 3; 13 f.b. read Lenis. 333 12 f.b.: see Lobeck on *Aias* 805 for ἥλιος, ἵππος &c. in compounds in literature; 8 f.b.: ἐφ' ἴσηι καὶ ὁμοίηι Ephesos, *Inscript. of the Brit. Mus.* III 2. 334 15: Herodas has ἐγδοῦσα 6<sup>92</sup>, ἐγλῦσαι 6<sup>91</sup>, ἐνβλέπεις 6<sup>44</sup>, ἐνπολέων 6<sup>63</sup>. In 5<sup>25</sup> Meister edits σύ γ[ε] φίγγε; last line: τοῖν μαζοῖν VII 514 (several MSS. the plural), ἀμφοῖν VII 486. 335 16: ἀστραγάλοι occurs also in the Anthol. VI 309<sup>3</sup>, cf. Didymos schol. on Ψ 88, Eust. *ad loc.*, and schol. on Σ 551. ἡ λίθος is called Ionic by Porphyrios *Quaest. Hom.* 8, p. 229. It occurs in Hrd. 4<sup>21</sup> (a work in marble), but in 4<sup>34</sup> δ λίθος = the stone. 337 10 f.b.: Ἐρμῆς Hippon. 55 B. 340 7 f.b.: the following examples of nouns in -η occur in Herodas, to which there are in Attic and other dialects parallel forms in -ᾱ; μάμμη 33<sup>1</sup>, 38, πτέρνη 7<sup>21</sup> (Hippokr. V 236), σμίλη 7<sup>119</sup>. 341 15: μνέ[as] should be read. μνᾱς in Hippon. and Hrd. is the Attic form, for which μνέas should be substituted. On the inflection of γῆ, see Schmidt K. Z. XXXII 349. 346 4: Ἀπολλωνίδεω Th. 78 B 10 (III Century), ἐπάρχω also in Kyzikos, *Mith.* XVI 141 l. 1 (under Caligula), Ὑστάσπεω in the letter of Dareios which is otherwise a late Atticized reproduction of the original (*B. C. H.* XIII 529, l. 3). 350 f.n. 1: this law of hyphaeresis obtains in Homer only (Schmidt). 352 15: γενῆς Hrd. 2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>84</sup>; 19: γενεῆς Hdt. III 33, 122; last line: for Ζελεία

read *Abdera* (Ἐρμῆι). 353 22 : τεῖ βουλῇι and τεῖ βουλεῖ Eretria Ἐφεμ. ἀρχ. 1890, 196 (411 B. C.), 200. 354 7 : Ἐρμῇ Anakr. 111<sub>3</sub> epigr., γενῇ Hrd. 232. 357 2 : δωρεῇν Hrd. 219, νέην *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 51. 358 5 : insert Hdt. before IV. Meister *Herodas* p. 830 conjectures that the nom. was γαλή. In Hdt. IV 192 *d* has γαλαί. γενεαί occurs in Hdt. II 142, νέαι in Hrd. 190; § 445 : ἀλ(λ)HON represents -εων, not -ηων (§ 140, 1 n.) or -ηον; see § 289, 2. 360 12 f. b. : dele βροντέων; 10 f. b. : for 360 read 560, and add πορνέων 236, αἰρέων 699. 361 6 : Hrd. 222 μνέων Ἀττικῶν speaks in favour of the inflection of the feminine adjective like the masculine (cf. p. 363). χαλκῶν 750 should however be χαλκέων; 8 : Anakr. 124 has Μουσάων(?); 4 f. b. : γέων Hdt. IV 198. 365 (§ 451) : to this section add Solon in Aristotle's Ἀθ. πολ. : πολλαῖσιν 124, ἀρπαγαῖσιν 123. Herodas τῆς ἐμῆσι 583 (not ἐμῆσι with the papyrus and § 450, 3), ταῖσι μηλάνθαισι III 2; μετρηταῖς 174 is corrupt (γρῆταισι Blass). In 6100 αὐτῇ[σι] is certain, in 614 ταῖς. Hrd. uses -ης only when it stands in conjunction with -ησι, a rule that will not hold in the early Ionic poets. 376 (§ 466) : νόον Mimn. 58, νοῦν Mandrokles of Samos in Hdt. IV 88, Hrd. 475, πλοῦν Hrd. 140, ἀργυρεῦν 462, 65. 380 (§ 474) : add Solon in Aristotle's Ἀθ. πολ. : μετρίοις 53, ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις μή 122, κακοῖσιν 123, ὀφθαλμοῖσιν 125, τοῖσιν 124, τοῖς ἐναντίοισιν 124; Herodas τοῖσδ' 426, μετώποις ἐ- *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 22. 383 1 : the Koan forms τέλεως Paton and Hicks 3761, τέλεωι 3814, 15, 42 B 6, τέλεων 40 A 5, may be regarded as Ionisms. The native dialect had however the non-Ionic dual (τέλεω 392); Hrd. 720 has τέλεων neuter; 10 : Ἀρτυσίλειω Thasos 78 B 11. 384 4 : Hrd. has Κῶς 295, Κῶν 42; 9 f. b. : read Ἰλεφ; Hrd. has the accus. pl. εὔκερως in *Class. Rev.* V 480, frag. 114. To this declension Meister would refer Ἀκέσεω Hrd. 361, (cf. § 428, 1 A) because the accent is on the papyrus and words in -εως are paroxytona, while clip-names in -ης are generally perispomena. Exceptions are however very frequent, and there seems to have been no certain tradition in respect of many hypocoristic names. See addenda to p. 429 and Chandler §§ 59, 60. The difficulties on the score of vocalization have been ignored by Immisch, who (*R. M.* XLVIII 290 ff.), in attempting to show that the proper form of the name of the author of the Ἰλίου πέρις was Λέσχεως, explains the name as derived from an hyper-Ionic \*Λεσχῆιος < Λεσχαῖος, and in like manner Ἀκέσεως from \*Ἀκεσῆιος < Ἀκεσαῖος. But it is only when *f*, not *z*, intervened between vowels, that *metathesis quantitatis* occurs, and all of Immisch's examples of εω < ηιο are vicious. Ἀκεσεύς and Ἀκεσαῖος are not connected as regards the endings, the latter being a development of Ἀκεσᾶς, which was formed directly from Ἀκέσανδρος (§ 165, note). If by the side of Λεσχαῖος we have Λέσχης, by the side of Ἀκεσαῖος we may have Ἀκέσης. Though not prepared to pronounce against the incorrectness of Λέσχεως, there does not seem to me to be any great difficulty in supposing that Λέσχεω in Proklos is the genitive of Λέσχης. Hdt. often retains the native vocalism (§ 158), so too Thukydides, Xenophon, and Plato (§§ 73, 429, 484); and inscriptions (cf. p. 346) show that even in Roman times the -εω of the genitive was retained; footnote 2 read cf. *Wackernagel Philol. Anzeiger XVI* 73 and place this after p. IV. 387 11 f. b. : after πόλιος). add καὶ Ἱπποκράτης φθίσιος (IV 536). 389 18 : Ἀκέσιος Paros, *Mith.* XVIII 172. 391 (§ 486) : Hrd. has πόλιος 226, 31; in 28 πόλεως has been corrected to πόλιος, thus introducing a certain anapaest in the fifth foot, which at best is very rare. In 231 πόλιος brings an anapaest into the fourth foot, which appears beyond doubt in only one other passage (655, cf. 623). To avoid the metrical difficul-



ties and because he makes much of -εος as an Ionic form, Meister recommends the adoption of the form πόλεος in all three passages. His correction of Joh. Gr. 240, Meerm. 650, where -ιος is called Ionic, is wide of the mark, though it cannot be denied that the statements of the grammarians (§ 481) are elsewhere obscure in reference to the form of the genitive. πόλις was one of the first words to show the Κοινή inflection in the various dialects, e.g. in Kretan (Cauer 122<sub>4</sub>, 9, 20, 127<sub>7</sub>, 14, 132<sub>32</sub>, 40, C. I. G. 2567), Lakonian (Cauer 27<sub>9</sub>), Phokian (Ross 81), to cite merely occurrences of the genitive. I find no mention in Meisterhans of [δι]αδόσεος in an Attic inscription from 341-40 B. C. (B. C. H. V 364), which, if correct, should be added to the examples of Attic -εος. It is the only example of -εος in Attic outside of literature. The document in question has ΟΥ and Ω. By 320 B. C. ο was written for ω in Λεοντίς, but there is no early instance of -εος for -εως in an εϋ stem. 392 9: in Theog. 1043 πόλεϋς is the vulgate reading, and Α has πόλεως. Ziegler adopts πόλεος. 394 6: δὲ is not δὲ < οἱ, but δὲ < οἱ ἴ; cf. οἶός (υυ) in Mnesimachos III 570 (v. 47) and § 227; 19: we must read Γυλλί[s] in Hrd. 167, 84, i.e. the nominative is used for the vocative (cf. 17, 9, 11); vocative forms are Κοριττί 616, Κυννί 471; 17 f. b.: Lykophron *Alex.* 292 has ἐπάλλεις. 395 18 f. b.: τρεῖς Hrd. 140, 521, 729 is probably itacistic, though τρεῖς occurs only once (180). Cf. § 571. 398 18: ἀπόξη Hippokr. III 298 must yield to -ξεα or -ξυρα. 399 6: γλυκέας Hrd. 623 will avoid the anapaest in the fourth foot; note: after *unvouched for*, add to *any exient except in Hdt.*; 2 f. b.: add § 419 to § 219. 402 6: Hrd. has γναφέως 478. [Οδ]υσσέως *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 316 (υ-- possible); in Lykophron's *Alex.* we find -ηος, e.g. in τοκήος 1394, Κυχρήος 451; 12 f. b.: σκυτέα Hrd. 672. 403 23: γονέων as [σκ]υτέων Hrd. 770. 405 8: read 23; 14 f. b.: Kallim. has γρῆνυς epigr. 41, 51 and epigr. incert. 6. 408 1: Ἀρκεσοῦν Oropos, Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1892, 54; 7: read πειθῶ; 16 f. b.: add χελιδοῖ Simon. Keos 74. 414: Ἑρμοφάνευς Th. 78 B 8. 416 1: Θρασυάλκευς Th. 78 B 9. 422 6: cf. ἀνγηλέα C. I. G. 5172 and such forms as εὐκλήης in Hesychios. εὐκλήης may be either a contraction of the trisyllabic nom. form εὐκλεής (whereas the dissyllabic κλέος resists contraction), or built from εὐκλεῖά < εὐκλεέα by hyphaeresis; 9: ὦλη, πανῶλη Iasos, *Mitth.* XV 154; 12 f. b.: ΑΤΕΛΕΣ, Kyzikos 108 B 7, is a copy of the original spelling = ἀτελεῖς, as Dittenberger *Syll.* 312 correctly reads. 423 16 f. b.: Hrd. has ἀληθέα 526, ψευδέα 526, 752, σκέλεα 52, σκύτεα 763, χείλεα 7112, ἔπεα *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 61, μέλεα frag. 711. Rutherford's [γέ]νεα (υυυ) 758 is therefore not to be defended, and τείχη 47 is to be corrected; 8: κατάντη Hippokr. III 298 is Attic. 424 7: δαψιλέων Hrd. 784, χελίεων 34. κερδέων 737 would be the only case of open εω from an -εσ- stem in all post-Homeric Ionic poetry (except Πρηξιτέλεω p. 348). Meister suggests that Κερδέων is meant. 429 6 f. b.: clip-names in -ās in Herodas are Σισυμβράς 276, Βιτάτος 625, 81. The latter name has the genitive Βιτάδος in Choirob. 4229, Βιτᾶδος in Joh. Alex. 820 as in Hdn. (see footnote 2). A like variation exists in Ἑρμαροῦδος, Ἀμμαροῦτος from -οὺς, Ἑρμῆδος, Ποδῆτος from -ῆς, but it is only in Egyptian inscriptions that the genitive of -ās in proper names is -ᾶτος. Schulze *R. M.* XLVIII 252 suggests that the grammarians derived their knowledge of the genitive Βιτᾶτος from Herodas, in whose text Βιτάδος originally stood. In 687 we may read Κανδᾶτ[ος]. Hdn. II 6837 (cf. Choirob. 4414, 4632, 13623, schol. Ven. A on O 302) accepts two inflections of the name *Thales*: Θαλῆς, -οῦ, -ῆ, -ῆν and Θάλης, -ητος, -ητι, -ητα. In Kallim. frag. 95 the MSS. have Θαλῆς, but in 94 Θάλητος and in 96



Θάλητα. This difference in accent finds a defender in Crusius who reads Θαλῆς in Hrd. 2<sub>55</sub>, but Θάλητος in 2<sub>62</sub>. If the nominative is Θαλῆς we must accent -ῆτος. Other words varying in accent and declension according to the ancients are Μεγῆς, Φαλῆς, Φανῆς, Κυῆς. 430 24: Ἀρτεμῖς (or -εῖς, -ίς or -εῖς) Hrd. 6<sub>87</sub>, 89, Ἀρτεμῖν 6<sub>94</sub>, a woman's name found in Knidos, Krete, Pisidia and Kos. Where the name occurs, indications point to its not being native to Greece; so even in Thessaly (*Mithn.* XII 361, no. 151), Athens (*B. C. H.* XIII 78). Genitives occur in Μητρειδος C. I. G. 3141, 30 (Smyrna), Μοναρχειδος Paton-Hicks 185 (Kos), Φιλειδος *B. C. H.* VIII 378 (Lydia), &c. Names of women may end either in -ίς, -ιδος or in -ίς, -ῖδος. Stems in -ιδ- in Hrd. are δορκαλίδες 319, πυργίδα 715. 434 last line: Hrd. has also μέζονα 4<sub>87</sub>; ἡδύονα 1<sub>87</sub>, μέζονα 75 are sing. In Phoinix we find πλείονα 1<sub>17</sub> in the MSS. where πλέονα (as in 2<sub>3</sub>) is correct. 436 12: ΣΟΟΣ Styra 19<sub>209</sub>, cf. 23 is to be read Σῶος as ΣΟΟΝ C. I. A. I 369 σῶον. Boeckh's Σῶφ (ΣΩΩ) in C. I. G. 39 cannot stand. The contracted form σῶς is probably non-Homeric: at least all cases of its occurrence (except X 332) readily yield to the substitution σᾶος or σόος. The latter is possibly a contamination of σῶφ- and σᾶφ-. σῶαι in Hrd. is either a case of the retention of the early form, or, as seems to me more likely, derived from σῶος as ὀρέσκοος from -κω.ι)ος. The forms with ι subscript are neither Ionic nor known to Attic inscriptions. In Babrios 94<sub>8</sub> A has σῶην, Suid. σῶαν. In 7<sub>6</sub> σῶος is written with no other spelling noted in Eberhard. 440 13: ὦ τέκνον μοι Μητρίχη Hrd. 1<sub>61</sub> may serve as an example of the old possessive use of the pronoun: cf. *Orestes* 124 ὦ τέκνον μοι, Hdt. I 207 τά μοι παθήματα, and the use of οἱ in Hdt. I 1, III 3, *Trachin.* 650. See Wilamowitz *Herakles* v. 626, Wackernagel *I. F.* I 362; 7 f. b.: read 7<sub>38</sub>; 6: in 1<sub>46</sub> there is authority for ἀνθρώποις instead of ἡμείων, but it is a correction by a later hand. 441 7: in citing the forms of the pronoun I have almost always followed the MSS., which do not as a rule differentiate between the emphatic and unemphatic forms. In Anakr. 431, 62<sub>2</sub> ἡμῖν is no doubt unemphatic, as it is in 631, and in all three passages the MSS. have ἡμῖν; but in 431, 631 the metre requires ἡμῖν. Whether we should write ἡμῖν, ἡμιν or ἡμιν cannot be determined, since we have no MS. authority for either accent in the monuments of early post-Homeric Ionic poetry. That the difference between the emphatic and unemphatic forms found expression in a different accentuation in the poetry of Alexandrian times may be inferred from ἡμεας Hrd. 2<sub>9</sub> and ὕμεας 2<sub>60</sub>, where the papyrus has the proparoxytone. In 1<sub>19</sub> ὕμῖν is emphatic and has the perispomenon in the MS. I have written ἡμῖν, ὕμῖν in Hrd. in all cases except where the ultima is certainly short. In Babrios 90<sub>4</sub>, 98<sub>7</sub>, 113<sub>4</sub> where Bergk, Eberhard, and Rutherford edit ἡμιν at the verse end, the Athoan MS. has ἡμῖν; so in 26<sub>11</sub>, 27<sub>7</sub>, 33<sub>11</sub> &c. A has ἡμᾶς. 443 1: for often read 7<sub>62</sub>. 445 12: νιν is not more frequent than μιν, which occurs, in addition to the passages stated in 10, in 343 (?), 570 (?), 712. That νιν occurs after σ or ν is pure chance. Meister thinks νιν was smuggled into the text of Hrd. from tragedy. 448 6 f. b.: Hrd. has κείνος also in 2<sub>20</sub>, 4<sub>50</sub> (after ἡμέρη so that κείνη would be possible; cf. δούλη ὅστι 4<sub>53</sub>), ἐκείνος in 2<sub>80</sub>. In 4<sub>76</sub> one case of ἐκείνος is uncertain (ὅς δεκείνον ἢ ἔργα τὰ ἐκείνου). 450 last line: for elision read crasis. ὠυτῆς in Hrd. 6<sub>84</sub> would be an example of Apollonios' ωυ, were [ἐ]ωυτῆς not a probable correction. On the origin of the reflexive forms, see now Wackernagel *K. Z.* XXXIII 2 ff., Meister *Herodas* 849; footnote 1: (*Athens*) after elision belongs after φαύτω. Apoll. has εἰαύτω. 452 17: σοὶ αὐτῷ

I 108 should give way to σεωντῶ. σέο τ' αὐτοῦ occurs in I 124 (cf. *Oid. Kol.* 1417), but when αὐτός is prefixed we have αὐτῶ μοι as in IV 134, VII 28 (cf. E 459), αὐτῶ οἱ III 72, αὐτόν σε III 145, as αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν V 49, 91. I now see that Dryoff *Pronomen Reflexivum* emends αὐτόν in I 24 to αὐτοῦ. 454 3: see p. 332<sub>6</sub> and appendix: 7 f.b. in note: read ἄχρι. 455 11: τέο Hrd. 8<sub>1</sub>, the only case of εο in a pronoun in that poet, should be corrected, cf. τεῦ 293<sub>3</sub>, δεῦνεκα 520. 456 footnote 1: Wackernagel *R. M.* XLVIII 301 proposes to avoid the *f* in Lokrian *φότι* by reading ἦ ὅτι; to § 570 add: μετεξέτεροι = ἐνιοι, τινές, Hdt. I 63, 95, 199, II 125, &c., Hippokr. III 454, IV 220, 230 (where Galen says that the word is = ἕτερος in the language of his time), Aretaios 5. In Nikander's *Ther.* 588, Schneider reads μετ' ἐξετέρην; cf. ἐξέτεροι 412, 744. To δότημος in § 716 add that Hdn. I 512<sub>19</sub> (*Theognos.*, An. Ox. II 164<sub>6</sub>) mentions δότημος and Arat. 568 has δπηήμος. πήτημος is mentioned by Hesychios and Hdn. II 925<sub>20</sub>. τήτημος is relative in Hippokr. IX 14 (θ' ἦμος in one very old MS.). 463 10 f.b.: it is better to read χρῆν in Hdt. In Hrd. 223 the papyrus has ἐχρηναυτον, where the ε belongs with the pronoun. 472 (ἐργάζομαι): Hrd. 663 has ἐργάζετ'. This author always adopts the Attic rules for augment; (ἐρδω): ἕερδον in Solon (*Αθ. πολ.* 12); note: dele the ). 473 2 f.b. to end of §, and p. 472 s.v. οἴγνυμι: the original inflection of οἴγνυμι was as follows: (1) *strong forms*: ὀ(F)είγω, found in the Aiolic infinitive δείγην C. D. I. 214<sub>13</sub>, ὤειγον, ὤειξα. The imperfect ἀνοείγε may be substituted for ἀνέφγε II 221, Ω 228, ἀνοείγεσκον for ἀναοίγεσκον Ω 455. For ὠίξε Z 298, Ω 446 &c. we may read ὤειξε (cf. Attic ἔμειξα for the incorrect ἔμιξα). (2) *weak forms*: ὀ(F)ίγνυμι from the stem Fιγ-; cf. τείω, τίνυμαι. Fείγνυμι had been the counterpart of δείκνυμι, ζείγνυμι with the retention of the irregular diphthong in a form properly weak. The initial prosthetic ο has been carried from δίγνυμι into δείγω where it is strictly not in place. The stem ὀιγ- appears in ὠίγνυντο B 809, Θ 58, and perhaps in Hrd. 455, whose ὠίκεται may, however, be an itacistic spelling for ὤεικεται (cf. πέπεισται). Theokr. XIV 47 has ἀνῶγμαi. Later on οἴγνυμι was contracted to οἴγνυμι (cf. οἴς, οἴομαι from ὀφισ-), and the stem οἴγ- transferred to the active in ἀνῶγεν Ξ 168 (for which Nauck substituted ἀνοίγεν, Fick ὤειγε), ᾤξε Ω 457 (οἴξε?), οἴξασα Z 89, Epidaurian ἀνῶξε C. D. I. 3339<sub>87</sub>, Theokr. ἀνῶξα XIV 15, Attic ἀνοίγω, ἀνοίξω (ἡνοίγον, ἡνοίξα may be corrupt) and ἡνοίγμαi in Hippokr. V 436 (ἀνεφγ- Ermerins). ὠίξα, which is glossed as Hippocratic by ἀνέφξα in Erotian, can be defended only on the view that ὀιγ- and not οἴγ- was transferred from the weak to the strong form, or on the assumption that it was 'distracted' from ᾤξα. While the latter is not an impossibility, the former suggestion would seem to deserve more consideration because of Aiolic ὄιγον (Hdn. II 777<sub>15</sub> = II 313<sub>23</sub> = I 250<sub>19</sub>) and ὀίγων (Zonaras 224<sub>7</sub>). But ὄιγον is impossible in Homer, and it may be doubted whether we should not read ὤειγον, δείγων in Aiolic, ὤειξα in Hippokrates. The explanation of δείγω and οἴγνυμι here put forward, rejects the possibility of a stem Fοιγ-, which Kühner-Blass § 198, 6 hold to have originated from ὀφιγ- by the transference of the spirant from the middle to the beginning. Though the existence of a stem Fοιγ- would be welcome, such a shifting of *f* must however be pronounced impossible. Since no form in οἴγ- had an initial *f*, the explanation of Wackernagel must fall to the ground, though in itself well adapted to clear up the mysterious φ in ἔφγα, ἔφξα, ἔφγμαi (i.e. from \*ἡφοίγα &c.). We believe that ᾤγεν from οἴγω became ἔφγεν under the influence of the perfect (originally Fέφοίγα), and that the perfect became ἔφγα under the



influence of the imperfect (cf. *ἑώρα, ἑώρακα ἑώρακα*). After the imperfect had adopted the extraneous *ι*, the aorist *ᾤξα* became *ἔωξα*. Meister *Herodas* p. 823 would refer to *οἶγνυμι* the Hesychian *ῥοιγαῖ φαρέτρα* with substantive ablaut of *ει* to *οι*. The quiver is the *οἰστοδέγμονα θησαυρὸν βελέεσσιν Persai* 1020. 476 18 f. b.: read *Herodotos*. 482 14: Hrd. has *θέλω* eight times, *ἐθέλω* once, and that in an augmented form (*ἤθελον* 523). This is the usage of the *Κοινή*. 485: Hrd. has only contracted forms in the future: *ἔρέω* 3917, *βαλέω* 385, *ἔρεῖς* 428 and in seven other passages, *διαβαλεῖς* 622, *ἀποκτενεῖς* 535, *προσμενεῖς* 83, *ἔρεῖ* 325, *θανεῦμ'* *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 85, *ἀρεῖτ'* 361, *ἐκβαλεῦσι* 464, *τιλεῦσιν* *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 815. 493 14: Babrios has *γεγηράκει* 4610, 1032, *γηράσας* 7415; *Anakr.* *ἑάσεις* 56, *ἔασον* 57 (Fick *ä*), *Hdt.* I 90 *ἑάσας*; note 2, 4 f. b.: read *Antiphon*. In Hrd. 322 we have *γνῶναι* read for which the regular *ἀναγνῶναι* is used in 392. In *Hdt.* II 91 *ἀγέγων* is = *agnovi*. 494 16: the verb *φωφλέω* is now attested in Arkadian. On an inscription from Mantinea (*B. C. H.* XVI 568. perhaps older than 450 B. C.), we find [*φο*]φλέαςι l. 1, [*φο*]φλέοι l. 14, *φωφληκόσι* l. 18. 497 last line: the second person of the optative in Hrd. ends in *-αις* (357, 571, 63), never in *-ειας*. In the third person we find *-ειε* in 311, 75, *-αι* in 631, 782. 498 19: Hrd. has *εἶπα* also in 537, *εἶπατε* 762, *εἶπον* 643, *εἰπέ* 617, 48, *ἄνειπε* 242, *εἰπεῖν* 693; read *imperial* for *opt.* 502 9: *βούλει* in Hrd. is wrong. Apart from this form there are five cases (in the future) of *-ει*, but there are four of *-η* in the indicative. *δίξειαι* is called Ionic for *δίξηαι* in the *Lexicon Messan.*, *R. M.* XLVII 408 (cf. § 590). 503 14: *Theog.* 455 *ἐφαίνεο*. *Ἥραο* p. 504 end, and 55917 belongs here. 505 11: *Solmsen K. Z.* XXXII 546 defends *Wackernagel's* derivation of *ἑσσεῖται*; 23 f. b.: *πίεται* in Ion cannot stand (*πιέτω* *Cobet*); 22 f. b.: for *M. Schmidt* read *Nietzsche*. In connection with the above may be mentioned the fact that in *Hippokr.* V 386 we find *πιέουσα*, which is more probably a blunder for *πιούσα* (V 382) than the participle to *πίει* (*C. I. G.* 8046, 8096-8110, *Bergk P. L. G.* III 668 &c.), whose *ει* is a genuine diphthong according to the Attic vase inscriptions. Cf. *Roscher in Curtius' Studien* IV 194, *Bergk in Jahrb.* CXVII 195, *Kretschmer in K. Z.* XXIX 482; 11 f. b.: *Hippokr.* has *δάξομαι* VIII 338 (so *θ* probably), but *δήξομαι* VII 336 (cf. § 619). 506 15: [*εἰσε*]νείκαντες, *Erythrai*, in *Dittenberger's Syll.* 15920 (shortly after 278 B. C.), but *ἑσῆν[ε]γκεν* 1607. 509 10: *εἰρύεται* *Hippokr.* V 596, *ἐντετμέεται* IV 298; 14: *λελέχεται* *Aret.* 260, 284. 511 22: in *Clouds* 1203 *νενημένοι* is preferable; 8 f. b.: read *καίω*. 512 7: in *Hippokr.* II 26 we even find *καταλελεπτύσθαι* (*vulgo* -ῆσθαι), where *-ύνθαι* should be read with *Cobet*. The participle occurs in VI 192 *lis*. *Hippokr.* has the *-σμαι* form also in the case of *θερμαίνω* VI 190, 192, *ύγραίνω* 192, *σκληρύνω* 132, *μιαίνω* 96. Almost all of the *-σμαι* forms occur in the pseudo-Hippocratic tractates. 516 9 f. b.: of the poets, *Theognis* has *-εο* in 30, 32, 47, 100, 145, 331, 353, 547, 557, 1095, 1297, 1351, *Archil.* 664 *ἀγάλλεο*, 665 *ὀδύρεο*; Hrd. has also *αἰσχύνευ* 266, *γίνευ* I 2, *ἔπεν* 439, *καταψεύδου* in I17 is corrected to *-εο* or *-ευ* on the papyrus; *ἐπεύχεο* 358 should be changed to *-ευ*. 518 21: see appendix to p. 255. 520 18: *δοθήσεται* *Samos* 22121, *νομισθήσεται* *Euseb. Mynd.* 52; 13 f. b.: *βλαβήσεται* *Aret.* 39. 530 footnote 2: add *ἐσύλευν* Hrd., *Class. Rev.* V 481, frag. 31, *προσιεύσαν* *Hippokr.* IX 340 (many MSS. *-ου*). 537 17 f. b.: *ἁμαρτεῖ* Hrd. 435? (cf. *ῥαμαρτεῖς* 512) is the first occurrence in literature of this equivalent of *ὁμαρτέω*. It is attested in *Hesychios* and *Eust.* 59222. 543 22: with the variation between *καλέοι* and *ποιοῖ*, compare that in *Eleian*: *δοκέοι* 11563, *ἐνποιοῖ* 11565, *ἀποφηλέοι* 11547, *ποιοῖτο* 2. 544 4: *Hermes* not *R. M.* 563 19:



or read  $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\iota$  and derive the form from  $\lambda\eta\acute{\phi}\epsilon\omicron\iota$ . If this is correct, we must assume two verbs  $*\lambda\eta\iota\omega$  and  $*\lambda\eta\acute{\phi}\epsilon\sigma\iota\omega$ .  $\lambda\eta\acute{\phi}\epsilon\omicron\iota$  could become  $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota$  after the loss of  $\phi$ , and then  $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\iota$ . Solmsen *K. Z.* XXXII 515, 517 regards as Kretan both  $\lambda\eta\iota\omega < \lambda\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , and  $\lambda\epsilon\omicron\iota < \lambda\eta\acute{\phi}\epsilon\omicron\iota$ . 566 12: in Hrd. 468 the papyrus accents  $\zeta\acute{o}\eta\nu$ , which may be regarded as an adjective. The adjective was thus accentuated by Hdn. (I 111<sub>25</sub>, II 778<sub>10</sub>, 947<sub>14</sub>, where Epicharmos 120 is cited). In the passage in Archil. 63<sub>2</sub> the vulgate has  $\zeta\omega\omicron\upsilon$ , and in Theokr. II 5 we find  $\zeta\omicron\omicron\iota$ . The substantive  $\zeta\acute{o}\eta$  had the oxytone accent according to Hdn. II 901<sub>38</sub>. 568 ff.: to the list add  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$  Herakl. in *Hermes* XV 605 but probably an error for  $-\omega\iota\epsilon\nu$ ),  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\omega\acute{\phi}\epsilon\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$  Hippokr. IX 356 epist.,  $\mu\omega\mu\epsilon\omicron\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$  Demokr. 123. As regards  $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{o}\omega$  it should be noted that Kallim. 94 (choliambic) has  $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ . 596: to § 715 add  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$  Hippokr. IV 220,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$  III 514;  $\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\nu \acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\epsilon\kappa\alpha$  *Syr. dea* 27, 28, 34; Aret.  $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\kappa\alpha$  52,  $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$  66,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$  45.

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## APPENDIX II

### THE IONISMS OF THE LATE WRITERS OF IAMBICS AND CHOLIAMBICS.



WE present below a survey of the chief Ionisms of Kallimachos (K.), Aischrion of Samos (A.), Phoinix of Kolophon (Ph.), Parmenon of Byzantion (P.), Kritias of Chios, Babrios (B.), and Lykophron's *Alexandra* (L.). K. is cited from the text of Schneider, A., Ph., P., and Kritias from Schneidewin's *Delectus* (and Crusius, in the case of Ph. 1; see Crusius' *Herondas* p. 70), B. from Rutherford, and L. from Kinkel. Some of the Homerisms of L., and most of the Homerisms of B., have been included. In the case of the writers who aim at reproducing the dialect in all except a few details, *i.e.* in the above writers with the exception of B. and L., we have included such matters as crasis &c. The Ionisms of B. and L. are practically confined to the Ionic  $\eta$  and a few cases of Ionic  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\upsilon$  and  $\omicron\upsilon$ . In L. the occurrences of  $\eta$  are sporadic merely, in B. they are so frequent as to lead to the belief that he intended to adopt it in the first declension throughout. There are some open forms that I have ventured to include, though uncertain whether they might not more properly be regarded as examples of the licence permitted Attic poetry. But attention should be called to the fact that no instance of an uncontracted  $\alpha\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\omega$ , or  $\omicron\omega$  verb occurs in any of these writers.

1. Vowels.  $\eta$  for  $\bar{\alpha}$ :  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\eta$  K. 93,  $\nu\epsilon\acute{\eta}\kappa\omega\nu$  78,  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\nu\eta\eta\tau\nu$  82 b.;  $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\nu$  A. 22;  $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\nu$  Ph. 18,  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$  23;  $\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\eta}\nu$  P. 11. In Babrios there occur about 150 cases of nouns of the first declension and adverbs where the Ionic  $\eta$  was possible. In about 70 of these the Athoan MS. has  $\alpha$ , which Rutherford changes to  $\eta$ . Sometimes where this MS. has  $\alpha$ , Suidas has  $\eta$  (18<sub>1</sub>, 26<sub>1</sub>, 81<sub>2</sub>, 92<sub>8</sub>), and sometimes the reverse is the case (10<sub>1</sub>, 30<sub>1</sub>, 82<sub>6</sub>, 7, 86<sub>2</sub>, 94<sub>8</sub>, 108<sub>25</sub>). In the spurious fragments Rutherford leaves  $\alpha$ , *e.g.* in  $\sigma\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$  41<sub>2</sub>, but changes to  $\eta$  in 106<sub>26</sub>, 116<sub>4</sub>. Hyper-Ionic  $\eta$  appears when  $\epsilon\iota$  became  $\epsilon$ :  $\delta\acute{\xi}\epsilon\eta$  77<sub>4</sub>,  $\delta\acute{\xi}\epsilon\eta\nu$  [73<sub>1</sub>, 133<sub>1</sub>],  $\beta\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$  in the Athoan 25<sub>7</sub> where Suidas has  $-\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ .  $\mu\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$  has been incorrectly read in 47<sub>8</sub> ( $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  A), 131<sub>2</sub> ( $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  V). In the middle of a word,  $\eta$  is comparatively rare. I have noticed  $\acute{\omega}\chi\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  92<sub>8</sub> in Suidas ( $\kappa\rho\iota\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$  62<sub>2</sub>,  $\eta\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\epsilon$  45<sub>9</sub>),  $\acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\eta$  120<sub>7</sub> ( $\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ ),  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\tau\eta\nu$  124<sub>11</sub>,  $\pi\rho\eta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma$  proem. B 15 ( $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  102<sub>3</sub>, [11<sub>10</sub>],  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\varsigma$  [18<sub>15</sub>]),  $\nu\epsilon\eta\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma$  107<sub>10</sub>,  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\eta$  proem. B 6 ( $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  22<sub>11</sub>,  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  22<sub>5</sub>,  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\iota\varsigma$  22<sub>6</sub>),  $\kappa\eta\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  122<sub>12</sub> *sic* in Suidas ( $\kappa\nu\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  A,

κνακόν 113<sub>2</sub>), ἀπείρητος 95<sub>63</sub> (πειράσας 95<sub>76</sub>, ἐπειράθην 57<sub>12</sub>, 134<sub>16</sub>), ἀλοιήσας 122<sub>13</sub>, ἡλόησε 26<sub>8</sub>, 129<sub>16</sub>, Παιήων 120<sub>5</sub> (παιάνων 24<sub>4</sub>). The following always have α: Θράκη (L. always Θρήκη), πράσσω or πράττω, κέκραγε, γηράσας, γεγηράκει, ραδίην, ράων, ραθυμέω, γραῦς. Lykophron very rarely adopts the Ionic form: Λειβηθρίην 275, καλύπτρης 337, λυγρήν 910, ὀτρρηῆς 997, ἀρούρης 1060, ἄκρης in Bachmann's edition 714, Τιτήνας 709, Τυμφρητόν (?) 420, καρηβαρεύντας 384, χαλκείησιν (so in V) 1077. Scheer adopts η only in 384, 420. Of about 60 occurrences of the long form of the dative plural, Bachmann read -ησι in 18, 59, 106, 107, 193, 266, 442, 454, 470, 728, 729, 802, 817, 1055, 1358. η is also used in ἡώς 16. 2. Diphthongs. EI: B. has ξείνος [106<sub>7</sub>], elsewhere ξεν-, στεινῆς 108<sub>22</sub>, εἰρύσσας 122<sub>7</sub>, εἶαρος 131<sub>5</sub>, ἐκπνείων 129<sub>21</sub> conj. (ἐκπνέων 60<sub>2</sub>); L. ξεινοβάκχης 175, κακόξεινος 1286, ἀνειρύσας 1322, εἰναφώσσωνα 101. EY: πρευμενῆς L. 536, 1055. OY: μῶνος B. 254, 126<sub>2</sub>, 131<sub>2</sub> [106<sub>24</sub>, 28] elsewhere μόνος (10 times), L. 179 (μο- Sch.), μόνος K. 76, 82 b, οἶνομα L. 339, 370 but Ph. 111 κώνομαστόν, γούνα Ph. 113, γουνασματών L. 1243, οὐλαμφοροῖς L. 32, οὐλαμυνύμου L. 183, κοῦρος and κοῦρη A. 15, Ph. 110, 12, 13, L. 58, 182, 712, 1131 (κορ- Sch.), Κουρήτις L. 671, Κουρήτες 1297. Elsewhere L. has κορ- as Babrios always. δουρατογλύφου L. 361, οὐρήεσσιν B. 129<sub>23</sub>. L. 557 has οὔδας, 49, 698 οὔδαῖος. None of these later writers have any other form than ὄλος and ὄρος. HI: δῆϊο: Ph. 220, βορηῆϊ 36, δονήϊστος 31, λήϊον B. 116, 883, L. 252, Ἡϊών L. 417; elsewhere η as in χρήζω Ph. 13 &c. ΩI: πρωϊνῶν B. 124<sub>17</sub> but πρῶην 67 &c. Loss of ι from the diphthongs: B. 59<sub>2</sub> has Ἀθηνᾶ but -αῖη 72<sub>16</sub>, Ἑρμῆς 30<sub>8</sub> and often, but -εῖης 30<sub>1</sub>, 48<sub>3</sub>, 119<sub>6</sub>, 127<sub>1</sub>; ὀξέη B. 774, ὀξέην [731, 1331], βαθέην 257 (Athoan, -εῖαν Suidas), πλέονα Ph. 23 and probably 117; πόη B. 46<sub>6</sub> but ποίη 95<sub>11</sub>, 128<sub>12</sub>, [142<sub>2</sub>]. Cf. also χρόη 136, [65<sub>3</sub>], χλόη 46<sub>2</sub>, 88<sub>2</sub>, πνοή 36<sub>10</sub>, 114<sub>5</sub>. B. has ἡλόησε 26<sub>8</sub>, 129<sub>16</sub>. 3. Contracted and Open Vowels. α+ι: Ἀἶδης Ph. 222, B. 95<sub>87</sub>, 122<sub>8</sub>, L. 197, 1188 (both first foot), 51, 404, 457, 497, 564, 655, 809, 813 (all second foot). α+ει: αἰίδοντα K. 90, αἰίδω Babrios proem. B 16, ᾄδω elsewhere in B. and in Ph. 116, 212. ε+ε: ἀλέες K. 86, ἀνηλέες B. 71<sub>4</sub>, ε+ε=ει always in the verb. ε+η: γενεή B. proem. A 1, (γουνή A. 17), Θαλῆς K. 95, Ph. 31, ἀργυρῆν Ph. 223, χρυσῆν 33. γεηπόνος B. 108<sub>14</sub>. a noteworthy form for γεω-, occurs in Aristotle according to L. & S. ε+η always becomes η in the verb. ε+ει always contracts in the verb. ε+ο: φαλεόν B. [106<sub>2</sub>]; =ευ in μεδεύντι K. 95, τέλχευς 86, ποιεῦ A. 14, ἐπωλεύμην B. 128<sub>11</sub>, 129<sub>23</sub>, καρηβαρεύντας L. 384. ε+ω: κυκεῶνα Kritias, λεωλογεῖν Ph. 28, In L. λεώς is Attic. η+ε: ὑλήεντα B. 95<sub>6</sub>. η+ει: ἥεῖσα Ph. 218. η+ω: πρηῶν L. 769, 1069 (Hesiodic), πρῶν 1237. ι+ε (not genuine contraction): ἱρόν K. 86, ἱρηξ B. [72<sub>21</sub>]. ο+ο: πλόος K. (Meineke choliamb. frag. 1). ο+η: πῖβωτος A. 11. ο+ι: οἷς B. 132<sub>1</sub>, οἷν 132<sub>5</sub> but οἷς 128<sub>1</sub>. ω+α: ζωαγρίους B. 50<sub>15</sub> but ζωαγρεῖν 53<sub>2</sub>, ζωαγρήσω 53<sub>1</sub>. See also under 6 below. 4. Crasis &c. Ph. has τὰπόλλωνος 12, ὠνήρ 211, χῳκόσα 218, τῆτέρη 35, κῆρᾶν 210, K. 97 τὰπίοντος, A. 11 ἡ πῖβωτος. 5. Consonants. κ forms of the pronoun occur in K. 85, 93, Ph. 212, 18, 19 (π in 115, 216). Neither Babrios nor Lykophron uses the Ionic κ. αὔτις B. 88<sub>13</sub> elsewhere αὔθις in B. L. has αὔτις in B 546. σσ occurs in B. τόσσος 36<sub>8</sub> (L. 1461), μέσσος 129<sub>13</sub> (μέσος 129<sub>15</sub>, 19 &c.), πόσσος 121<sub>14</sub>, ποσσίν 191, οὐρήεσσιν 129<sub>23</sub>, εἰρύσσας 122<sub>7</sub> (ἀνειρύσας L. 1322), χωρίσσης 12<sub>21</sub>; μεσσαθοῦν L. 817. Babrios varies between σσ and ττ: the former in πράσσω sic 26<sub>12</sub>, 119<sub>3</sub>, 127<sub>10</sub>, but πράττω always in the spurious parts (512, 403, 3323), πλήσσω 36<sub>3</sub>, but ττ always in ἦττα, ἦττάομαι, ἦττων. L. uses only σσ. ἀμιθρήσαι occurs in Ph. 28. 6. Declension (Nouns). (1) κριθῶν Ph. 11 and Kritias, but λιμνῶν Ph. 214. -αισι (and -αῖς) Ph. 116 where there is MS. authority



for Μούσῃσι πρὸς θύρῃσ' ἄδων. Babrios has *-ais* except in 59<sub>15</sub>, 129<sub>8</sub>, 134<sub>12</sub>, while Lykophron uses the longer form about 60 times (see under 1). (2) Homeric *-οιο* occurs in B. 72<sub>1</sub>, over ten times in L., who even adopts *-ao* (848). *-οισι* is found in Ph. 2<sub>5</sub>, 6, 35 bis, Kritias, *-οις* in Ph. 1<sub>14</sub> τοῖς κασιγνήτοις at the end, and A. 1<sub>1</sub>. *-οισι* occurs in B. about 16, in L. about 40 times. This enumeration takes no account of *-οις* before a vowel. ὁστέων appears in B. 95<sub>90</sub>. χρυσέω proem. B. 7, χρυσέαις L. 708. Whether such open forms are to be regarded as Ionic is doubtful. λαγῶς is often read in B. where it may be merely a late form, and not Homeric. (3) Open forms in the *-es* declension are: μέρε' (?) B. 134<sub>1</sub>, ὀρέων 92<sub>2</sub>, τειχέων L. 1418, μεζέων 762; ῥάμφεσσι 598. Ἄρεος is found in B. 68<sub>4</sub>. B. has οὔατα 95<sub>40</sub> (ὥτος 95<sub>70</sub>), ἰχθύας 9<sub>6</sub>, νῆα 71<sub>1</sub> (νηός L. 618, να- Sch.), νομῆα 128<sub>1</sub> (conj.), οὐρήεσσιν (conj.) 129<sub>23</sub>, ὄϊς (above 3). πόρτιος L. 320, ἐπάλλξεις 292. γούνα appears in Ph. 1<sub>13</sub>, Ζεῦν in A. 1<sub>5</sub>. Cf. app. p. 402. 7. Pronouns. κείνος K. 87, Ph. 2<sub>7</sub>, B. 37<sub>7</sub>, 95<sub>6</sub>, L. 128, 304, 1139, ἐκείνος K. 89, B. over 30 times, L. 258, 259, 1081, κείθι 686, ἡμέων Ph. 2<sub>20</sub>. ἡμέων (-ο-) is noteworthy B. 90<sub>2</sub>. The relative τῶν appears in Ph. 1<sub>4</sub>. 8. Verb. An uncontracted 'pure' verb is unknown. ἔων is found in B. 36<sub>7</sub>, where some read τις ὦν for τ' ἔων. ὦν occurs in B. elsewhere at least 13 times. ἀναπλώσας B. 74<sub>3</sub>, ἐκπεπλωκότες L. 1084, and οἶδας B. 95<sub>14</sub> may be noted. We have the Homeric ἐσσί in B. 77<sub>7</sub>, 119<sub>7</sub> (MSS. εἰ), εἰρύσσας 122<sub>7</sub>, χωρίσσης 12<sub>21</sub>, σαώσει L. 758. θέλω, not ἐθέλω, is used by B. The pluperfect, which is used with remarkable fondness by B., is sometimes devoid of the augment (46<sub>10</sub>, 103<sub>2</sub>). Absence of the syllabic augment occurs in imperfect (95<sub>47</sub>) and aorist (33<sub>3</sub>?, 68<sub>5</sub>, 111<sub>6</sub>), but this is not in imitation of the iambographic style. 9. Prepositions, Conjunctions. εἰς is used by K. 94 (MSS.), Ph. 1<sub>12</sub>, 13, ἐς in K. 86, 96, 98<sub>a</sub>, Ph. 2<sub>22</sub>, A. 1<sub>6</sub>, a consonant following in all cases except Ph. 2<sub>22</sub> and A. 1<sub>6</sub>. Since Babrios used ἐς only when compelled to do so by the metre Rutherford corrects to εἰς in 11<sub>1</sub>, 11<sub>5</sub>, 108<sub>22</sub>. So in L. who has before vowels ἐς in 497, 603, εἰς about 20 times, before consonants εἰς about 35 times. (Bachmann had ἐς in 14, 158, 326, 338, 463, 501, 512, 1472; Scheer in 139, 747 also, but not in 326, 512). ἀνθήσει L. 1259. ῥην appears in B. 21<sub>8</sub>, 47<sub>13</sub>, 64<sub>7</sub>, 95<sub>62</sub>, 127<sub>10</sub>, 128<sub>6</sub>, L. 2, 623. ἄν is found over ten, ἐάν three times in the MSS. of B. ἐπῆν occurs in 6<sub>10</sub>.

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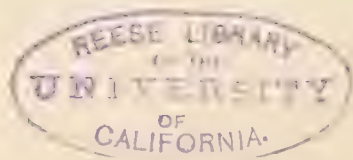
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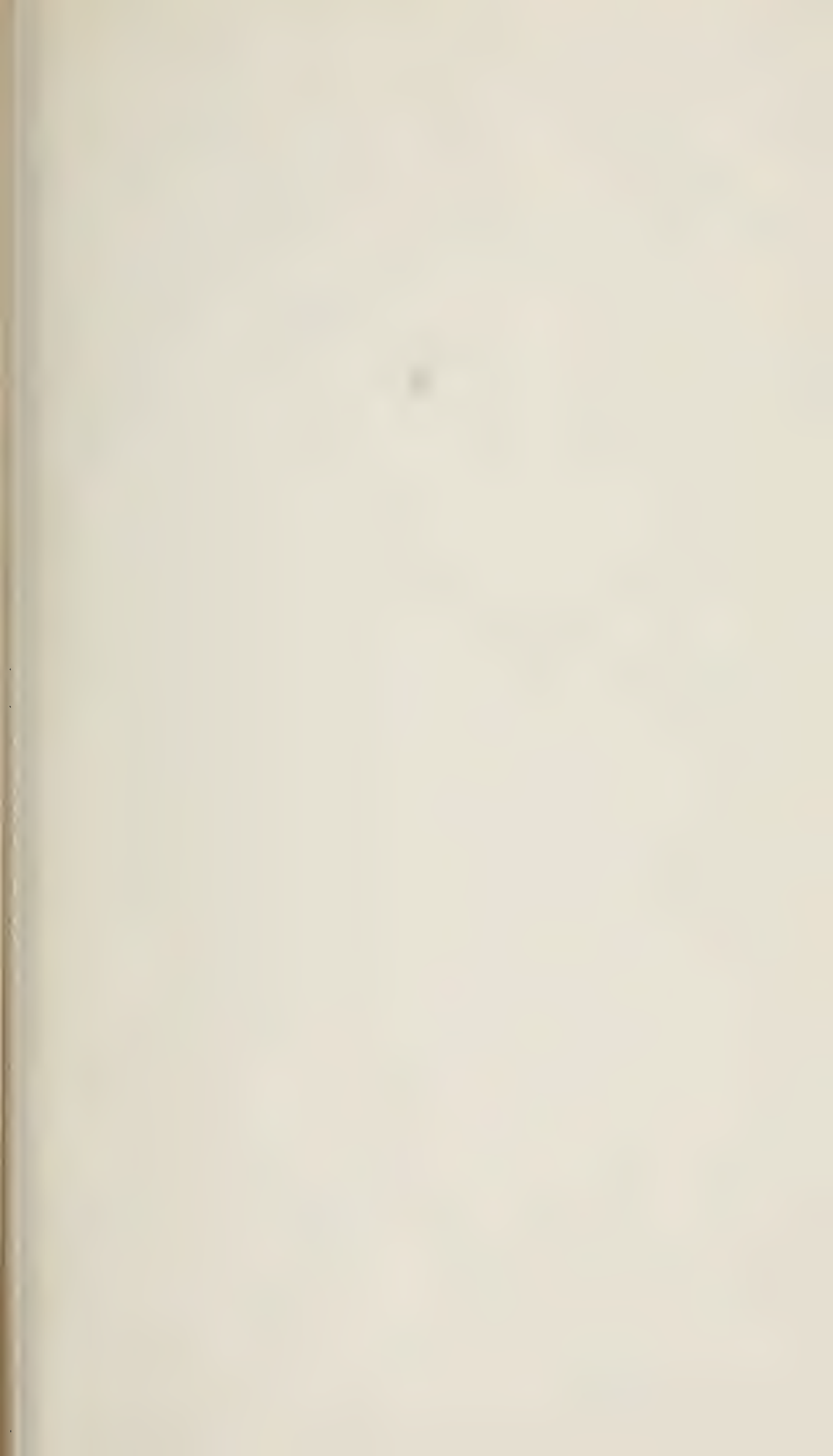
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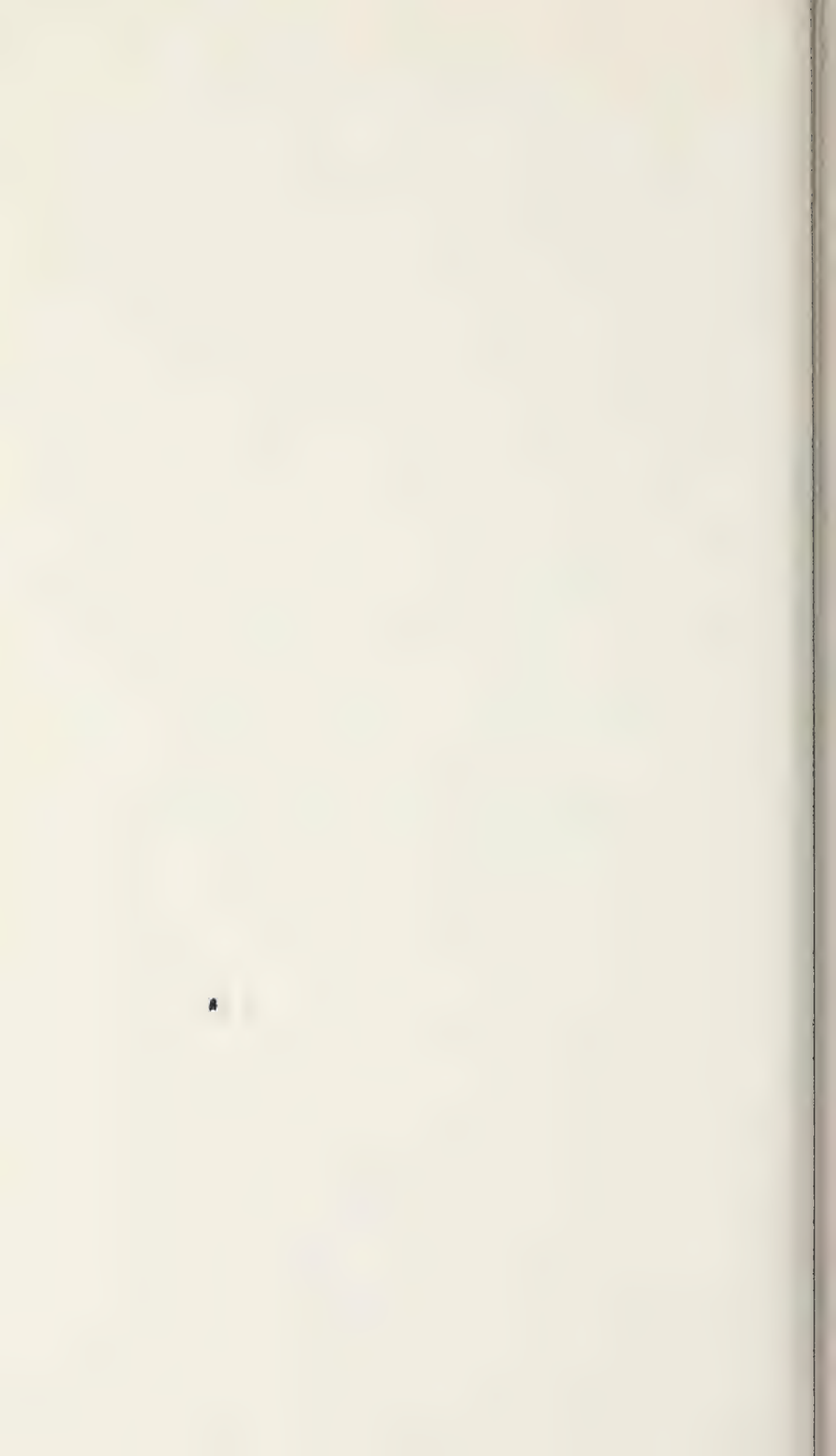
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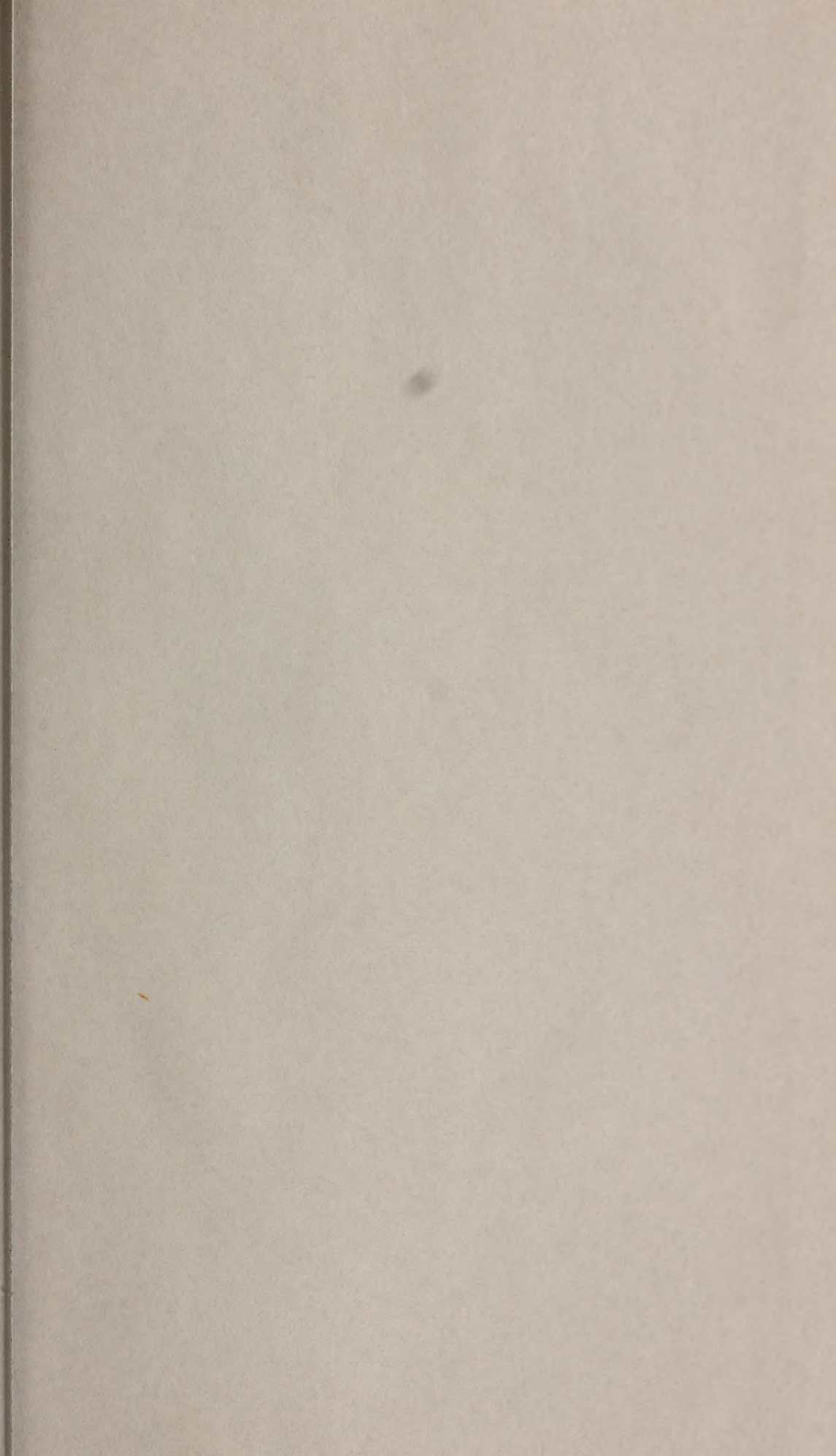



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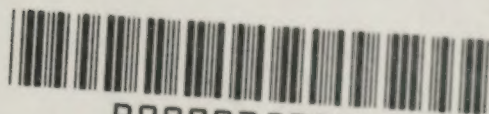
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